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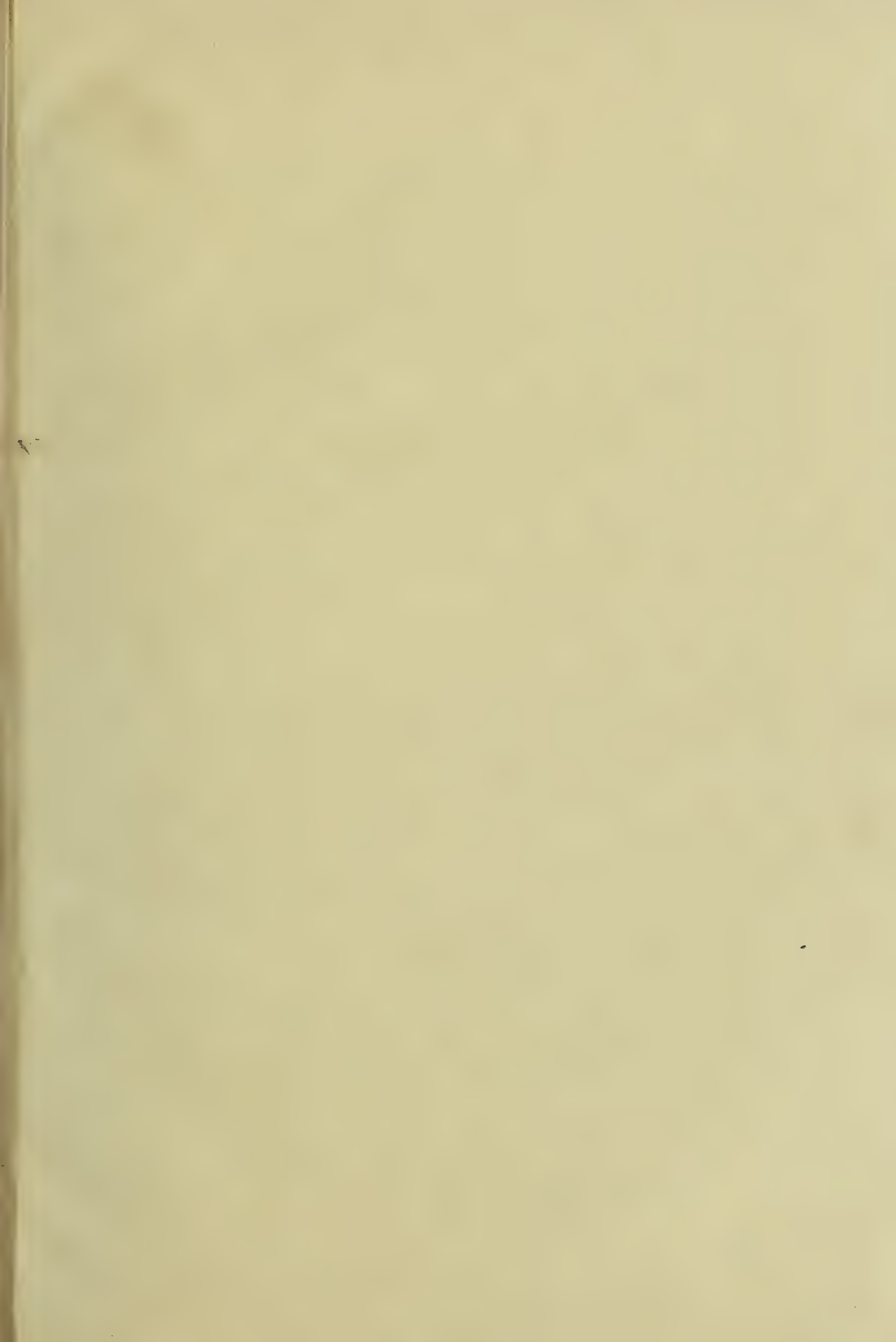
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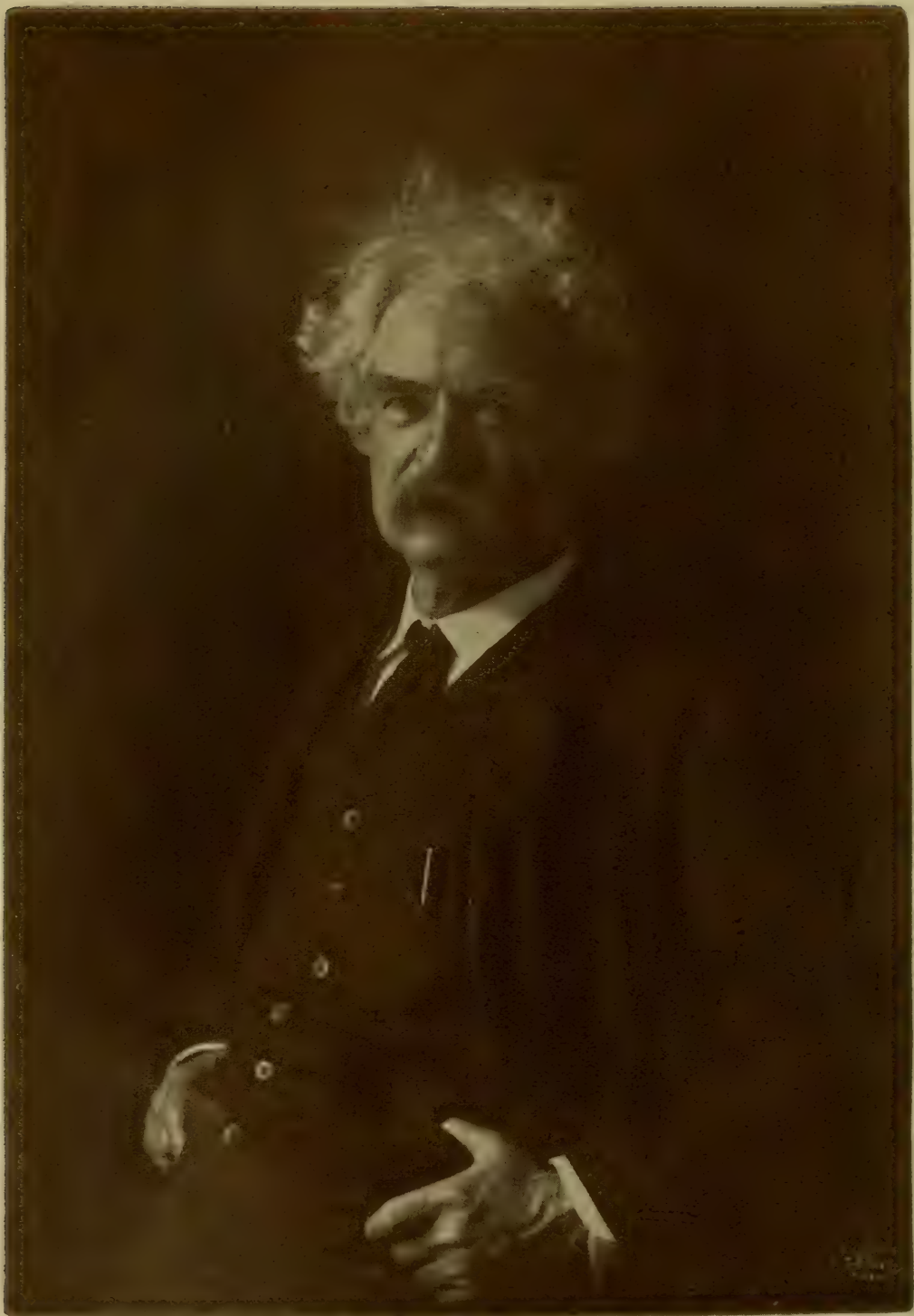
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The Forum

JULY, 1907

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK AND THE PROSPECTIVE ISSUES

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

THE political storm-centre during the past three months has been the State of Ohio. In that State Mr. Charles P. Taft, brother of William H. Taft, the Secretary of War, placed the latter's name before the country as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. Forthwith there was a clash between the Foraker and Taft forces, for there are many friends of Senator Foraker in Ohio who believe that he is Ohio's logical candidate. After many weeks of conferences, during which a factional fight of no mean proportions threatened, it seemed to be agreed that Mr. Taft should receive the support of the State for the Presidential nomination while Mr. Foraker should be returned to the Senate. It is by no means certain, however, that this arrangement will be allowed to stand. An interesting contest may yet be witnessed in the State.

The personal aspirations of two prominent men are, however, of minor importance compared with the question whether President Roosevelt is using the power of his position and the influence of his administration to secure the nomination of Mr. Taft. This is the assertion which the friends of Mr. Foraker are making and, if true, would undoubtedly have great effect in aiding their candidate. Fortunately for Mr. Taft and still more fortunately for the country, it is a statement which has no foundation in fact. The President is friendly to Secretary Taft and regards him as a most available man for the Republican nomination. Nobody—and least of all the President—denies this feeling of friendli-

**Mr. Taft's
Candidacy**

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ness between the President and Mr. Taft; but that the President is undertaking to force the nomination of Mr. Taft upon his party is absolutely false. In the first place, Mr. Roosevelt possesses too much common sense to occupy such a position. He is a close student of American political history and he is well aware of the fact that the American people will not brook executive domination. It has been a long time since any President of the United States undertook to name his own successor. The last successful effort in this direction was made by President Andrew Jackson, who determined that Martin Van Buren should be his legatee and who was able to accomplish his purpose, although the defeat of his party followed four years later. President Hayes attempted to make John Sherman his successor, but failed. On the other hand, any President who desires renomination can almost invariably secure it. President Harrison, for instance, was renominated at Minneapolis against the opposition of almost a majority of the delegates. But when a President dictates, or attempts to dictate, who shall succeed him, the case is regarded in a very different light by the American people. Whatever other acts of omission or commission may be charged against President Roosevelt, he cannot truthfully be accused of attempting to play the Warwick. He will not use the executive power to advance the candidacy of any one man, even though he may cherish an honest desire to see his own policies continued by his successor.

This being the case, the contest for the Republican Presidential nomination is an open one, with a fair field and no favor. If Secretary Taft is all the more popular with the people because it is known that he and President Roosevelt are working in harmony to accomplish desirable ends, the aims and purposes of the one being the aims and purposes of the other, and that, if elected, he will carry out to their full fruition the policies which Mr. Roosevelt has inaugurated, he undoubtedly enters the race with a favorable handicap. This is very different, however, from proving the President guilty of the direct use of executive influence. Moreover, Mr. Taft possesses characteristics which in themselves commend him to the American people. There is no question as to his ability. He has demonstrated his capacity in numerous positions. As an attorney-general of the United States he was an industrious and faithful official; as judge upon the circuit bench in Ohio he was an able, conscientious, and learned jurist; while as Governor of the Philippines he brought order out of chaos, displayed remarkable executive force, and, withal, demonstrated his great tactfulness. Wherever he has been placed he has done his duty faithfully and well, while his personal magnetism is very marked.

While the Roosevelt sentiment is very largely embodied in Mr. Taft, the fact must not be overlooked that sentiment does not always produce results. In these days of practical politics it is organization which counts effectively. At the present time

The Strength of Mr. Fairbanks Vice-President Fairbanks has the most extensive organization. Mr. Fairbanks is an experienced and wise politician. First of all, he is from Indiana, which is the nursery of shrewd political manipulators, and in addition to this he has the advantage of long association with the late Senator Hanna, who was, unquestionably, one of the most successful political managers this country has ever known. It is true that in some quarters Mr. Fairbanks's candidacy is not regarded seriously. My own opinion is that any discussion which fails to take Mr. Fairbanks into serious consideration is not based upon due appreciation of the political situation. Mr. Fairbanks is, alone of all the candidates, actively working to secure the nomination. He has had his emissaries travelling through the South, where they have been in conference with the Republican leaders; and he has taken occasion to visit some of the Western States in order to confer personally with influential men. It might be said, too, that Mr. Fairbanks occupies a most favorable position. He is not demonstrative nor impulsive and he has few enemies, while, on the other hand, his even-tempered, genial disposition has made him a host of friends. He is regarded with favor by the financial and commercial interests, who know that he is conservative; while he has always manifested a spirit of friendliness and fairness to the laboring classes. All these things are mentioned because they are factors in Mr. Fairbanks's candidacy. Whether they will have weight in the final round-up or whether Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity will carry everything before it and result in the nomination of a candidate whom he is known to regard with especial favor is a question which cannot be answered at this time.

From the present outlook the next Republican nominee will be either Mr. Taft or Mr. Fairbanks. The nominee must come from the West, inasmuch as the present occupant of the White House is an Eastern man, and outside of Taft and Fairbanks there is no one in the Western field who is available save Mr. Cannon, whose age may bar him from consideration. It looks as if history would repeat itself in that Ohio or Indiana would furnish the Presidential candidate. It would not be surprising if New York was represented on the ticket in the person of Governor Hughes, although conditions in New York are hardly sufficiently settled to afford ground for definite judgment.

In the meantime, there is unquestionably a strong demand all over the country for the renomination of President Roosevelt. The feeling has found expression in resolutions adopted by State legislatures, in interviews with prominent Republican leaders, and in editorial utterances. President Roosevelt, more than any of his predecessors, has been the recipient of formal and unsolicited indorsements from State legislatures, while among the rank and file his course has met with similar approval. Take, for instance, the canvass made by the New York *Evening Mail* among the voters of Manhattan and Bronx Boroughs. Four names were selected at random among the voters in each of the 866 election districts, and of the thousand replies received 799 were favorable to Mr. Roosevelt's renomination. Still more significant was the effort of the Des Moines *Capital* to learn the drift of sentiment. Three inquiries were addressed to the chairman of each Republican State committee, asking him for the sentiment in his State with reference to another nomination of President Roosevelt, whether it was probable that his State delegation would be instructed for Roosevelt, and whether the voters had a second choice. It is interesting to present some extracts from the replies which have been received:

NEBRASKA.—“Nebraska Republicans are strongly in favor of continuing Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidency for another term. With all due respect for his repeated declarations that he will not again be a candidate, they feel that the complete success of the policies he has inaugurated demands his renomination.”

MINNESOTA.—“It is my opinion, after careful consideration and consultation with some of our leading men, that the sentiment in this State is in favor of sending a delegation to the national convention in favor of tendering President Roosevelt the nomination for another term, whether he is an announced candidate or not.”

SOUTH DAKOTA.—“The sentiment in South Dakota is overwhelmingly in favor of the nomination of President Roosevelt for another term. The people of this State are for him and his policies, and they feel that it is his duty to accept another nomination. They know that he can be nominated and elected with practically no opposition.”

NORTH DAKOTA.—“There is no doubt in my mind, or in the minds of any one to whom I have spoken in reference to the matter, but that the delegation from this State to the next Republican national convention will be for President Roosevelt for renomination, if there is any likelihood at all that he will accept.”

COLORADO.—“The Republicans of this State are all of one accord that the President should be renominated, and there is no question but that the delegation from this State to the national convention will unanimously insist upon tendering him a renomination.”

ILLINOIS.—“I believe that ninety-five per cent. of the Republicans in Illinois favor the renomination of President Roosevelt. The sentiment for him among

Democrats and Republicans is overwhelming. If President Roosevelt cannot be forced to accept a renomination, I believe the Illinois delegation will be for Speaker Cannon, if he shall be a candidate for the Presidency."

These are but a few expressions, submitted by the men who are at the head of the Republican organization in their respective States. The opinions of Southern Republican chairmen have been intentionally omitted, inasmuch as their States do not contribute electoral votes to the Republican column. The result of the inquiries is to show a demand from every section of the country that Mr. Roosevelt shall again consent to be the Republican standard-bearer. In addition to this public expression, Mr. Roosevelt's mail is simply deluged with personal appeals to him to yield to the almost unanimous wish of his party.

And yet, notwithstanding the tremendous pressure which is being brought to bear upon him, notwithstanding the apparent determination of the State delegations to renominate him in spite of himself, notwithstanding the predictions freely made that Mr. Roosevelt will not dare to disregard the wish of his party in convention assembled, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt will not be the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. He may be nominated; no one can prevent the convention from taking this action; but no one can force him to accept the nomination, and he will not accept it.

President Roosevelt, on the night of November 8, 1904, immediately after he had been assured of his election by a majority which was almost unparalleled, issued the following statement:

I am deeply sensible of the honor done me by the American people in thus expressing their confidence in what I have done and have tried to do. I appreciate to the full the solemn responsibility this confidence imposes upon me, and I shall do all that in my power lies not to forfeit it. On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and a half years, and this three and a half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance, and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

From that period to the present time President Roosevelt has not only not deviated from his decision thus announced but has taken every occasion to reiterate it. He has told innumerable callers at the White House that he would not be a candidate under any circumstances; he emphasized his position at a semi-public dinner in Washington last winter; and he has called the attention of each one of his correspondents to his declaration above quoted. People who believe that Mr. Roosevelt can be forced to stultify himself do not know him. They fail to estimate rightly his high appreciation of his own word of honor. He is a

man who regards with the utmost sacredness every obligation, and to insinuate that he is capable of deception, political or otherwise, is simply to show complete ignorance of his character. Consequently, it may be set down once for all that the Republican party must seek another candidate than Mr. Roosevelt, even though it believes that the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt would insure success.

The programme for the Democratic party seems to be definitely settled. Mr. Bryan is to be the Presidential nominee, although, as the New York *Sun* points out, the nomination which is conceded to him is due very largely to Democratic apathy. The *Sun*, by the way, is endeavoring to arouse interest in other leading Democrats, and has recently eulogized Senator Daniel, of Virginia, and Senator Culberson, of Texas. It does not appear, however, that the *Sun* is making much headway in breaking down the Bryan strength, and up to the present time there is certainly no crystallization of strength around any other name.

**Democratic
Apathy and
Mr. Bryan**

Mr. Bryan, who has been twice defeated, may not want to jeopardize his party for the third time, or it may be that before the convention is held a goodly number of his party may themselves question the wisdom of his nomination. In that remote but not impossible contingency two men seem to be regarded with most favor—Judge Gray, of Delaware, in the East, and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, in the West. Judge Gray is a Democrat of the old school. He entered public life as a United States Senator in 1885, and during his fourteen years of service was identified largely with foreign affairs. He came into especial prominence, however, through his devotion to President Cleveland, and it was with especial reference to him that Senator Morgan, of Alabama, applied the term of "Cleveland cuckoo." In the great campaign of 1896 Judge Gray was against Bryan, openly affiliating with the gold-standard Democrats. It would be a remarkable corollary on the mutability of Democratic principles if Judge Gray should be nominated. Even if he should be named, the probability that he would meet a fate similar to that experienced by Judge Parker, of New York, makes the effort to nominate him hardly worthy of serious consideration.

Some of these days, if not next year, the attention of the Democratic party will be attracted to the man who is serving his second term as Governor of Minnesota. John A. Johnson is a Democrat who has invaded a stronghold of Republicanism and achieved a remarkable victory. He is a typical example of the self-made man. Of Swedish descent, he experienced in the early years of his life all the disadvantages of poverty.

His education was necessarily limited, especially as he was compelled to go to work at an early age to help support his mother, who had been deserted by a dissolute husband. In his early struggles to make headway in the world, Governor Johnson laid the foundation of a sterling character; and when opportunity made him the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, his many excellent qualities, and, above all, his unquestioned integrity, brought him success at the polls. His re-election followed as a matter of course; and his career as governor has demonstrated that he may well be considered as in the Presidential class. From the Democratic point of view he is particularly available, for he believes in the principles which have become a part, apparently, of the Democratic faith. He does not go as far as Mr. Bryan in suggesting Government ownership of railroads, but in his last message to the legislature he proposed a reduction of passenger rates to two cents a mile and recommended that stringent laws be passed, in harmony with those of the general Government, relating to interstate commerce, "which would serve to make impossible the granting of rebates and special privileges to classes in the handling of State business." He favors an income tax; he would have a heavy license tax imposed upon corporations; he advises the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for a direct initiative and referendum; and, in fact, he is *en rapport* with every modern Democratic tenet. As a Presidential possibility he is handicapped by the fact that the East is totally ignorant of him. It is doubtful whether he has ever met even a small proportion of the prominent Democrats of the East; but in the Northwest, where his great triumph in bringing Minnesota into the Democratic column gave him enormous prestige, and where his administration has been marked by universal approval, he fills a considerable portion of the political horizon.

Mr. Bryan has not advanced his own cause by his advocacy of Government ownership of railroads and of the initiative and referendum. It is true that he has recently taken occasion to emphasize the fact that in his Madison Square Garden speech he referred to Government ownership as an "ultimate" solution of the railroad problem and not as an immediate question. "I am not sure," he says, "that the people are ready to consider the question of public ownership, and until they are ready to consider that question the interest is centred in regulation." In other words, Mr. Bryan is not anxious to make Government ownership an issue at the present time—a very wise decision in view of the criticism which his declaration has elicited. In the matter of regulation, however,

**Government
Ownership
of Railroads**

he will find enthusiastic support, especially when he tempers the strictness of regulation to a point where the latter "will not prevent a reasonable return on money invested." This is a legitimate and defensible position, while the advocacy of Government ownership opens up a wide field for honest disagreement. Even if the economic side of the question be not taken into consideration, the ownership of the trunk lines by the Government, with a consequent increase in the offices to be filled by executive appointment, and a retinue of employees dependent for their daily bread upon the party in power, would introduce a political factor into our Government which might lead to unexpected and disastrous results. However, Government ownership of railroads is, as Mr. Bryan says, an ultimate and not an immediate question, and the subject does not require discussion.

The initiative and referendum are an entirely different matter. It is, in this country, a distinctly Populistic idea and was first advocated by the Populists in their national convention. Mr. Bryan did not attempt to force it upon the Democratic party when he practically dictated the platforms at Chicago in 1896 and at St. Louis in 1900, but unquestionably a very large number of Democrats view the system with favor. In a certain sense the referendum is already recognized in this country because no Constitutional amendment becomes effective until after it has been ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States. An initiative is also suggested in the clause which directs the assembling of a convention to amend the Constitution whenever the same shall be requested by two thirds of the States. Mr. Bryan has not thus far elaborated his idea, so that it is impossible to determine to what extent he would put his suggestion into practical operation. The only object-lesson is to be found in Switzerland, where the initiative and referendum have been in force for about half a century. In some of the Swiss cantons laws as well as constitutional amendments are submitted to the people after they have been enacted, and the verdict has not always been in accord with the legislative action. There are two forms of referendum, one optional and the other obligatory. The first submits to the people only those measures of a general character for which the referendum is asked, while the other works arbitrarily, the people being given the final voice without any appeal upon their part. Experience has shown that where every law is submitted to the people it is difficult to excite public interest, and the number of votes cast is in slight proportion as compared with the voting population. It has also developed in Switzerland that the referendum is invoked much more frequently than the initiative. In this connection an interesting fact is asserted by a recent writer upon the subject. It is said that the net result of the initiative during twenty-four

years in the great democratic canton of Zurich was the enactment of only three laws to which the legislature was opposed, and every one of the three was of doubtful value.

The conditions in Switzerland are so different from those obtaining in the United States that it is extremely difficult to judge whether a system which has operated there more or less successfully can be practical here. The idea is one that will bear thorough discussion, but whether it will ever prove a potent campaign issue is doubtful.

Federal Control of Corporations

The activity manifested by President Roosevelt in regulating the railroads and in curbing the power of the trusts has given impetus to kindred legislation in every State. The legislatures which are now or which recently have been in session have either enacted or have had under serious consideration measures providing for cheaper railroad fares or for State control of public service corporations. Never before in their history have the railroads been brought face to face with so much adverse legislation. If, as was formerly asserted, they controlled State legislatures, the period of that control belongs to the past. To-day they are helpless before the onslaught of bills affecting their revenues and management. In the New York legislature alone there have been introduced more than one hundred bills relating to railroads, several of these measures proposing a flat rate of two cents a mile. Precedent for the enactment of one of these latter bills has been set in several States. Nebraska, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania are among the States which have enacted a two-cent rate. In Pennsylvania the Philadelphia and Reading road has retaliated by increasing the price of commutation tickets and proposes to test the law in the courts, alleging that it practically means confiscation. In North Carolina, Alabama, and North Dakota the rate has been fixed at two and a half cents. The South Dakota legislature, during the session recently ended, enacted laws prohibiting the giving of railroad passes or other favors; prohibiting railroads from making campaign contributions; authorizing the State Railroad Commission to make a passenger rate schedule not to exceed two and a half cents per mile; prohibiting railroad employees to work longer periods than sixteen hours, followed by eight hours' rest, except in case of storm or accident; and a reciprocal demurrage act, fixing the amount of damages to be paid by the roads or shippers for delay in furnishing or unloading cars. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly every other State legislature dealt with the railroad situation with almost equal thoroughness.

In fact, the antagonism to corporations—and especially railroad corporations—is so widespread as to excite comment and undoubtedly accounts in large degree for the era of depression which has prevailed in Wall Street. From a political point of view, this opposition presages a bitter struggle in the next Presidential campaign on the part of the corporations to save themselves from legislation which may be still more disastrous. The President, in the meanwhile, continues to hew the line. In his latest deliverance, the speech at Indianapolis on Memorial Day, he emphasized his position in his usual vigorous and characteristic manner. “Every federal law dealing with corporations or with railroads,” said the President, “that has been put upon the statute books during the past six years has been a step in advance in the right direction. All action taken by the administration under these and the pre-existing laws has been just and proper.” Certainly there is no tone of apology or retraction in this declaration, no evidence that the President proposes to change in jot or tittle the policy upon which he has entered. Indeed we have his own assurance that “there will be no halt in the forward movement toward a full development of this policy.” We have, further, a definite statement as to the result which the President desires to accomplish. “There must be vested in the federal Government,” he says, “a full power of supervision and control over the railways doing interstate business, a power in many respects analogous to and as complete as that the Government exercises over the national banks.” The President aims directly at the abolition of over-capitalization. He desires, also, to secure complete publicity of the affairs of the railroads and, indeed, advocates national incorporation as one method of obtaining federal supervision over the future issuance of stocks and bonds. More than this, he would extend the ægis of federal power over railroads operating entirely within the States, finding warrant therefor in that clause of the Constitution which grants to the national Government power to establish post roads, “and therefore, by necessary implication,” he adds, “power to take all action necessary in order to keep them at the highest point of efficiency.” This is, to say the least, a very liberal construction of the Constitution in regard to federal power, and will form the text for discussion in Congress next winter. We may expect, also, that the President will take occasion to present his idea in more complete fashion and that he will ask Congress to enact legislation along the lines of his declared policy. The President’s courage in dealing with the railroad situation will undoubtedly appeal strongly to the popular mind, even though his suggestion as to federal jurisdiction over State roads may not be universally accepted.

The absolute lack of a definite political issue for the next campaign seems to weigh upon the minds of Democratic leaders. Henry Watter-son advises that the party shall adopt "Back to the Constitution" as its battle cry. He regards it as "a kind of irony of fate that the Democratic party should be so ill prepared to take advantage of the situation," and he lauds the Constitution as a document which is still vital, "although all parties, more or less, have deflected from its mandates and teachings." He would have the Democrats take up the gage against that party which is committed to a defiance of the Constitution, believing that this defiance would stir the enthusiasm of the American voters. Senator Rayner, of Maryland, evidently had the same idea in his mind when, in the course of a speech at the Parker-Jefferson dinner in New York, after declaring that the next Democratic platform should be brief and pertinent, including a plank for a low tariff and for commercial reciprocity with the trading nations of the world, he added:

I would then add a plank declaring that there is no such thing as an unwritten constitution of the United States. . . . In obedience to the Constitution, I would then unequivocally declare for the supremacy of the States and not yield the smallest portion of their sovereign rights over matters of local and domestic concern that lie clearly within their province and jurisdiction.

With all due respect to these eminent gentlemen, it would seem as if there would be great difficulty in arousing the people on this question of the rights of the States. It was pointed out in the last issue of THE FORUM that the great mass of the American people are demanding an extension rather than a diminution of federal control. The question, too, is an abstract one, lacking the personal interest which is so essential in stimulating deep feeling. There is a small proportion of thoughtful men who are honestly concerned in restricting federal control and who would insure to the States the largest degree of authority. The bulk of the voters, however, know little about the relations of the States to the federal Government, and they care less.

There is one subject, on the other hand, which comes into the closest and most intimate relation to every citizen. This is the tariff. The duties imposed by law upon imports into the United States affect food, clothing, wages, and, in fact, each item of daily existence. There is, therefore, much wisdom in the declaration of ex-President Grover Cleveland.

The Issue of Tariff Reform

"It behooves Democrats," he says, "to lose no time in bringing to the front the issue of tariff reform and in focussing the attention of the country upon it. Tariff reform is the issue that will clarify the atmosphere, solidify the friends of Democracy, and bring victory to the

party." It is true that the record of the Democrats in connection with the tariff has not been one to which they can point with pride. The era of industrial depression in 1893 was not, in my opinion, due to the operation of the Sherman silver-purchasing law as much as it was to the stagnation caused by the closing of thousands of factories while the manufacturers waited for the Democratic tariff bill to become a law. The measure itself, it will be remembered, led Mr. Cleveland to make charges of "perfidy and dishonor" against certain members of his party, and the incidents which attended the passage of the bill were certainly not calculated to bring credit upon the then dominant party. At the same time conditions have been reached in this country which cause public unrest. The cost of the necessities of life, nearly all controlled by trusts, was never so high as to-day, and thousands upon thousands of people exist only by the exercise of an economy which amounts almost to deprivation. If, as Mr. Cleveland asserts, the tariff is the father of the trusts, and if in it "all forms of corporate injustice find their origin and their refuge," it is easy to appreciate the possibility of really stirring the public mind in the direction of reform. It is not the province of this article to argue the antagonistic sides of the tariff question. We are simply discussing the available issues for the Democratic party; and from this point of view it must be admitted that a reform in the tariff is almost the sole topic which will personally appeal to the millions of voters in the land.

The fact that this situation is being recognized by certain leading Republicans who have hitherto either been silent upon the subject or have opposed any change in the tariff is significant. The interview in which Senator Hopkins, of Illinois, asserted that Speaker Cannon was not a "standpatter" aroused more comment than any political utterance of recent months; while the candidacy of Secretary Taft has been assisted rather than retarded by the charge made against him by the American Protective Tariff League that he is in favor of revision. The influential Republican newspapers are warning the leaders of their party not to disregard the growing demand for reform. "When so conservative a man as Speaker Cannon recognizes the duty of conforming to new conditions," says the *Philadelphia Press*, "the current of feeling cannot be mistaken." The *Record* of the same city points out that Massachusetts elected a Democratic governor on the tariff reform issue at the same election which gave the electoral votes of the State to Mr. Roosevelt. The National Association of Manufacturers sees the handwriting on the wall and has called upon the Republican party to revise the tariff, knowing that if this is not done the schedules will

be changed by a hostile Congress. Even in rock-ribbed Republican Maine there is great unrest over the tariff, while the disaffection in the Northwest has been growing for years. The Democratic party will certainly not be alive to its greatest opportunity if it does not push the tariff question to the front in the next campaign. It may not win even with that issue, but it has none other that will appeal so forcibly to the bulk of the American voters.

In this connection it may be remarked that any effort to divorce the tariff from politics is, in the language of the late Senator Ingalls, an iridescent dream. The National Association of Manufacturers, while asking for revision, adopted a declaration to the effect that to secure an intelligent revision of the tariff laws there should be established a non-partisan tariff commission, not unlike the present Interstate Commerce Commission, which should investigate thoroughly and scientifically the various schedules and from time to time submit their conclusions in the form of recommendations to Congress and the President. It is curious that men of the intelligence indicated by membership in the association should be so blind to the fundamental principles upon which our Government rests as to offer seriously this proposition. It would be impossible, in the first place, to secure a non-partisan commission. Each member of the commission would be either a Republican or a Democrat and, as such, would hold either to the protective or the tariff-for-revenue-only idea. Even should the commission agree, however, there is no way by which its findings could be made effective until after they had been submitted to Congress and enacted into law. Here, again, politics would be interjected into the consideration of the question. The duty of determining the character and even the details of the tariff rests with the Representatives of the people, who would not be likely to surrender this prerogative. In fact, there was a tariff commission in 1883 and its recommendations were unheeded. A similar fate would await the work of any other tariff commission; while the suggestion that the schedules be scientifically investigated is absurd, considering the alertness of the Representatives in Congress to guard the interests of their particular sections. In addition to all this, the policy to be followed in the preparation of the tariff schedules is one that must be decided by the people, and as long as this condition of affairs exists and as long as opposing parties hold diverse views upon this economic question, the tariff will be a factor in every political campaign.

When the new Congress assembles next December the members of the Democratic minority in the House will attempt to institute some reforms. They will not, of course, be successful, but they desire to go

upon record. Some of the changes to be supported by them are worthy of consideration.

In the first place they propose to secure the adoption in the Democratic caucus of a rule abolishing the present system whereby the minority leader on the floor fills the minority places on the various committees, and substituting therefor a steering committee of nine members which shall name the Democratic assignments to the committees. In the last Congress Representative John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader, was intrusted by Speaker Cannon with the task of assigning his fellow-Democrats. This one-man power does not appeal to the Democrats. They think it savors too much of the Republican system. Whether Speaker Cannon will be influenced by the action of the Democratic caucus is a question not yet determined. It is doubtful whether he has been consulted. The matter being entirely in his own hands, the probability is that he would acquiesce in any arrangement which concerns only the Democratic minority.

When the Democrats go beyond this, however, and announce their intention of advocating a rule that any bill which is favored by a majority of the membership of the House shall be allowed by the Speaker to come before the House for consideration, they enter upon a broad and interesting field. The suggestion seems eminently proper and yet it is safe to say that it will not be adopted. The Speaker, whether he be Mr. Cannon or any one else, is not likely to yield without a struggle the enormous power which is now reposed in the occupant of the Speaker's chair, and if the future is to be judged by the past, the wish of the Speaker will be the law of the House. A very notable instance of the disregard of the wishes of a majority of the House occurred during the term of the late Thomas B. Reed, when he declined to allow consideration of a bill initiating the isthmian canal enterprise notwithstanding the fact that nearly the entire House formally requested him to do so. It is strange that such power is given to the Speaker and still more strange that the Representatives of the people acquiesce in the system. Very many of them protest in private, but no one has yet proved powerful enough to organize effective opposition. Even now there are rumors that the next Congress will witness an attack upon the present rules; but the probability is that when the members assemble the effort will fail to materialize.

It would seem, however, as if there ought to be a change in the rules. Under the present system the Speaker is the autocrat of Congress. He appoints the committees in consonance with his own personal

views; through the exercise of his authority to recognize members he can ignore Representatives who propose legislation which he does not favor; and through the committee on rules, which, in its last analysis, is himself, he controls the consideration of all measures of importance. In other words, the House of Representatives no longer consists of 356 members, but of one man, the Speaker. It is a condition which is un-Republican, un-Democratic, and un-American. The criticism which it invites is not directed against Mr. Cannon, who will, undoubtedly, be again chosen to wield the gavel, and who is deservedly popular. The question is not one of personality but of a system. There ought to be a larger latitude for the exercise of the responsibility which rests upon each member of Congress as the Representative of a constituent part of the great republic. As it is now, individuality is suppressed and independence is apt to be disastrous.

The only foundation upon which the present method rests is that it prevents unseemly filibustering and accomplishes results. In a sense this is true. The days of bitter partisan struggles in the House have passed away. It would be impossible at the present time to reproduce the days spent in dilatory roll-calls and the nights spent in vain efforts to secure a quorum. Contests such as marked the Democratic opposition to the effort to place the federal army at the polls or Republican antagonism to free-trade legislation do not now occur because measures are placed before the House by order of the committee on rules and no opportunity for filibustering opposition is allowed. It is true that in the olden days much time was apparently wasted; but it is also true that when a filibustering campaign was inaugurated the reasons for and against the measure which excited the contest became emphasized to the entire country, and thus political issues were formulated. In short, filibustering was not without its value. It served to attract widespread attention to the legislation which the dominant party was seeking to enact, and if the principle involved was sufficiently vital to warrant prolonged struggle the subject was thoroughly discussed throughout the country as long as the filibuster lasted. In the present age of expeditious and summary business action, however, it is not likely that there will be a return to the ancient filibuster; and the problem which presents itself, therefore, is, how can the domination of the Speaker be lessened without interfering with the orderly and steady transaction of Congressional affairs? Some of the leading men in Congress are now devoting themselves to a solution of this problem; and when they come together next December they hope to have some suggestions which will produce practical and beneficial results.

Although the election of delegates to the next national conventions will not occur until next spring, the time is appropriate for a discussion of the question whether or not the present plan of holding conventions cannot be materially improved.

It has been my fortune to have attended some ten or a dozen national political conventions, and it is safe to say that the proceedings in each of them have been seriously retarded if not strongly influenced by the crowd that was in attendance. In an assemblage of twenty thousand people even the most stentorian presiding officer cannot secure good order, and anything like quiet and dignified attention on the part of the delegates is almost impossible. The most casual observer at one of these conventions must have been impressed with the difficulties that constantly beset the chairman, while during the period of nominating speeches the enthusiastic and frequently partisan throng has practically taken possession of the auditorium. At more than one convention the judicious distribution of tickets, so that the galleries might be thronged with noisy supporters of some particular candidate, has not been without its effect in influencing the delegates. The presence of the vast crowd, with its concomitant noise and disorder, is not in harmony with the important purpose which brings the delegates together. It would seem better to have the latter assemble in a hall not more than sufficiently large to accommodate their number, and there, with dignity and self-restraint, the nominees of the party could be selected. The proceedings would be deliberate and thoughtful; the presentation of the party policies and party candidates would not be characterized by bombast and display; and the delegates would be impressed with the dignity and importance of the occasion.

It may be said that without a convention characterized by brass bands and noisy demonstrations the delegates would not be spurred up to a proper degree of enthusiasm and that, indeed, a wet blanket would be thrown over the party at the very beginning of a campaign. I do not believe that this assertion is well founded. In the earlier days of the republic, and even as late as the Civil War, there were no vast gatherings at national conventions, and the campaigns did not lack in fervor or loyalty. At any rate, it might be a good experiment to abolish the crowds which attend a national convention and determine whether or not the business of the convention can be conducted in orderly fashion.

Henry Litchfield West.

**A Proposed
Convention
Reform**

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ENGLAND'S COLONIAL PROBLEMS AND JAPANESE AMBITIONS

BY A. MAURICE LOW

It is tradition in British politics that the Liberal party is a "Little England" party and treats the Colonies as the Cinderella in the Imperial household, while the Conservatives believe in Imperialism and see in the Colonies the perpetuation and rejuvenation of the Empire. Parties, like individuals, are the creatures of their traditions and are unconsciously influenced by their training. No British statesman to-day can afford to assume the contemptuous attitude toward the Colonies that Cobden did, for example, but Cobdenism still survives in Liberal councils and a Liberal government. The conference of the premiers of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain recently concluded in London has missed its greatest opportunity to bring about the federation of the Empire.

At the very outset of the conference a dispute as to its official title marked the division between the Empire and England. It may seem of no consequence whether the gathering should be known as the "Imperial Conference" or the "Imperial Council"; to the ordinary reader it may seem only the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, but that question of name was vital and expressed in a single word the hopes and aspirations on the one side—more important than that even, the statesmanship, the vision, and the imagination to federate the loosely knit British Empire—and on the other, the selfish, unimaginative, narrow view of bureaucracy, to whom the Colonies are still children, and children so unruly and so conscious of their own strength that parental discipline must be exercised lightly to preserve the fiction of authority. There is this difference between the "Imperialist" and the "Little Englander." The former recognizes and admits that the Colonies are subject to the British flag purely because they elect to be; the latter knows it but will not acknowledge it. One need not stop to ask on which side is to be found statesmanship, or which school is the best guarantee for the maintenance intact of the Empire. Never again will any British Government attempt to coerce a British self-governing colony. The times of George III. and Lord North have gone, never to return. To-day the only

bonds that link the Empire are those of mutual interest, and whenever the people of Canada or Australia or any other self-governing colony feel convinced that their interests will be advanced by independence or union with any other country, separation will come about, without the clash of arms or the shedding of blood. Nevermore will Englishmen face Englishmen in hostile array.

The genesis of the conference dates back to 1887, when the first conference was held, which was purely incidental to Queen Victoria's jubilee, and was, if one may use the expression without disrespect, merely a side-show to an imperial pageant. It was almost oriental in its conception, this scheme to bring to the capital of the world's empire the real rulers of sea-flung colonies and to show to the world that the might of the Empire rested on the spirit of democracy. It was theatrical enough, and withal so essentially practical that it would have delighted the heart of Lord Beaconsfield, who was never so happy as when he pulled off a great *coup* that, seemingly bizarre, was worthy of a man with no more imagination than that of a jellyfish. Ten years later there was a second conference, but again the premiers assembled in London to lend dignity to the second jubilee of the Queen, and again in 1902 they met, brought together to be officially represented at the coronation of King Edward rather than assembled to discuss their own affairs. The conference held this year was the first when the real purpose was the consideration of the affairs of the Empire.

Unofficially named the Colonial Conference, it was seen at once that the name was a misnomer, as the objects were Imperial rather than Colonial. As usual there were two elements, the Progressives and the Conservatives. The former, comprising the prime ministers of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal, wanted the conference to develop into an imperial council; the creation of a body in which the Empire would be represented by delegates, so that the entire Empire could be brought together in one room and across the table mutual differences could be reconciled, and concessions, sacrifices even, made when it was for the good of the Empire at large. The Conservatives, supported by Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, and ably seconded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, and General Botha, the leader of the Boers in the war against Great Britain and now the first Premier of the self-governing colony of the Transvaal, opposed the idea of a council and approved the existing system by which the Colonial Office is supreme.

It is only rarely one is reminded of the extremely complicated and cumbersome machinery by which the British Empire is governed. Parliament rules the United Kingdom; the Colonial Office rules the

Colonies, but the self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia, and the others, while nominally under the control of the Colonial Office, have their own parliaments and their own responsible ministers, who are subject not in the least to the control of the Colonial Office or the crown, but solely to the political party that has called them into power. Yet in each colony there is a governor-general nominally appointed by the crown, but in fact by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is the representative of the crown; but the governor-general has no real power, as all power is centred in the hands of the colonial prime minister as the representative of the people. In the other colonies, Jamaica for instance, which is a crown colony and not a self-governing colony, the seat of authority is in London, as the governor, appointed by the British Government, is assisted by a council consisting partly of appointed and partly of elected members; but as the appointed members are in a majority the government, which is the governor and his official members of the council, controls the situation. India, which is not a colony but a dependency, is governed by the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet, with his office in London, and is never required officially to visit India; and the Secretary is represented in India by the Viceroy, who is assisted by a council, the members of which are appointed by the Government. The real government of India is the Viceroy, subject only to the veto of the Secretary of State, who is the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. The Viceroy of India has perhaps more autocratic power than any ruler in the world, and it is only when his policy is opposed to that of the British Government that he meets resistance.

The complaint made by the reformers—a very just one it seems to the writer with only an imperfect knowledge of Colonial Office methods and red-tape bureaucracy—is that the Colonial Office as a rule has only slight sympathy with the Colonies and an even smaller understanding of their needs. No matter how able the Secretary of State for the Colonies may be and how well organized his office, this is almost inevitable.

The Secretary is compelled to rely on his subordinates. His subordinates, constituting the permanent secretarial staff, get into a rut and are too far removed from the Colonies to be in touch with them and to be able to look at things eye to eye with the colonial. Perhaps nothing could more quickly bring about a better understanding than an interchange of officials between the Colonial Office in London and the Colonies, by which a certain number of Englishmen serve for a few years in the Colonies and then return to London, in the interval their places being filled by Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, who when they returned to their own countries would have a more sympathetic comprehension of

the difficulties of government and a personal knowledge which now they acquire only at second hand.

Although the reformers were not able to commit the Government to the establishment of a council of the Empire, at least a beginning has been made in that direction. The conference adopted these resolutions:

**The Empire
in One Room**

That it will be to the advantage of the Empire if a Conference, to be called the Imperial Conference, is held every four years, at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between his Majesty's Government and his Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be *ex officio* president, and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions *ex officio* members of the Conference. The Secretary of State for the Colonies will be an *ex officio* member of the Conference and will take the chair in the absence of the president. He will arrange for such Imperial Conferences after communication with the Prime Ministers of the respective Dominions. Such other Ministers as the respective Governments may appoint will also be members of the Conference—it being understood that, except by special permission of the Conference, each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and that each Government will have only one vote.

That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments represented shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been, or may be subject for discussion, by means of a permanent secretarial staff charged, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Conference, of attending to its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

That upon matters of importance requiring consultation between two or more Governments which cannot conveniently be postponed until the next Conference, or involving subjects of a minor character, or such as call for detailed consideration, subsidiary conferences should be held between representatives of the Governments concerned, especially chosen for the purpose.

It would have been better if an independent office had been created to act as the intermediary between the various governments rather than to make it an adjunct of the Colonial Office, but complete reform is not to be expected at once. A very important step has been taken, and it will now be easier to take the next and even more advanced step when the next conference is held four years hence.

But what has the conference really accomplished and in what way has it served to rivet the bonds of empire? Lord Elgin at the close of the conference said it had been a success "from the point of view of business." The point of view is everything, and the Colonial Office

point of view is not that of the colonial premiers, for in practical business results the conference produced nothing, and it was solely in the hope of doing business that the premiers came from across the seas. Two things a majority of the premiers hoped to see accomplished. One was a system of imperial preference, an imperial *zollverein* or protective system within the Empire, by which the Colonies should be given access to the home market on more advantageous terms than those accorded to nations not part of the Empire; the other was the granting of subsidies by the imperial Government to ocean steamship lines so as to bring the colonial producers closer to the British market and keep the carrying trade of the Empire under the British flag. Both projects were negatived, although they were urged with great vigor by Mr. Alfred Deakin, the Prime Minister of Australia, who has made a profound impression upon the British public by his oratory, his ability, and the interpretation he gives to imperialism. But it was hardly to be expected that a government elected on a free-trade platform in a campaign when free trade as opposed to a limited measure of protection was the great issue before the electorate could be induced to nibble at protection no matter how sugar-coated. Mr. Deakin offered on behalf of his government and the other colonies supporting preference a resolution "that it is desirable that the United Kingdom grant preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies." Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying for the Government, showed that further discussion of the question would be merely a waste of time. The people of England, he said, had declared in favor of free trade and the Government could accept no infringement of that policy. It was a question of principle and there could be no compromise.

Nor was anything accomplished in the way of subsidies. The Government showed sympathy with the proposal to increase mail and shipping facilities, but when it came to translating that sympathy into action the Government discovered that it could not conscientiously support any scheme involving subsidies, and without a money grant from the imperial treasury sympathy is of little value. In short, in the way of practical business the conference accomplished little if anything, and there is no minimizing the fact that with the exception of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and General Botha the premiers left England disappointed and somewhat chagrined, and this feeling was shown by the sympathy of the conference with Sir Robert Bond, the Premier of Newfoundland, who succeeded in bringing the fisheries dispute with the United States before the conference. He pointed out that an attempt on the part of the British Government to override or abrogate a local statute was in derogation of autonomous rights, and he urged upon the Government to protect the

fishing rights of Newfoundland for the enjoyment of the colonists. Lord Elgin regretted the inability of the Government to do anything in the matter, and Sir Robert Bond is reported to have made a somewhat passionate reply, telling the Colonial Secretary, "this is a gross humiliation and neglect which you would not dare offer to a colony powerful enough to be able to give effect to its resentment. It is most unjust, and I repeat again that you are deliberately neglecting us for the sake of American interests." While it is evident that the sympathy of the conference was with Sir Robert Bond rather than with Lord Elgin, the matter was not one which in any way came before the conference, although its effect will probably be to make the Colonies more tenacious of their rights and less disposed to yield them when those rights are involved in treaty stipulations; and it would not be surprising if this feeling should be reflected in the pending negotiations between the United States and Great Britain to settle the disputed questions between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Some time ago it was current belief that Canada was as anxious as the United States to settle questions that have vexed the three governments for a great many years, but it is now understood that while Canada will not oppose a settlement it will have to be on her own terms, and she shows such indifference that the Foreign and Colonial Offices as well as the State Department are somewhat discouraged. Much as the present British Government desires to maintain the most amicable relations with the United States it will not make the mistake of attempting to purchase those relations at the price of coercing Canada, and, in fact, it would be difficult to coerce Canada even if the inclination existed. Canada as a colony is not possessed of the inherent right of sovereignty, the treaty-making power, but while nominally treaties affecting the Dominion are made through the British Foreign Office they must meet with the approval of Canada. The time will undoubtedly come when Canada will insist upon negotiating her own treaties just as she now makes her own tariffs, and when that time comes it will cut away another strand from the frail rope that binds the Dominion to the motherland, but British statesmen are doing nothing recklessly to hasten events that destiny cannot escape. For the present Canada asks nothing so much as to be let alone. She is prosperous, rapidly growing in wealth and population and beginning to feel the confidence of strength. The time has gone by when Canada would permit herself to be used as a pawn in Anglo-American diplomacy. The legislative act of Newfoundland may be set aside by the home government because Newfoundland is too feeble to resist and too insignificant commercially to offer reprisals, but Canada cannot be thus contemptuously ignored. Colony though she

is, she demands to be treated with the respect due to a nation, and any negotiations between her and the United States must be on a plane of equality; the fact that the United States is richer, stronger, and more populous is not an argument that has weight with Canada.

It has not often been known in British politics that two great bills should be fathered by the same man in two successive sessions and that both should meet with defeat. In the last session Mr. **Ireland Rejects** Augustine Birrell, as the president of the Board of Education, who was a member of the Cabinet and not merely **Birrell** the head of a local municipal board as many Americans **Home Rule** might imagine, after strenuous opposition from the Unionists passed his educational bill through the House of Commons only to find it blocked in the House of Lords. Rather than risk a contest with the upper chamber which might force a dissolution or compel an admission of defeat, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman decided to shelve the bill for the present and to make the Irish "Home Rule" bill the great bill of the session. In the interval between the rising of Parliament and its reassembling a vacancy was created in the office of Chief Secretary of State for Ireland by the appointment of Mr. Bryce as ambassador to the United States, and Mr. Birrell was appointed to the vacancy, who thus became responsible for the passage of the bill in the House.

Called by courtesy "Home Rule," this bill does not in any way aim at giving to the Irish people the management of their own affairs such as is enjoyed by Canadians or Australians, or the local control possessed by American municipalities subject to the general authority exercised by the State legislature. It is not home rule even in a limited form, because Ireland was still to be governed from Westminster; instead of a parliament in Dublin Irish members were to sit in London; the crown was to be represented by the Lord Lieutenant, and the Parliamentary representative of the Government was to be the Chief Secretary, who is a member of the dominant political party. What the bill proposed to do was to take from "Dublin Castle," which is the generic name for the Irish administration, the management and control of certain departments and transfer them to local administrators, which would not essentially change the government of Ireland or vest a large control of their own affairs in the hands of the Irish people. To the Irish it was merely a sop, the "small cake to stop the crying of children when their nurse leaves them for a short time"; to the Unionists it was the entering wedge to the dismemberment of the kingdom. The bill fell far short of the promise held out by the Prime Minister in his reply to the Speech from the Throne at

the opening of the session, when he said: "Are you prepared to deny that the Irish people are entitled to manage their own domestic affairs so long as they do not interfere with ours, and so long as nothing is done to infringe the supremacy of Parliament, and, therefore, the integrity of the connection between the two countries? It does not make any difference whatever in the proper sense of the word in the solidity of the Empire that the Irish people should have what every self-governing colony has—the power to manage their own affairs." That was the policy, the Premier added, that he was supporting, but he admitted the reform could not be brought about at once. "But let us remove," he said, "the more obvious objections to the present system, and let us do it in such a way to be consistent with the production of that large policy. . . . What we want is to enlist the Irish people, and for my part I should not be too fastidious as to the particular manner in which that was done so long as it was an effective scheme for bringing the Irish people into play in the management of their own affairs."

While the bill was naturally a disappointment to the Irish it went as far as the Premier felt justified in going, and a larger measure of self-government would have led to a break in the Cabinet. It is unfortunate that the Irish rejected the bill, as it might perhaps have been the beginning of better things; the English might in time have been induced to give to Ireland a measure at least of that self-government which they have given the Boers, with whom only so recently they were engaged in war; but the Irish have saved all further trouble for some years to come by refusing to accept the bill. At a convention held in Dublin resolutions were adopted rejecting the bill as being "utterly inadequate in its scope and unsatisfactory in its details." The convention records "that nothing can satisfy the national aspiration of Ireland or bring peace and contentment to our people but a measure of self-government which will give the Irish people complete control of their domestic affairs." The Irish Parliamentary party is urged "to oppose the bill in the House of Commons, and to press upon the Government with all their strength and power to introduce a measure for the establishment of a native parliament with a responsible executive having power over all purely Irish affairs."

The rejection of the Birrell bill is the end of all legislation in that direction for the present. The Government has a majority independent of the Irish party to pass the bill through the Commons if that is deemed advisable, but that would be merely a waste of time. To enact legislation for Ireland which the Irish do not want is foolish. The bill has been dropped, and with its premature death there will be another revival of home-rule agitation, with all its distressing consequences.

It is a pity that the Irish permit sentiment to submerge the practical. Sentimentally it is a fine thing to starve rather than to take a half loaf when one believes he is entitled to a whole loaf, but is it business? Mr. Redmond, with that rhetorical facility for which he is noted, said at the convention that "the Liberal party must drop the Rosebery idea and come back to the standard of Gladstone," but that, he must know, is impossible. As a matter of practical politics home rule at a jump is out of the question. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has gone as far as he dared. If this is the ultimate concession that a Liberal premier feels justified in making, what reason has Mr. Redmond to expect more from any other man or party? Obviously he can expect nothing. It is to be regretted that the Irish were not content to experiment at least with the measure offered them by Mr. Birrell.

Recalling the Indian Mutiny

Half a century ago the world was thrilled by the horrors and heroism of the Indian Mutiny. Cawnpore and Lucknow and Delhi recall all the fury of a fanatical people determined to avenge its wrongs and shake off the yoke of the alien conqueror, the superb pluck of a handful of English men and women, the romantic rescue when to the stirring sound of the skirling pipes the besieged garrison shut up in Lucknow heard the tune of "The Campbells are Coming" and knew that relief was at last at hand. And with the raising of the siege of Lucknow the power of Nana Sahib was broken and the India that had been won for England by the valor of Clive and saved by the genius of Warren Hastings rested more firmly than ever in her hands.

But time moves, even in the East, where of all things time is of least consequence. The world has witnessed miracles in the last fifty years, and of all miracles none greater than the might of the white race broken by men of a yellow skin. What has held India, what has enabled a handful of white men scattered over a continent to rule 300,000,000 of Asiatics, what has made it possible for the white man to march triumphant through the dark continents and spread his civilization with the aid of the rifle and the Gatling gun, has been the age-long recollection of the triumph of the Greek over the Persian on the plains of Marathon. That was one of the turning-points in history. On that day the white race established its right to the claim of the superior race, and from that day until Russia went to defeat on the plains of Manchuria before the resistless Japanese no white race has ever lowered its standard before men not of its own color.

The invincibility of the European had long passed into a tradition

which no Oriental disputed. With the resignation of fate almost he accepted as one of the inexorable decrees of the Most High that he was powerless to contend against the white man. Bold men had attempted to defy fate, only to find that fate could not be defied.

Suddenly comes Japan as the Asiatic god in the car. The Orient roused itself from its lethargy and listened. The bazaars hummed with the stories of a brown race, flesh of its flesh, having engaged Russia in battle and defeated her—the Russia that filled the imagination of the East because of her might and mystery. It was incredible, it was unbelievable, at first, but it was true. And if Japan could put her heel on the neck of Russia why might not India bring England to her day of reckoning? The unrest that followed the military success of Japan has been seen in Egypt, where British garrisons have been strengthened; in India, where troops have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency and ball cartridges have been served out to volunteer companies hastily enrolled. From the Nile to the Ganges Islam, the greatest force the world has known, is like a troubled sea whose angry mutterings presage the coming storm.

For some time the native press has been using inflammatory and seditious language and making threats against the Government of India. In Lahore the editors of two native papers were committed to prison for sedition and after conviction, on their way to jail, they were loudly cheered by the natives, who insulted and jostled Europeans. A native barrister was arrested and deported to another province under extraordinary powers exercised by the Viceroy by authority of an act passed in 1818. That the situation is considered grave is shown by the statement made by Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, in replying to questions put to him in the House of Commons. Mr. Morley said:

The latest information from the Punjab shows that the measures taken by the Government of India, with the full consent of his Majesty's Government at home, have sufficed for the maintenance of tranquillity. The city and cantonment of Lahore were on Saturday being patrolled by British and native troops and by the police, and no signs of unusual excitement were observed. The Government of India have ordered the prosecution of a newspaper for publishing a pamphlet (a copy of which, found on a Sikh in London, I hold in my hand) inciting the native troops against the Government. In Eastern Bengal the situation is strained owing to the great bitterness that prevails between Hindus and Mohammedans, the cause of which is to be found in the attempts made by the Hindu agitators to compel the Mohammedans by open violence to abstain from purchasing foreign goods in the markets and fairs, which are extremely numerous in the middle of April. The consequent disorder has assumed a very serious aspect, and created a feeling of great unrest both in the province of Eastern Bengal and in Calcutta. Agitation by seditious speeches in public meetings—a form of disseminating sedition much

more effective and more immediately dangerous among moderately literate people than agitation through the press—is prevalent, and is impossible to suppress owing to the difficulty of obtaining evidence of speeches as delivered in the vernacular.

Mr. Morley explained that to meet the emergency an order in council had been promulgated prohibiting the holding of meetings to discuss political or public matters unless seven days' notice has been given to the superintendent of police; police officers may be deputed to attend meetings to report the speeches; a district magistrate may prohibit a meeting if in his opinion it is likely to promote sedition or disturb public tranquillity; persons taking part in a prohibited meeting shall be punished by six months' imprisonment. "This measure," Mr. Morley significantly added in conclusion, "is considered to be absolutely necessary by the responsible Government in India in the interest of public safety." Members of the opposition, Mr. Redmond among others, showed an inclination to discuss the question, which would have brought on a partisan debate. Mr. Morley appealed to the patriotism of the House to refrain from partisan discussion in these words: "I doubt very much—I speak quite frankly—whether at this moment it is particularly desirable that those in India who are apparently pursuing a course of agitation—I am not criticising them—but I think it is very undesirable that they should have it in their mouths to say that this House is divided."

The English press is fully alive to the dangers of the situation. The London *Morning Post*, which is one of the best-informed journals in Europe on foreign and colonial affairs, and is always conservative and restrained in its discussion of great questions, says:

The differences of temperament which separate the Englishman from the Egyptian or the Indian are little, if anything, greater than those which distinguish these races from the Japanese, and the true lesson which Japan has given to other Oriental races is that progress can only be attained by a profound change in their national character. But considerations that appeal to self-esteem are not logically scrutinized, and it is foolish to suppose that the general content with which British hegemony is accepted is not liable to be disturbed by passing gusts of irritation, or that the good intentions of an alien Government will always secure it against suspicion or misunderstanding. When, as in both India and Egypt, alien rule has relieved the people from gross oppression it is welcomed as the better of two alternatives; but the strength of the welcome will depend upon the memory of the troubles that precede its establishment, and as the past recedes into forgetfulness, the British officer will be regarded less as a protective than as a controlling authority. There is, however, no reason to believe that the mass of the people either in India or in Egypt regard our rule with any active dislike, or that in their hearts they would prefer to be governed by their countrymen—indeed, there are very strong grounds for holding that the contrary is the case. But it is idle to ignore the facts that an alien rule lacks some of the securities

that are enjoyed by a native Government, that its motives are liable to be misunderstood, and that at times when public feeling loses equilibrium it needs special protection against calumnious misrepresentation.

The *Post* points out that the policy adopted by England to raise the standard of her Indian subjects has complicated the problems of government. "The educational policy to which we have deliberately set our hands has accentuated our difficulties by producing in large numbers the voluble demagogue. In schools and colleges the youthful imagination is fed with lessons from European history and politics, and imbibes copious draughts of liberal doctrines which are grotesquely in advance of the real conceptions of the East and are out of all accord with its practical aspirations." The *Post* deems it necessary that "a closer control should be exercised against the spread of sedition in the press, on the platform, and in the class-room," and it urges the Government to "make a more systematic use of the law to check grossly seditious writings in the native newspapers. The law is now treated with open contempt, and the few casual prosecutions that have been instituted have merely had the effect of investing two or three editors with the halo of martyrdom."

The best-informed authorities on India agree that there is no danger of another Indian mutiny unless England should be beaten by a foreign foe, as Russia was beaten by Japan. In that case, as one writer says, "we might as well clear out of India at once." England's position in India is probably reasonably secure so long as the military resources of the Empire are not taxed elsewhere, but let her once engage in a life-and-death struggle, and let that struggle go against her, and then we shall probably see an uprising in India that England will find impossible to put down with her own resources. Which is perhaps what Lord Lansdowne had in mind when he concluded the second treaty of alliance with Japan by which Japan agrees to come to England's assistance in the event of her Indian empire being threatened.

By the resignation of Lord Cromer as British diplomatic agent at Cairo Great Britain loses the services of her greatest proconsul. Lord

**Lord Cromer
and the
Big Stick** Cromer retires because of ill health, having spent forty-nine years in the services of his Government, for twenty-five of which he has been virtually the master of Egypt. But he has been not alone its master. He has been its maker. When he first went to Egypt it was one of the worst governed of all the Turkish provinces, the land was oppressed, its people were crushed under a despotic and corrupt government. What he has done reads almost like a miracle. Industrially,

politically, socially, morally he has made not only a new Egypt but a new people. It was believed at one time that there was no man lower in the social scale than the Egyptian fellah, and he was regarded as so utterly destitute of physical courage that as a soldier he was deemed impossible. Yet so complete has been his regeneration, so thoroughly has Egypt been transformed in the last quarter of a century, that Kitchener with the help of a few subordinates and a handful of English sergeants has made excellent fighting material out of the fellaheen and hammered them so effectively into shape that they, under the command of their British officers, contributed no small share to the final smashing of the Mahdi.

Lord Cromer leaves Egypt morally sound and materially prosperous. Never was life so sacred and property so secure. One would think that the Egyptians, the men to whom have come peace and protection by his beneficent rule, would mourn the departure of Lord Cromer, but, on the contrary, they rejoice, for mild as has been his administration the velvet hand has rested lightly in the glove of iron, and Abbas Pasha, Khedive of Egypt by the grace of England, has more than once felt that velvet hand close on him with a grip of steel. And as in India so in Egypt. The policy that has raised Egypt in the scale of civilization, that has made the peasant a man, that has taught the younger generation to understand the blessings of liberty, has made him dissatisfied with alien rule. He is educated enough to understand a little and not educated enough to understand much. He talks of "freedom," of "Egypt for the Egyptians," without really knowing what the words mean, and as in India so in Egypt there is much unrest which threatens danger. So serious was the situation a short time ago that vigorous measures were adopted and the British army of occupation was reinforced in view of emergencies. Lord Cromer has always indulged in plain speaking with the Khedive and never hesitated to let him know that while he was nominally ruler of Egypt the real government of Egypt was England. Typical of his methods of dealing with the Khedive the story is told that a year or so ago Lord Cromer wanted to institute certain reforms which nominally required the sanction of the Khedive. Abbas Pasha was contumacious and demanded an equivalent. After a reasonable time had elapsed Lord Cromer one morning invited the Khedive to call on him at his palace and rather bluntly told him that his sanction must be given to the reforms.

"And what if I refuse?" his Highness somewhat carelessly asked.

"Will your Highness kindly look out of the window?" Lord Cromer suavely replied.

The two men crossed the room and the Khedive looked out of the

window. There below the big courtyard was packed with English troops. The Khedive looked and understood. He was ruler of Egypt, vassal of the Sultan, but the courtyard filled with English troops and the man standing by his side whose word would put those troops in motion was the real power that governed Egypt, before which the Khedive as well as the Sultan had to bow in submission.

Prior to his departure from Cairo Lord Cromer delivered a farewell address in which he lectured the Khedive and gave him to understand that his course had not met with the approval of the British Government. After praising the Khedive's father and those Egyptians and Europeans who had assisted him, Lord Cromer pointedly observed:

"His Highness might show his coreligionists that the Mohammedan law courts can be reformed without in any way shaking the pillars of the Moslem faith. He can sternly repress the proceedings of the self-seeking, irresponsible advisers who cluster round an Oriental court, and whose influence is so detrimental to public morality. He can use his influence to encourage true reformers who have the well-being of the country earnestly at heart. If, as I trust will be the case, his Highness will do these things, he will earn the gratitude and respect of every class in this country."

The world waits with a good deal of interest the publication of the text of the recently concluded Franco-Japanese convention. According to a statement made by the French Foreign Minister the purpose of the *entente* is to secure additional guarantees for the maintenance of peace in the Far East, being simply a logical continuation of France's policy of concluding arrangements designed to prevent complications wherever France has special interests.

Japanese Diplomacy

The discussions have shown that France and Japan hold the same views with respect to China. While the agreement will not go so far as the Anglo-Japanese treaty, it will remove any existing uneasiness regarding the security of the French possessions in the Far East. The new Russo-Japanese treaty will, it is also believed, embody similar features, so four nations will soon have practically entered into a similar undertaking not to interfere with each other's interests in the Far East.

Until we know the precise nature of the "guarantees" to which M. Pichon refers it will not be possible to determine whether France and Japan have entered into an alliance similar to that which exists between Great Britain and Japan, or whether it is merely an agreement by which France keeps what she has in the Far East with the consent of

Japan. More likely it is the latter. Japan has little to fear from France, while France is vulnerable to attack from Japan. An understanding is advantageous to both in more ways than one; it relieves France of anxiety and it opens to Japan the French money market. As Japan must continue to be a heavy borrower for many years to come every additional source of supply enables her to place her loans at a lower rate of interest.

We have come to have as great a respect for the diplomacy of Japan as we have for her military power and to understand that in diplomacy as well as in war she takes no forward step without a clear understanding whither it will lead. Students of international affairs cannot fail to appreciate the significance of these agreements. When the conventions with France and Russia are signed Japan will have reached an understanding with all the great powers with the exception of the United States and Germany. Is the exclusion of those two powers accidental or intentional; in other words, does the policy of Japan make it impossible or inadvisable for her to reach the same agreement with the United States and Germany that she has found it for her advantage to reach with Great Britain, France, and Russia? It is well known that the feeling in high government circles in Japan against Germany is bitter, which is an answer in part to the question, but that does not explain the exclusion of the United States, unless the reason is to be found in certain recent events in the United States. An understanding between Japan and the United States would involve an agreement on the part of Japan to respect American possession of the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, and it is quite evident Japan is not willing to make such agreement at present. It is as foolish for a writer to be guilty of sensationalism as it is for him to blink the truth. A clash with Japan is possible, of course, but not probable; but relations between the United States and Japan are not on such a footing that she would regard it as wise not to retain the fullest liberty of action. The Philippines might conceivably prove a menace to Japan or a weakness to the United States; the Hawaiian Islands are an arrow pointed at the heart of the United States, to paraphrase the expression used by Japan in regard to Korea. Hence the probable explanation of the disinclination of Japan to round out her treaty-making by a convention with the United States.

So determined is Japan to take her place among the great powers that she has opened negotiations with Turkey for the establishment of diplomatic relations. It is obvious that the desire of Japan to be represented at Constantinople by a diplomatic representative is actuated solely by political considerations. Practically there are no Japanese in Turkey, the number of Turkish subjects in the island kingdom of the

Far East cannot be greater, and the trade between the two countries is of no importance; certainly not of enough importance to justify the expense involved in establishing a legation in Constantinople at a time when Japan is compelled to exercise the strictest economy. Clearly enough her purpose is political; she aims to have a voice in the concert of Europe and to make her power more directly felt in European politics. The Sublime Porte tolerates but does not welcome ambassadors, and has not shown any willingness to have the *corps diplomatique* increased by the presence of the Mikado's representative, but Japanese adroitness will probably triumph in the end, and when next the powers have to regulate the affairs of Turkey Japan will have a voice in the settlement.

When diplomatic relations between the Vatican and France were broken off, owing to the dispute over the separation of church and state, the papal nuncio left Paris and the nunciature as well as its archives were placed in charge of Monsignor Montagnini, who had occupied an official position under the nuncio, but was then without official or diplomatic standing, although recognized as the unofficial representative of the Vatican. The French Government having reason to be suspicious of Monsignor Montagnini, his residence was searched and his private papers seized, which by a vote of the Chamber of Deputies were turned over to a parliamentary commission for examination. Pending a report from the commission the *Figaro* and other Paris papers obtained access to the *dossier* and began the publication of choice extracts from the correspondence. Not only Paris but several other capitals were at first aghast. It was believed that the papers were compromising and might lead to dangerous international complications.

But the papers were dangerous only so long as they were a mystery. They have not been fatal to any one's reputation, with the possible exception of the rather injudicious and garrulous cleric who acted as the unofficial representative of the Vatican. Monsignor Montagnini proves himself to have been very active in French politics and in forwarding the interests of the Church; he records many conversations with some of the ambassadors of the great powers, who although officially accredited to the French republic were in sympathy with the Vatican; in Monsignor Montagnini's belief there were a good many men in French public life who could be reached by bribery; the importance of the United States was not overlooked. And as might be imagined, from the grave affairs of state Monsignor Montagnini turns to the nearer things of life and is concerned about missing cases of champagne and boxes of

France and the Vatican

chocolate that have gone astray. The disclosures were annoying to a great many persons but have destroyed no one; they exonerate the Vatican from the charge of conspiring against France, although they reveal Monsignor Montagnini as taking rather an excessive interest in French politics and lending himself to somewhat undignified machinations. The papers show, for instance, that the proposed transfer of Mr. White as ambassador from Rome to Paris was not regarded with favor by the agents of the Vatican, and according to the version printed by some of the newspapers Monsignor Montagnini was scheming for the reception of a papal nuncio at Washington, which perhaps proves better than anything else his ignorance of American political institutions.

Toward the end of May, M. Clémenceau was again forced to prove his strength in the Chamber of Deputies and he emerged from the test triumphant. His firm action in suppressing labor disorders and regulating the Confederation of Labor, which was becoming a menace to orderly society, was seized upon by his opponents as the means by which the Government could be driven out of power. Clémenceau defended himself with his old-time vigor and audacity. He denied that he had any antagonism toward unionism, but he was firmly resolved to maintain order, and he boldly challenged his opponents to vote against him if they dared. After a stormy debate the Government was sustained by a majority of more than 130. For the present at least M. Clémenceau retains his power.

It will be remembered that the result of the last German election was the rout of Socialism, and it is therefore curious to note that the first election held under the extended suffrage granted in Austria witnesses the triumph of the Socialists, who have won at the expense of the Christian Socialists, the Pan-Germans, and the Young Czechs. But conditions in Germany and Austria-Hungary are so unlike that no close analogy can be drawn between the two countries. The Germans are a homogeneous people, and although the Bavarians may not be overfond of the Prussians yet both speak German and at heart all the States of the confederation are German. But in the dual monarchy there is neither a common language, nor a common history, nor a common religion; there is little, in fact, to keep the Empire together except fear—fear that a dissolution of the Empire would mean its absorption by other nations and the warring nationalities would be worse off than better by the change. It was to bring about peace between his subjects that Francis Joseph agreed to universal suffrage. It was absolutely necessary that something should be done, and done quickly. The dominance of the

**Europe's Tower
of Babel**

Magyars had brought about almost a complete breakdown of the parliamentary system owing to the inconsistencies of the franchise by which they were given a representation out of proportion to their population, and only the aged Emperor's personal influence prevented open rupture.

In all European parliaments, with the exception of England, there are groups rather than parties; instead of there being two great parties as we have in the United States and England there are from half a dozen to a dozen or more groups, each, as a rule, independent, political freebooters in fact, although at times willing to form alliances when anything is to be gained or a ministry can be turned out of office. Austria, like her neighbors, has the group system, but in its worst form, because the groups there are racial. A subject of the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary may be an Austrian or a Hungarian or a Bohemian or a Servian or a Pole or a Croat—the list of nationalities is not exhausted—and while a certain number of Austrians speak Hungarian as well as German, and in that part of Hungary adjacent to the borders of Austria the two languages are freely heard, the majority of Austrians know no Hungarian, and the number of Hungarians who speak German is not larger. As for Bohemian the average Austrian knows as much about it, and cares as little, as the average Englishman knows Gaelic or the average American Sioux. I have travelled for days at a time in Hungary and found German to be as useful as Spanish as a means of communication, and in many parts of Austria Hungarian is as useless as it would be in a Vermont village. Austria-Hungary is the modern tower of Babel.

The German-speaking population of the Empire look forward to the time when they shall be a part of Germany, and it is probable that Germany would not object to incorporate Austria proper into Germany were it not for the fact that the Austrians are Catholics, which is a political consideration, as the Catholics form a group opposed to the Protestant group. In the last election in Austria the Pan-Germanists lost heavily, and so did the Young Czechs, who want Bohemia to be placed on the same footing with Hungary, and thus still further complicate the most complicated of empires. The so-called Christian Socialists, who are anti-Semites, anti-liberal and anti-capital as well as anti-labor and anti-social democracy (could a greater hodge-podge be conceived in any one political party?), have also lost, and the great gains have been made by the Socialists. This perhaps is not as great a menace in Austria-Hungary as it would be in other countries. Class divisions are more marked in the Dual Empire than in any other kingdom or empire, and labor needs its champions to break down these distinctions. That can only be done by the exercise of political power.

If we are to believe the German newspapers as representing the national sentiment of Germany the German people have acquired the feminine habit of looking under the bed to find an Englishman hiding there, and perhaps are greatly disappointed because the quest is fruitless. No German sleeps these nights except with one eye open watching the North Sea and expecting at any moment to hear the roar of the guns of British battleships bombarding German ports. If King Edward pays a friendly visit to the King of Spain the German newspapers see in it designs against German peace; when the King of England goes to Italy, the German newspapers accept it as a part of the British policy to detach Germany from her friends. Only a few years ago it was the fashion of Continental journals to sneer at British diplomacy. It was unintelligent, lumbering, too pedantically honest to cause apprehension, although it excited amusement. Those were the days when the myth of Russian diplomacy prevailed and the diplomacy of Russia was endowed with almost supernatural qualities. But now all has changed. Russian diplomacy is under a cloud. Germany has no longer her Bismarck, but England has her King Edward, and to Germany he is a combination of Mephisto and Metternich and Talleyrand; the simple honesty of the British Foreign Office has been replaced by cunning and astuteness that is as bewildering as it is unfathomable to German philosophy.

All of which appears to the detached observer as ridiculous in the extreme. The trouble with the press, not alone of Germany but of the whole world, is that it does not take its responsibilities seriously enough. The press may not form public opinion, but it crystallizes it; it is the social reagent that fuses national sentiment and liberates passion. The daily diatribes of the German press, not of yellow journals but of leading newspapers, against England, the opportunity never missed to represent England as the enemy of Germany engaged in plotting against her security, can in the end have only one result. The mass of the German people will come to believe this and will finally get themselves into such a state of mind that they will so embarrass the relations between the two governments that the most trivial disputes may lead to serious consequences. Nor is the fault entirely on one side. Germany is England's keenest commercial competitor, but it ought to be possible in this enlightened age for commercial rivalry to exist without causing national hostility or that intense bitterness which Germans and Englishmen have for each other at the present time.

A. Maurice Low.

FINANCE

THE RECENT DEPRESSION AND THE CROP SITUATION

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

THE disturbed financial situation which has prevailed during the past quarter, and of which the first plain signs were shown last January and March, may be described as a perfectly natural sequel to the events of last autumn. The evil results of the exploiting of capital which then ran riot would of themselves have accounted for much, if not all, of the depression which has existed in recent markets. It has therefore been peculiarly unfortunate that a situation thus brought about should have been complicated, as it has been these past three months, by crop developments which at times became genuinely alarming, and the real outcome of which is even yet uncertain.

Of this crop situation I shall have more to say further on; but first it will be necessary to examine thoroughly the nature of the existing financial position in itself, and in its relations to the great speculation of 1906. I discussed with sufficient fulness, in the last number of this magazine, the sudden outburst of extreme pessimism which found expression in the forecasts of leading financiers and economists at the opening of the year. Of this it may be said at once that the intimation contained in some of those statements, that a genuine industrial breakdown was near at hand, has not been in any respect verified. On the contrary, one of the most surprising phenomena of the past three months has been the stubbornness with which, by all indications, trade activity, genuine consumption, and, therefore, prosperity in the realm of production and transportation, have held their own. What is to come in this direction hereafter is more or less a matter of conjecture; it must be remembered that in 1903 the "rich men's panic" had been in progress for very nearly six months before even the statistics of iron production and consumption began to show any slackening. The June production of iron in this country, during that year, was the highest on record up to that time.

When one turns to the more general aspects of the situation, he will encounter a great variety of publicly expressed judgments. In the first place, American readers have had set before them at frequent intervals

the statement that the whole trouble of the markets has arisen from President Roosevelt's policy toward the railroads. Mr. Harriman gave out, some weeks ago, the following interesting statement:

The railroads have had to pay increased interest for money. The money market has been tightened by this hostility to the railroads, because confidence in their management has been shaken and their properties have not been considered as a safe investment. This is especially true with respect to foreign money, which some of the railroad companies are dependent on.

This was supplemented by President Loree, of the Kansas City Southern, in the following still more blunt assertion:

Agitation against corporate interests seems to be responsible. There is no other cause.

There were many people, even then, who expressed perplexity as to why the attitude of our administration toward our railroads should affect seriously such markets as London, Paris, and Berlin; for there was little doubt that the depression which has occurred this quarter on our own market has been abundantly reflected in England and in France. When the New York stock market had fallen into one of its periodical spasms of depression in the closing week of May, a London interviewer drew from Lord Rothschild, head of the house of that name, the following statement:

**Cause of
the Strain
on Capital**

With President Roosevelt attacking the railways in one part of the world, the income tax question and other problems in France, and the Socialist movement in England, the public are killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.

It will be observed that Lord Rothschild's diagnosis went a little further than Mr. Harriman's, and assigned specific causes for the depression not only in New York but at London and at Paris. Curiously enough, however, the head of the Paris house of Rothschild had a few weeks before addressed the shareholders of the Northern Railway of France on precisely the same subject, his remarks having been drawn out by the query of the shareholders as to why the price of high-grade shares of that railway should have declined so formidably. His answer was as follows:

All first-class securities have been undergoing considerable depreciation for several years. Such depreciation touches not only French securities, but even first-class foreign securities. It is due to the rise in the price of capital. We can do nothing against it.

The answer that M. Edmond de Rothschild made to his shareholders unquestionably sums up the mature and sober judgment of the banking

community as to the real cause of the present situation in the markets. President Roosevelt's policy of restricting the arbitrary power of railways over transportation rates may possibly have emphasized misgivings already created by the difficulty of negotiating long-term railway loans and by the unsettled markets. By no means every one endorses as wise all of the methods adopted in this legislation. Even in his so-called "reassurance" speech of May 30th, the President declared his adherence to the plan of "physical valuation" of the railways by the Government as a help towards regulating rates, and this plan has been condemned by unbiased experts as useless and possibly mischievous, because no two experts could possibly agree on such valuation, and because, also, the valuation would give no real clue to the capital honestly invested. But to ascribe all the fall in prices to this controversy, or even to the "railway regulation debates" in the State legislatures, is supremely absurd. It is difficult to accept such assertion as the honest opinion of competent railway men. If this is the reason for the market's weakness, how comes it that the wild "boom" in Stock Exchange prices, which began with Union Pacific's August dividend, should have started after the Railway Rate Bill had actually passed Congress and been signed by the President? If the railways feared for their profits as a consequence, how comes it that half a dozen of the largest followed that legislation by increasing dividends—and that at the very time when they were warned by critics that, with the money market so unfavorable to borrowings, all of that surplus money ought to be kept in hand? How comes it that Mr. Harriman himself, who alleges that "hostility to railroads" has caused the present trouble in their finances, should have followed the Hepburn Bill's enactment by using \$131,000,000 of the Union Pacific's money to buy stocks in the very railways whose position was thus imperilled? These considerations are enough to show the absurdity of the argument.

But if we accept the Paris diagnosis, precisely what does it mean? "Rise in the price of capital" must not be confused in the public mind either with appreciation of gold—it, in fact, usually accompanies depreciation of the precious metal—or with the more frequent phenomenon of rise in the price of money. Interest rates may advance, on the market for demand loans and time loans, in a period when the price of capital is rising; they are on the whole apt to do so. But the two phenomena do not necessarily occur simultaneously. In 1903, when the price of capital, as illustrated in the yearly demand by investors in railway and industrial securities, was rising with great rapidity, the price of money in Wall Street was comparatively cheap. Much the same may be said of the past quarter's markets, when the price of capital was evidently rising

and yet when call money and time money held at rates very much below the average of the past two years.

“Rise in the price of capital” is, in fact, a somewhat confusing term. In one sense it is equivalent to fall in the price of securities, but this is not necessarily one of its manifestations. What is meant by the term is a general and more or less automatic demand by people with money to invest in stocks, bonds, real estate, mortgages, or other forms of investment, for a higher rate of yield than has previously been offered. Such concessions may be made through payment of 5 or 6 per cent. annual interest, where only 4 or 5 per cent. had been paid before; in that case the price of the securities or mortgages in question would not itself be altered. On the other hand, a higher yield to the investor may be procured through the sale of securities at a lower price than that at which the same securities were previously placed, and it is this which the stock market has reflected through the recent decline in such perfectly unquestionable securities as British consols and New York City bonds, and which it also shows by the very noticeable depression of the past six months in high-grade railway bonds.

When it is asked why the price of capital should at the present time be rising—in other words, why the demands on capital should visibly have outstripped existing supplies—numerous explanations occur. The familiar and more or less general judgment ascribes the phenomenon to the large issues of securities and the great activity of trade. Both of these phenomena are in evidence, and each is very greatly aggravated, as an influence in the strain on capital, by the high prices of commodities. The London *Economist*, which publishes periodically a so-called “index number,” compiled from the average prices of forty-seven selected commodities on the London market, gave out at the end of last April the highest number reported since 1877. How close its average went to the highest levels in previous periods of price inflation, and how wide a departure from the average price of only a few years ago it indicated, may be judged from the following table, showing the highest and lowest index numbers at the opening of a year since the middle of the last century:

Low Level.	High Level.
1852.....1,863	1864.....3,787
1871.....2,590	1873.....2,947
1886.....2,023	1891.....2,240
1898.....1,890	1907.....2,494

To this it should be added that as against the January 1st index

number of 2,494, the index of May 1st was 2,549, while that of July, 1897, was no higher than 1,885.

In this movement of prices for materials we have undoubtedly one very important cause for the urgent borrowings of corporations and the aggressive activity in trade. When one looks further into these two questions, some very notable phenomena of the period come into view. Perhaps the most thorough examination of the existing situation is one made by a well-known London economic expert, Mr. Cornelis Rozenraad. Briefly summarized, this is his explanation of the international money situation:

Everywhere the commercial interests of the nations have become more and more predominant, everywhere it has become more and more evident that commerce is the greatest of all interests, everywhere the nations endeavor to turn to account the produce of the soil, employing steam and electricity to develop their industry, to establish relations with unexplored regions of the globe, to secure their share of the world's trade. Everything is in motion—railways, steamers, factories, harbors, docks—and the past year has been one of the most brilliant periods in the history of commerce, as will be seen by the following figures relating to the imports and exports of the principal commercial nations, compared with those of 1905:

IMPORTS.

	1906.		Increase or Decrease.	Per Cent.
Great Britain	£607,987,893	+	£42,967,967	= 7.6
Germany	416,962,550	+	45,149,400	= 12.1
France	209,177,000	+	8,020,680	= 4.2
Austria-Hungary	85,366,666	—	4,545,834	= 5.0
Belgium	123,022,000	+	6,625,040	= 5.7
Italy	96,963,793	+	14,380,845	= 17.4
Russia	63,011,200	+	6,090,700	= 10.7
Spain (eleven months)	31,982,356	+	2,562,567	= 8.7
United States	264,212,800	+	28,341,031	= 12.0

EXPORTS.

Great Britain	£375,672,913	+	£45,856,299	= 13.9
Germany	312,186,750	+	20,005,900	= 6.9
France	201,746,600	+	7,071,920	= 3.6
Austria-Hungary	87,512,500	—	2,825,000	= 3.1
Belgium	97,647,280	+	9,941,000	= 11.3
Italy	73,434,085	+	4,197,518	= 6.1
Russia	106,117,800	+	9,917,800	= 10.3
Spain (eleven months)	36,621,896	—	7,043,273	= 16.1
United States	359,621,400	+	34,223,400	= 10.5
Great Britain reexports, 1906	£85,163,386			
Great Britain reexports, 1905	77,798,521			

Increase..... £7,364,865

Mr. Rozenraad goes on to say exactly what was the bearing of this abnormal increase in commercial transactions on the money market. This is his analysis:

In proportion as commerce and industry increased, not only did the price of raw materials, wages, etc., begin to rise, but there was also a greater demand for money, larger credits were required, the issue banks had to discount more bills, to issue more notes. When, besides the constant expenditure of money in distant quarters of the globe, added to the remittances that had to be made to the United States, Egypt, the Argentine Republic, etc., for wheat, cotton, and other produce, Europe had also, to a certain extent, to finance America and to remit gold to Rio de Janeiro in connection with the currency reform planned by Brazil, the position of the principal issue banks was continually weakened.

When we turn from these general considerations to the practical working of the principle of high-priced capital in the markets, it will be found that there are two ways in which rise in the price of capital may show itself. The price of outstanding stocks and bonds may be lowered on the market, thus increasing their yield to the buyer at those prices, or new security issues may be compelled to pay a higher rate of interest than before. This has manifestly been in evidence for some time past, even with such unimpeachable securities as New York City bonds, and much more so with borrowings by high-grade railways who are unwilling to pay on long-term bonds the rate exacted by owners of capital and who therefore put out, as they did in 1903, great quantities of short-term notes. This brings us down squarely to the question of new security issues as an influence on the past quarter's financial markets.

Last November, Mr. James J. Hill publicly estimated that, in order to equip themselves for the enormous traffic pressing upon them, the railways of the United States would be obliged to borrow \$1,000,000,000 a year for five years. The markets of the day declared this to be impossible, and opinion was divided between two conclusions—either that Mr. Hill's estimate was extravagant, or else that railways would have to cut down their requirements. There may have been some truth in each of these assumptions; but, as a matter of fact, a compilation made at the end of May, as to announcements of new security issues in the United States made in the six preceding months, showed that Mr. Hill's annual estimate had already been closely approached. The figures were most astonishing. During that period—less than half the period named by Mr. Hill as requiring \$1,000,000,000—it was found that the railway and industrial corporations of the United States had announced

**The Demands
of the
Railways**

the issue of \$912,000,000 in new stock and new bonds and short-term notes. Of this enormous total, new railway securities made up \$792,000,000, of which \$326,500,000 was in new stock—chiefly announced in December, before the strain on capital became acute—\$180,700,000 in bonds, and no less than \$285,000,000 in short-term notes. This last item excited the greatest interest on the market; it exceeded by more than \$100,000,000 the entire issue of railway notes made at the same period of 1903.

Some of these new security announcements were of a startling character. For instance, the Union Pacific, asking authority from its stockholders in May to borrow \$75,000,000 on its 4 per cent. bonds, had to admit that the greater part of the money thus applied for was to be used, not in financing improvements and additions to the railway's tracks, stations and equipment, but in paying off notes issued last winter in payment for stocks of other roads, and in subscribing for new stock which an affiliated railway company was to issue. It is not too much to say that the market was staggered by this announcement; for it must be remembered that in the middle of last year Union Pacific reported in its treasury an actual cash balance of \$55,000,000, and that the Interstate Commerce inquiry of last January established the fact that between last July and that date the company had spent \$131,000,000 in purchase of securities of other roads.

In other words, the company had not only used up, in payment of such purchases, all its enormous cash balance of last July, adding to that expenditure the proceeds of Northern Pacific and Great Northern stock, but it had borrowed on its notes of hand something like \$25,000,000 more for exactly the same sort of operations. How the company had come out of its stock operations was in a way shown by Mr. Harriman in the following highly interesting table. It was issued on the 4th of last May, and gives the results of Union Pacific's stock operations since the beginning of 1901, when it used the proceeds of large mortgage loans to buy control of Southern Pacific stock and to engage in the struggle with the Morgan-Hill interest for control of the Northern Pacific:

	Southern Pacific.	Northern Securities.	Reinvestments.	Totals.
Sales		\$117,869,799	.....	\$117,869,799
Value stocks unsold May 4	\$98,325,000	26,685,108	\$113,103,659	238,113,767
Total	\$98,325,000	\$144,554,907	\$113,103,659	\$355,983,567
Cost	73,488,111	84,961,375	131,182,027	289,631,514
Gain	\$24,836,889	\$59,593,532	.....	\$66,352,053
Shrinkage			\$18,078,368	.....

It will be seen from this statement that while the Union Pacific was extremely lucky in its operation in Northern Pacific shares, it was very unfortunate in its operations last winter in such stocks as New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and others. The public naturally paid more attention to the fact that \$18,000,000 had been lost, so far as the paper values go, in the operations of last winter than it did to the previous gains. For it must be remembered that all of these stock operations were conducted with money raised through the pledge of Union Pacific's credit and through the placing of a mortgage of its property. This phase of the new security issues deserves special notice, because it showed the unusual nature of some of the demands on capital. Plainly, Mr. Harriman was not wholly without blame for the strain on capital. It was contended properly that if the Union Pacific directors, after selling their Great Northern Pacific stock at a profit last winter, had announced to their shareholders that the proceeds would be used solely for improvements on Union Pacific's own lines, the announcement would have undoubtedly relieved the apprehension of an overstrain on capital, and would have been received with universal applause. That the company, instead of doing this, should have indulged in what could hardly be described otherwise than a Stock Exchange speculation, did not fall kindly in with the public's mood.

Union Pacific's borrowing, however, was only part of the new demands upon the market; it left the general question open, What was the exact connection between such issues of new securities and the decline in Stock Exchange prices which ensued? It is not difficult to discover the connection. In the first place, bankers and investors who subscribed to the new securities necessarily used for the purpose money which would otherwise have remained in the market, invested in older securities. In order to buy the new issues, it was necessary to sell holdings of older stocks and bonds; therefore the necessary sequence was continued liquidation on the Stock Exchange and continued depression in the markets. It should be observed that the foreign markets reported a precisely similar state of affairs as regards new issues of securities, though no such extravagant placing of capital was made in Europe as was in progress in the United States.

While, moreover, these large applications for new capital were made by railway and industrial corporations, there was no releasing of capital from the avenues of trade. Neither in Europe nor in the United States did visible signs appear of a slackening of trade activity. Undoubtedly, this continuance of industrial prosperity was a reassuring fact in the

situation, so far as concerned the apprehensions which might have been entertained regarding the business future. But obviously, if trade demands were to continue as active as they were a year ago, and if absorption of capital into new securities was to be even more active than before, there could remain only liquidation on the Stock Exchange for the release of such capital as the markets might require. As a matter of fact, this is precisely what happened.

At the time of the violent stock market decline of March 14th it was rather generally hoped that sufficient capital had been released by the process to restore the situation to equilibrium. It can hardly be said to have done so; indeed, after a month of more or less faltering recovery, a new convulsion of liquidation swept over the market which brought prices at the close of May below even the very low level in March. What these declines amounted to as compared with similar periods of liquidation in a few other years may be seen from the following table:

	1907.	1903.	1901.	1899.
Amalgamated Copper	43 $\frac{3}{8}$	39 $\frac{7}{8}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	....
Atchison	25 $\frac{5}{8}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$
Baltimore and Ohio.....	31 $\frac{7}{8}$	25 $\frac{1}{8}$	20 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Canadian Pacific	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{3}{8}$
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.....	35	42 $\frac{1}{8}$	34 $\frac{3}{8}$	24 $\frac{1}{8}$
Consolidated Gas	30 $\frac{1}{4}$	49	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	26 $\frac{3}{4}$
Erie	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Great Northern preferred.....	66 $\frac{3}{4}$	25	15	15
Illinois Central	38	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
New York Central	23 $\frac{3}{4}$	32 $\frac{3}{4}$	22	21
Pennsylvania	27 $\frac{3}{8}$	33 $\frac{1}{8}$	14 $\frac{5}{8}$	11
Reading	48 $\frac{1}{8}$	20 $\frac{7}{8}$	12	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Southern Pacific	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{5}{8}$	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	11
Union Pacific	62 $\frac{3}{4}$	32 $\frac{1}{4}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
United States Steel.....	29	13 $\frac{7}{8}$	15 $\frac{3}{8}$	....
United States Steel preferred.....	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	29 $\frac{1}{8}$	14 $\frac{3}{8}$	....

As in 1903, so in 1907, no serious failures accompanied this heavy liquidation, showing that sales of stocks were being made by capitalists entirely able to take a loss on a process and still maintain their position. To speculative Wall Street, on the other hand, the episode was profoundly discouraging, and a feeling of hopelessness began to grow again, which communicated itself more or less to outside investors. Of this it is only necessary just now to say that, in so far as the signs of the times

indicate, the judicious investor with money of his own occupies to-day much the same position as he did in 1903. With speculative Wall Street flat on its back, and with the largest capitalists not in a position to support the open market, the time for judicious investment by the outside capitalists must have nearly or quite arrived. But naturally, no reflection of this previous situation was to be found at the time on the Stock Exchange.

Varying comments from intelligent sources were called forth by this Stock Exchange movement; two of them are worth repeating here. Ambassador James Bryce said in March, in the course of an address to the New York Chamber of Commerce:

Oscillations in trade, oscillations in stock securities—they are as inevitable as changes in the temperature and changes in the barometer in our atmosphere. All that we can do is to meet them with serenity. All that we can do is to know—and, happily, you can know that—that they do not necessarily represent any decline in the conditions which make for real prosperity.

They do not, I believe, reveal anything that is unsound in the material condition of the country. So far as I can venture to form an opinion, the industries and the commerce of the whole continent, of the United States, and of Canada also, which is advancing with rapid strides, are in a state of stable and assured prosperity.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, during the same week, expressed this conclusion in a public speech:

A few gamblers in Wall Street may be in trouble. There will always be some of them in trouble, whichever way the market goes. It is a good day for this country when the stock gamblers come to grief, and I wish I could invent a system whereby both parties to stock gambling would suffer. Wall Street is not America. There are some places outside of Wall Street, even in New York City. The stock gambler is a parasite who feeds on values and creates none. It is time that we should rise and decline to do business with those who make money without giving any value in return for it.

Both these views may have brought comfort to the average investor, but it is needless to say that they brought no solution of its problem to the very large community whose instincts are purely speculative. To people of this class, indeed, another incident of the past three months came with a shock of misgiving. The brokerage house founded by the well-known promoter and operator John W. Gates, and which had perhaps been more conspicuous than any other Wall Street firm, during the three preceding years, in the wildest speculative movements of the Stock Exchange, announced that it would dissolve and go out of business. To what extent this step was taken because of unpleasant accidents in the stock market crash of the past six months seemed to be a matter of some

doubt; the heads of the house, however, frankly announced their intention of pulling out of Wall Street for the present, their language indicating their belief that, for the present, "the speculative game was up." It is not impossible that this judgment, by a speculator who had cut so sensational a figure in Wall Street's history since 1899, had more effect than all the economic arguments combined.

**Absence of
Reaction in
Trade**

When the numerous predictions of trade reaction were current on the financial markets at the opening of the present year, and when such pessimistic forecasts as those of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, Professor Laughlin, Professor Clark, and Mr. James J. Hill, quoted in the last number of *THE FORUM*, were given out, there was more or less reservation regarding the probable influence of the crops. This phase of the problem was considered differently by different critics. Those who concurred in Secretary Shaw's prayer that the country be delivered from any greater prosperity, because it already had all that it could stand, rather generally took the ground that our financial interests would be quite as well off with a moderate harvest this year as with another "bumper crop" such as that of 1906. The reason for this view was that the railways at the close of last year had shown themselves manifestly unable to transport promptly the supplies of grain even then seeking the market, while, at the same time, the demand for capital to move so enormous a harvest as that of last year had borne no small part in the strain on last season's money market. This was why even bankers strongly interested in the welfare of the investment markets expressed the hope that the experience of 1906 in that regard would not be exactly repeated.

But, as might have been expected, interior markets took a somewhat different view. Forecasts of the industrial future, coming from that quarter, were almost invariably hopeful; they repudiated the supposition that anything like a violent trade reaction was possible, stated positively the opinion that still greater activity and prosperity were in store for the country's industries, and qualified their own hopeful predictions only by the statement that crop shortage was the single possible obstacle to such a consummation. One Western writer, sketching the state of mind of the Western communities, expressed this view rather strikingly by declaring that in its existing mood the West was not at all disposed to accept as a possibility even such an event as a harvest shortage. And, as a matter of fact, the area planted with wheat in the United States, as reported by the Department of Agriculture in December, was with one exception the largest in the country's history.

For this optimistic view, the results of 1906 were largely responsible. Production of wheat last year was the second largest in our history, and exceeded by 42,200,000 bushels the very large harvest of 1905. Production of corn broke all records, rising 219,000,000 bushels above the yield, up to that time unprecedented, of 1905. Production of oats was second only to that of 1902; production of barley had never been approached, and outside of the cereal crops the cotton crop of 1906 had been exceeded only by the extraordinary crop of 1904. So large had been last year's harvest, not only in the United States but in the outside world, that the Government's report of supplies in farmers' hands on March 1st showed very much the largest total ever reached. Since the supplies thus available for another crop have had considerable bearing on the question of meeting demands in case of a shortage in the new harvest, the following table giving the March 1st estimate for a series of years is worth reprinting:

	Previous Crop. Bushels.	On Hand March 1st. Bushels.	Consumed or Distributed. Bushels.
1907.....	735,260,970	206,644,000	528,616,970
1906.....	692,979,489	158,403,000	534,576,489
1905.....	552,399,517	111,055,000	441,344,517
1904.....	637,821,835	132,608,000	505,213,835
1903.....	670,063,008	164,000,000	506,063,008
1902.....	748,460,218	173,700,000	574,760,218
1901.....	522,229,505	128,100,000	294,129,505
1900.....	547,303,846	158,745,595	388,558,254
1899.....	675,148,705	198,056,496	477,092,209
1898.....	530,149,168	121,000,000	409,149,168
1897.....	427,684,347	88,000,000	339,684,347

The enormous wheat crop of 1906 had naturally had the result of keeping wheat prices throughout the world at a reasonable level. How great that production was may be judged from the report of our Agricultural Department on the world's wheat crop of 1906 compared with other years:

	1906. Bushels.	1905. Bushels.	1904. Bushels.	1903. Bushels.	1902. Bushels.
No. America.	871,875,000	811,420,000	637,006,000	733,586,000	779,063,000
So. America.	155,337,000	176,745,000	155,185,000	119,113,000	74,625,000
Europe	1,825,608,000	1,802,662,000	1,744,844,000	1,830,590,000	1,796,254,000
Asia.....	444,786,000	420,602,000	475,468,000	428,522,000	343,920,000
Africa.....	48,404,000	39,070,000	50,496,000	54,611,000	52,327,000
Australasia..	77,694,000	65,626,000	84,628,000	20,461,000	43,927,000

Total..... 3,423,704,000 3,316,125,000 3,147,627,000 3,186,883,000 3,090,116,000

The above estimate for 1906 was published last March, and showed that while our own wheat crop very nearly broke its record, the European production came within 5,000,000 bushels of the largest harvest ever produced, while the total output of the wheat-producing world exceeded by 107,500,000 bushels the largest previous yield. This being so, it was no great matter for surprise that the speculative wheat market, during all the period when prices of other commodities and of securities were moving upward with extreme violence, should have halted. As a matter of fact, it was commonly asserted that there had been no speculative movement in wheat between the autumn of 1905 and the close of 1906. In August, 1905, the cash price of wheat in Chicago fell below the dollar mark; it had not thereafter approached that figure, up to the present May. As against a price of \$1.15 per bushel reached in August that year, the highest price of August, 1906, was 77 $\frac{7}{8}$ cents. Taking the price of speculative contracts, the so-called "May delivery" at Chicago was quoted at 83 $\frac{1}{8}$ cents at the close of 1906, at 84 $\frac{5}{8}$ at the end of last March, when the trading was influenced by the statement of large supplies on hand, already noticed, and at 77 $\frac{5}{8}$ on April 10th, the day when the Agricultural Department made its first estimate on the condition of this year's crop.

That estimate was of considerable interest, both on its own account and because of the circumstances which immediately developed. It gave the condition of winter-sown wheat as 89.9. This compared with 89.1 in April, 1906, when the crop, as we have seen, afterwards rose to an almost unprecedented volume. Indeed, last April's estimate was not only above the estimate of that month a year before, but was higher than the April condition estimate in any but five of the past twenty years. Reckoning on the basis of this condition, and of the planted acreage stated by the Government in December, the wheat trade figured out an indicated crop of early wheat 1,100,000 bushels greater than that of 1906, that would have been exceeded by no previous yield in our history.

As often happens, the publication on the 10th of the month of a crop estimate based on reports gathered at the month's opening was offset to a considerable extent, in public opinion, by news or rumor of what had happened during the nine-day interval. In the case of last April this offsetting influence was of considerable importance. The spring had even before that time been most extraordinary in character; it was destined to show still more remarkable vagaries before the season was much

**Doubt Over
the Early
Wheat Crop**

further advanced. In March came a spell of unseasonably warm weather, which forced the early wheat crop into somewhat untimely growth. By the opening of April this warm weather suddenly ceased, and was replaced by a prolonged spell of cold with an absence of moisture, which not only stopped short the growth of the crop but gave unusual opportunity for the ravages of insect pests. These unfavorable conditions were beginning to do destructive work at the very time when the favorable April crop report was published. As we have seen, the price of wheat at the time of that report was 7 cents per bushel below the price of March. Within a month, more than all of this loss had been recovered, and when, on the 10th of May, the second monthly estimate of the Government was published, wheat for May delivery was selling in Chicago at 86 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents—a rise of nearly 9 cents per bushel in a month.

The May report was of a very different character from that of April. In the first place it marked down the estimate on the crop's condition from 89.9 to 82.9. This of itself was not a particularly formidable change; but what was of much more serious importance was that the estimate of acreage abandoned since the December showing, which is not compiled until the May report, showed the serious havoc that had been done by the bad weather and the insects. In the case of the wheat crop of 1905, there were thus abandoned prior to the May report 1,432,000 acres; in the same period of 1906 the loss was 1,718,000. This year the number of acres thus struck out of the reckoning reached the somewhat portentous sum of 3,523,000. In some States, where the drought and the insects had been most prevalent, the report of abandoned acreage amounted to almost the proportions of a crop failure. Thus the State of Texas was shown to have lost 70 per cent. of its planted acreage, while the condition of what was left was reduced from 91 per cent. to 43. Oklahoma, now a rich wheat-producer, had lost 35 per cent. of its December acreage; Ohio and Indiana had given up 15 per cent. each, and so the story ran. Obviously such a showing called for radical recasting of the April estimates. On the basis of the May condition and the reduced acreage estimate, the calculation of 493,000,000 bushels current in April for the winter-wheat crop was cut down to 405,000,000 bushels, which was 87,000,000 bushels less than the actual yield of the winter-wheat crop in 1906, and which would be materially short of the harvest in any year since 1900 except 1902 and 1904, the latter of which was recognized in the trade as a short-crop year.

For the winter-wheat crop, then, the hopes of the trade were seriously impaired. But it soon became evident that something more than the Southwestern harvest of the United States was at stake. The same un-

seasonably prolonged cold weather which had prevailed in that section had prevented even the ordinary operations of ploughing and sowing in the Northwest. As the month of May drew near, the reports from the Red River Valley and from Canada became insistent to the effect that the grain was not yet in the ground and that the date was fast approaching when it would be too late to plant for a satisfactory harvest. Wheat sown in that region as late as the close of May is necessarily subjected to the blighting influence of extreme hot weather, such as would naturally be expected soon afterward, and whose influence was bound to be damaging to the young and tender plant, and also to the frosts of autumn, which would be almost certain to affect a wheat crop planted, as this necessarily would be, five or six weeks later than the ordinary date. On the 10th of June, the Government further reduced its winter-wheat estimate to 77.4 and fixed for spring wheat a condition of 88.7, against 93 last year, with a reduction of 1,460,000 acres of growing crop. All told, the wheat crop's indication then was for a harvest at least 100,000,000 bushels short of 1906, and much the smallest since 1900. Meantime the season continued most unfavorable.

To cap the climax, while these discouraging advices from our so-called spring-wheat region were coming in, news was received from Europe that the crops of the greatest wheat-producing states of that continent were being seriously impaired by precisely the same sort of weather as had endangered the American harvest. As late as the close of April, snow was falling in France and severe hail-storms had passed over Germany. The rich Prussian grain fields began to threaten the necessity of reploughing, such as cut out a good part of the crop of 1901; the Russian crop—nowadays, next to our own, the consuming world's mainstay—could not be put under ground for the same reasons as hampered our Northwestern farmers, and in the very fertile Danube Valley it was declared that the season had been the most severe witnessed in thirty or forty years. When it is considered that the European states referred to raised last year very nearly one third of the total wheat crop of the world, the importance of such a showing may be judged. By the end of May, foreign experts were estimating a 10 per cent. reduction in Europe's wheat yield from 1906, some estimates running beyond even this.

The result of this situation in the grain fields of the world was an outbreak of speculation in wheat, which promptly reached a violence rarely exceeded in the history of the trade. In contemplating such an event as the advance of 12 cents per bushel in three days on the Chicago market for future delivery, full allowance must be made for the fact that

the stimulating news occurred in a distinctly speculative period. The same events, occurring in the grain fields, say, in the middle of 1903, when the speculative spirit was in abeyance, could hardly have had the same effect as they did coming in the early months of 1907. But there has probably been a larger number of people engaged in outright speculation during the past year or two than in any chapter of our country's history since 1873. There has undoubtedly been a greater amount of capital available for such purposes this year than ever before—a fact pretty clearly demonstrated by the extent to which great railway companies with a capital of \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 have had their stocks practically cornered in the Wall Street market by the use of borrowed money, and with no intention on the part of purchasers except to hold the stocks for the expected higher level at which they proposed to sell with a resultant large profit to themselves.

This supply of speculative resources—what may be called the floating resources of the speculative market—does not confine itself to one line of speculation. It is devoted as readily to commodities as to securities; all it asks is that the developments, present or prospective, in that market shall be such as to give good prospects for a speculative profit. It would naturally follow from this that when such inducements vanish in one speculative market, this roving capital will seek opportunities in others. There can be little doubt that the violence of the cotton-market speculation at the opening of 1904 had its cause very largely in the stagnation on the Stock Exchange, which apparently gave no occasion for speculative activity in securities. It will be observed that the situation during the past quarter had much the same characteristic; that is to say, an immense amount of capital long employed on a highly speculative stock market had suddenly been driven out of that market by the collapse of January and March. It might perhaps be imagined that when a speculative venture on so large a scale as that undertaken last winter in Wall Street had ended with such disastrous results to all participants, the public at large would be cured, at least temporarily, of its appetite for speculation. In a normal period this might be the sequel, but experience teaches that the result is different at a time when the blaze of speculation is burning fiercely.

At all events, the Government's May crop report was followed immediately by a speculation for the rise in wheat which may be fairly described as frantic. Despatches from the Chicago Board of Trade itself, while admitting that circumstances combined to raise the price, described the market as a "craze." On one day, wheat for December delivery rose

at Chicago from 96½ cents per bushel to \$1.00½. The cash price of wheat on the New York market at the close of April was 88 cents per bushel; of flour, \$4.50 per barrel. When this May movement of speculation reached its climax, wheat on the same market was quoted at \$1.04¾ and flour at \$5.70. These prices were reached May 17th; but the violence of the advance was too great to last. In point of fact, speculators, eager to make the most of the situation of the moment, had overdone matters with their predictions of damage to the crop. To an extent the worst that could reasonably happen had, to use a Wall Street phrase, been discounted already in prices.

This left the situation such that any news of a favorable character—even if its influence on the crops were to be but temporary—would necessarily cause reaction. Precisely this occurred when, in the ensuing week, the long drought in the Southwest was broken by scattering rains and the cold in the wheat region gave place to weather at least approaching the conditions of a normal springtime. Wheat broke four cents per bushel during that week, and did not recover its former high price even when the “private experts” began to give out pessimistic estimates on the crop which were promptly used by speculative grain houses. One of these, calculating that the spring-wheat yield could not exceed 325,000,000 bushels, as against the 400,000,000 inferred from the Government’s May estimate and the 492,000,000 actually harvested last year, fell flat on the market. With the beginning, in the middle of June, of actual summer weather throughout the United States, sentiment changed so rapidly that the Chicago price for July delivery, which had risen from 78½ cents a bushel on April 10 to \$1.03½ on May 27, was down by June 15 to 88 cents again. At that price a gradual rise began again, and the wheat market henceforward must depend on the later accidents of the season.

Taking now the broader view of this phase of the situation, let us see just what this situation means. By present indications, the United States will probably raise this year the smallest wheat crop since 1904. Presumably, therefore, there will be a substantial loss in profits of the wheat-growing community, and at the same time a decrease in business for the railways whose business it is to carry this grain from farm to seaboard. The influence of an actually deficient wheat crop would, however, run further than the actual return to farmers and to railroads. It will be recalled that the crop of 1904, which would a decade or so ago have been considered extremely large, was, nevertheless, so inadequate for the American consumption of the ensuing twelve months that our export of

wheat and flour fell in that period to the smallest total since 1869. Where we sent out in the twelve months after the great harvest of 1901 no less than 234,700,000 bushels, our exports during the twelve months following midsummer, 1904, were 44,100,000. Not only was this true, but in the last-named twelve months the remarkable phenomenon of an import of 3,286,000 bushels of wheat, where the largest movement of the kind in thirty years had been less than 2,500,000, was witnessed.

Now let it be considered that in 1906 our foodstuff exports, in one shape or another, made up $29\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our total export trade, and that export of wheat and flour alone constituted considerably more than one tenth of the entire \$1,772,000,000 exports, and it will be seen that our foreign trade has a substantial interest in this outcome of the crops. It is true that so far as the "international balance" is concerned, the higher price resulting from harvest shortage would in a measure compensate for actual lack of grain to ship. But the teaching of all experience is that such compensation goes only a certain distance, and assumes a sufficiently large surplus for export to make up the difference to the higher price. Yet what we have just reviewed in relation to 1904 shows that unless our wheat supply this year exceeds by a substantial amount the supply of that season, we shall simply have so little wheat to spare at any price that our export trade must inevitably suffer. As a matter of fact, consumption of wheat by the American people itself has increased of late at an extraordinary ratio. In a measure, this results from the quite unprecedented immigration of the period and the consequent increase of our bread-consuming population. It will be recalled by readers of THE FORUM that eminent English grain experts estimated at the time of the short wheat crop of 1904 that even with favorable harvests the United States would not much longer be able to hold its place among the great grain-exporting countries.

Until results are more clearly visible in the spring-wheat region, it will be impossible to say how far the international money markets would be affected by the shortage here. Obviously, the problem will be affected in a measure by the outcome of European harvests, which, as we have seen, opened the season as badly as did our own. It has been a very extraordinary fact of the past two years that, notwithstanding the practice of our bankers to send abroad at some season of the year from \$25,000,000 to \$75,000,000 gold—an amount usually regained at other seasons of the same year—the United States had sent to Europe during the twenty-two months since July, 1905, only the wholly negligible

**Probable
Effect of
Short Crops**

sum of \$176,000 gold. As against this abnormally small export from here to Europe our markets have imported from Europe in the same period no less an amount than \$100,000,000. The question of how such abnormal conditions in the market for foreign exchange could have prevailed so long is interesting in itself. Generally speaking, it is safe to say that the great material prosperity of our country enabled it to borrow from Europe and use the capital to advantage; that active speculation in securities caused Wall Street to bid extravagant figures for similar use of still more foreign capital; that Europe itself undoubtedly shipped capital to us for investment on Europe's own account in American securities; that excess of merchandise exports over imports during 1906 reached \$477,000,000, which, though less than the \$489,000,000 excess of 1903, the \$585,000,000 of 1901, and the \$648,000,000 of 1900, was, nevertheless, enormously in excess of the past two years; and finally, that liabilities of the foreign insurance companies as a result of the San Francisco fire of April, 1906, caused actual shipment of \$50,000,000 to this country as indemnity. On the 27th of last May, gold exports were resumed on a substantial scale.

That a heavy decrease in our agricultural exports would have a possible effect on the movement of gold between ourselves and Europe needs no argument; the broader question remains, however, whether that effect would be serious enough to compromise in any degree the financial situation. In 1901, when the minds both of great financiers and of small speculators were somewhat unsettled by the glamour of American prosperity, it became a saying of the day that we were no longer dependent on the crops. The corn-crop failure of 1901 shook this belief considerably, especially when it was followed by a reaction in the markets. But it afterwards became the fashion to ascribe the decline in prices later in 1901 to a reaction from the Stock Exchange excesses early in the year. When prosperity began returning on a large scale in 1902, the crop failure of 1901 began to be regarded as an incident of no importance. The wheat-crop shortage of 1904, already referred to, and the deficient cotton crop in the late months of 1903, failed to have the effect which one might have expected. In both those cases, high prices to the farmers compensated for a great part of the actual loss in product, and the railroads were so busy bringing merchandise to the prosperous farming communities that their earnings at the end of the ensuing year hardly showed the effect of the deficient crops. All this apparently went to show that we were not as sensitive in a financial way to crop failures as we undoubtedly were half a dozen years ago.

Now, there can be no doubt that a crop failure in a period of high

prices brings less of misfortune to an agricultural State than a crop failure at a time when prices are low. Furthermore, there is always, especially in a country with such wide resources as our own, the chance that the loss in one crop will be made up by good fortune in another. For instance, the grain-crop failure of 1901 was offset in the same year by the largest wheat crop ever raised, before or since. The wheat-crop shortage of 1904 was more than made good, both in national prosperity and in the country's export trade, by the wholly unprecedented cotton crop and by a corn crop of large proportions. Nevertheless, it will not do to allow ourselves to be blinded by such facts to the real influence of the crops. What the successful harvests meant to our national finances in 1879 and 1897 is sufficiently well known; the new wealth drawn to the United States as a consequence served in each case to start a financial boom of large proportions and long duration. In 1896 a fairly successful wheat crop, coming along with the failure of India's product, stimulated the foreign demand and the export trade to such an extent that prices rose as usual on the eve of November, completely upsetting the argument of the Bryan Presidential campaign, which had been that wheat could not move toward the dollar mark again in the face of the single gold standard.

It is not to be forgotten, also, that when this country was prostrated under the recoil from the Baring panic in London, and when numerous signs were visible of the financial panic which actually swept over America two years later, the production in 1891 of the largest wheat crop ever harvested up to that time, coming along with the Russian crop failure, so far stimulated our export trade that for more than a year it pulled the American markets out of the jaws of financial peril. Or, to look at the matter in another way, there was the experience of 1895, when the Belmont-Morgan syndicate had entered upon its contract to stop gold exports and save the United States Treasury from virtual insolvency: it was recognized by all far-seeing people how much the great game in finance had then at stake in a successful wheat crop. The condition of winter wheat reported by the Government that April was 81.4, a fairly respectable average. By July an unfavorable season had sent the condition down to 65.8. The yield of wheat was deficient; the export trade fell off at the very moment when imports were increasing because of the renewed confidence in finance, and in the end not only was the reviving prosperity arrested, but the protective movement in the gold market broke down absolutely and the Treasury was in three months drained of all it had gained from the bankers' operations.

It by no means follows that the influences of a large gold-export movement this year would be equally serious; on the contrary, there has

been reason to say that the enormous import of gold from Europe during the past two years—especially when, as was the case last autumn, it had been practically borrowed—laid us open to the probability, in any case, of extensive shipments some time this year. Such return of gold to London was expected by far-seeing financiers at the opening of the present year; and one of the undoubted surprises of 1907 was the fact that instead of rising to the gold-export point, exchange on London fell so low that a few millions of gold were actually imported in March. The explanation of this curious phenomenon lay in our very large sale of railway notes to Europe, payment for which turned exchange with great violence in our favor. But it should never be forgotten that, while the six months' borrowings by our wealthy speculators last winter created a particularly precarious position, the three-year borrowings which have replaced them have only a little more stability. At best we are continuing to do business on borrowed gold, and a partial liquidation of the debt through the return of some of the precious metal can hardly be described as a misfortune. As a matter of fact, the gold-export movement of the present season began on May 27th with the engagement of something less than a million dollars for Paris; between then and the closing week of June, \$16,000,000 was shipped, and the persistently high rate of foreign exchange, in the face of these gold exports, indicated the possibility of a still larger movement.

So much for the immediate financial bearing on the crop situation. It will have been observed, however, that the peculiar phenomena of this crop have a wider scope than that of the United States. Even the abnormal price reached for wheat in March was caused not alone by the predicted shortage in the United States, but by reports of a discouraging outlook on the European continent. In this way a most unusual situation was created; it was one which left open three possible results, each one signifying a position of peculiar interest. That the world as a whole will raise a crop equal to that of a year ago is already out of the question. The three other probabilities which remain are: first, a moderately large crop here with an absolute shortage in Europe; second, a shortage here with a good foreign yield; third, a distinct deficiency in both home and foreign crops.

As to what the first would mean, it is only necessary to refer to such years as 1897, 1879, and 1891, already referred to; for, although neither the country as a whole nor its farmers in particular could derive from a moderate crop under such conditions of urgent foreign demand the benefits which would come from a large home crop, still America would

occupy distinctly the position of advantage and a development of this sort would distinctly help in unravelling a tangled situation. A short crop here with moderate or abundant crops abroad would be at the present time a misfortune of an undoubtedly serious character. It would mean a deficiency in our product, no wealth and no demand from abroad for what was raised sufficient to cause a compensating high price. Seriously deficient crops both at home and abroad would create a position not very often seen in the memory of living men. Even in 1904, when our own wheat crop ran relatively short, the Russian crop increased into almost exactly the amount of our shortage over the previous year. Nearly twenty years ago such a shortage occurred on several occasions. The *Liverpool Corn Trade News* published at the time an estimate that the world's wheat crop of 1889 and 1890 ran respectively 136,000,000 and 32,000,000 bushels short of normal requirements. The result was a period of extravagantly high prices, from which no country in the world got any substantial benefit and which resulted in disordered markets all over the world. In 1881, the year of the famous drought in the United States, the American corn crop was very largely ruined, while the crops of the important Continent producers also fell short. The result in its bearing on finances was distinctly bad. The financial panic of 1882 on the European continent followed in the wake of this harvest and our own markets had to meet the reckoning in 1884. These are not pleasant aspects of the problem; they show, however, how great a stake the country at large has in the production of a sufficient wheat crop, and they make more welcome the indications, since May, that the earlier estimates of crop shortage were almost certainly overdone.

Alexander D. Noyes.

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

THE STATUS OF THE TEACHER IN THE UNITED STATES— OBSERVATIONS OF A GERMAN EDUCATIONAL EXPERT

BY OSSIAN H. LANG

IN May there was published at Leipsic a remarkable little book on common schools and the preparation of teachers in the United States. The author is Dr. Franz Kuypers, of Cologne, who, as member of a German educational commission, spent seven weeks in this country, visiting schools and gathering material. He is an expert of an unusually comprehensive professional training, quick to discern essentials in school administration, methods of teaching, and conditions under which work is carried on. With this he combines a rare openness of mind and keen sympathy with teachers generally. His interest in the things observed in our country did not cease with his return to Germany, but he continued his investigations by correspondence and extensive reading. His book gives evidence of a wide and profound comprehension of the objects which our schools have set themselves to attain and the means employed to attain them. Show work and the arts by which visitors to our schools are made to see things that are not there have not deceived him, though great reputations artificially acquired or derived from a lucky combination of circumstances may have somewhat influenced the course of his investigations.

A most striking feature of Dr. Kuypers's book is the frankness with which he speaks of our teachers and their social and professional status. He calls attention at the outset to the fact that in the United States the office of teaching invests the holder with no particular authority. Teachers are appointed, usually, for one year and are more or less dependent upon the unstable favor of the majority on the local board, which owes its predominance, as a rule, to its partisan cohesion. The teacher's position is further kept uncertain by the personal relationships to the principal, special supervisors, and the superintendent. The feeling of the parents also must be considered. The office, in short, is a pretty precarious one.

The degree to which we in this country permit all sorts of people to harass the teachers and interfere with the proper performance of their duties is a sad commentary on the prevailing misconceptions of democracy. Dr. Kuypers relates an experience of his in Chicago which illus-

trates the point. A thirteen-year-old negro boy entered the office of the principal and accused him of prejudice against the colored race, because of some new regulation. The boy occupied a chair in a careless and stubborn fashion, while the principal stood before him and tried to explain very fully the reasons for the regulation. In the afternoon the boy returned with his father, and the time-consuming arbitration talk was resumed. There are schools in which the principal's time and strength are completely absorbed by attention to such matters: his position is reduced to that of a general complaint clerk. Not infrequently principals encourage pupils to bring their complaints of teachers to them. There are superintendents of similar calibre, who are ever ready to hear charges against the principals, from either parents, pupils, or the subordinate teachers. This is done for the "discipline" of the department. No wonder some educational people look so small.

We talk much about the freedom of the teacher. It is a pretty subject to talk about. It permits us to get away from the sordid realities of life and let our disenfranchised souls soar to the empyrean. The teacher must be free. No slaves can train up free men. All these echoes from educational conventions are wonderfully familiar to most of us. And yet Dr. Kuypers does not tell half the story when he says that "the class teachers are, far more than with us [in Germany], kept under the pedagogical direction of the principal."

Even where legal protection is assured to the faithful and efficient teachers, there are still many opportunities for keeping them humble. In New York City a teacher's position appears to be reasonably secure, and yet many instances might be cited to show how personal spite, whether momentary or prolonged, may make the teacher's life one of the hunted. For example, a teacher who is an exceptionally fine disciplinarian objects to further additions of unruly members to her class from the rooms of less skilful disciplinarians. The principal is irritated by the infelicitous choice of words in which her protest is couched. He takes his revenge by giving her a mark that will deprive her of work in the night schools. After applying "influence" she is assured that such a thing will not happen again, but that for the time being nothing can be done to change the recorded criticism from the principal. Another example—a school commissioner harbors a personal grudge against a principal. Heaven and earth are moved to have the offensive person removed. Assistant superintendents and supervisors are instructed to report on conditions in his school, the silent understanding being that there is something wrong, which must be found. The principal is constantly kept on the rack by official watchers on the lookout for a violation of

the rules or something whereby they may get hold of him. Where is the freedom of the teacher? Where the dignity of the office? Yet those who make the lives of the hunted miserable may speak beautifully upon these idealistic topics.

What about the overlord, the superintendent himself? Chicago can furnish a moving-picture any day that will make the life of an active Russian patriot look tame in comparison. The city never had a more competent, judicious, approachable, upright, and courageous man as superintendent than Mr. Cooley. This is saying considerable, for the city has had some splendid men at the helm. Yet almost from the start a bitter fight has been waged to have Mr. Cooley removed from office. His strength, which should be doubled by the hearty support and cheerful co-operation of the citizens, is sapped by constant assaults and inquisitions for which there is not the slightest rational excuse. To be sure, there is at present some prospect that he may be permitted to turn his attention to the essential duties of his office. Mayor Busse has just ousted Mr. Cooley's most active enemies from the Board of Education, and the men appointed in their places are sensible people desirous of bringing about a condition which will enable the superintendent to devote his main strength to the educational interests of the children. It may take Mr. Cooley some time to get accustomed to the novel sensation of being actually the head of the school system. Of course one can never tell what Chicago will do next. But even a brief respite from the unceasing irritations under the Dunne administration is something to be thankful for.

Superintendent Maxwell's position is in many ways a more satisfactory one. He is less liable to be made the victim of disheartening annoyances and humiliations. This is due not so much to the prevalence of a better public spirit among the people of New York City as to the intricacies of a bureaucratic system which render attacks upon the superintendent less promising of eventual success. Furthermore, there is a tacit agreement among the majority of the school commissioners that Mr. Maxwell must be supported. New York is capable of being quite as nasty as Chicago, as was shown a few short years since, when the majority of the board was still unregenerate. Educators are not bedded on roses.

A suggestion of the methods which school authorities have devised to keep teachers humble may be gathered from the extracts Dr. Kuypers has made from a number of school reports. The duties of principals and special supervisors are minutely described, to make sure that these people are constantly looking after the class teachers. Numerous reports are demanded. Some authorities even prescribe that these must be prepared outside of school hours. How much independence there is left to the

class teacher under such regulations can readily be imagined. Chicago, St. Louis, and New York are particularly strict in prescriptions concerning the supervision of teachers. In most places a teacher can be transferred or even removed from office at the pleasure of the superintendent. Tardiness in arriving at the school building, whether from avoidable or unavoidable causes, is followed by docking of pay, as in the case of factory hands. Absence due to sickness is punished by loss of pay. Powerful personal backing may secure the teacher immunity from many penalties which the less favored individuals must suffer. The fact that the teacher owes his position entirely to local authority suggests that personal considerations are supreme. The impersonal justice of appeal to State authority is much to be desired.

School superintendents, too, are not permitted to feel secure in their positions. In many places the pay of a superintendent can be withheld for various reasons; for instance, if the annual report has not been made out and transmitted promptly. As regards the making out of reports generally Dr. Kuypers says that there is far more of this in America than in Germany—Germany which is ordinarily believed to be the citadel of bureaucracy. He cites Chicago, but he might have made out an even stronger case with the example of New York City. In Chicago, he writes, the principals must submit, besides the annual report, exhaustive monthly reports concerning the school and the teachers. The class teacher is required to keep a daily progress book, and must also on the last Friday of each month, “before leaving the school building,” submit to the principal an accurate monthly report upon the basis of the diary. The diary must be accessible to the principal, so that he may control the daily entry and verify the statements contained in the monthly report. It is further prescribed that all written reports and official communications must be prepared outside of school hours. In addition to this, the teachers of the four higher grades enjoy the privilege of issuing carefully prepared reports to the individual pupils.

It is time that the humiliations to which teachers are subjected by bureaucratic regulations should be brought forward into daylight where reasonable citizens can see them and relegate them to the museums which take care of the Iron Maiden, the wheel, and the thumbscrew.

In summarizing his principal criticisms, Dr. Kuypers says that the “evident defects” in our schools are:

First. Compulsory education is not generally enforced. Where it does exist it is usually too limited in scope.

Second. There is no teachers’ profession. It can hardly be expected that

those who take up teaching as a makeshift will bring to it the devotion which in this calling is essential.

Third. Many country teachers lack even the most rudimentary preparation for their calling; comparatively few have had any normal training. The system of preparing teachers is itself inadequate in very many places.

Fourth. The employment of women in school work is altogether too extensive.

Fifth. Excepting a few cities, the pay and social position of the teacher are not what they should be.

Compulsory Education

“Compulsory education is not generally enforced.” The idea of compulsion does not appeal to the average interpreter of “liberty” in this country. It is “sweet land of go-as-you-please” with him. “Undesirable citizens” reared under the sway of anarchical tendencies have become the spokesmen of untrammelled individualism. A natural result is the enthronement of selfishness. It is this which has encouraged child labor. Nor are selfish parents the chief offenders. From a purely selfish standpoint compulsory school attendance would seem to be a most desirable provision. Every one is agreed that the welfare and prosperity of the country depends upon the widest diffusion of education. The natural resources derive their real value from intelligent development and industrial and commercial exploitation. The individual is profited by the degree of intelligence exercised in sharing in this development and exploitation. Assuming that he does not value education for its own sake, he certainly can find abundant inducements in the promise of material advantages held out to trained intellects and skilled hands. Apparently our failure to enforce the universal education of the young is not due to selfishness. In reality it is due to unenlightened selfishness. Public opinion must grow strong in the faith that rational compulsory education laws, rigidly enforced, are essential to human welfare. Of course, the education offered must be really worth having as equipment for the exigencies of practical life. That is tacitly assumed by the vast sums of public money ungrudgingly expended for the schools.

No Teacher's Profession

“There is in the United States no teachers’ profession.” Here is probably the sorest spot in our educational organization. There is too much dilettante teaching, too much dilettante principaling, too much dilettante superintending. Good intentions there are in plenty, but these are of no more practical value to the children than are the good intentions of a physician towards his patients. Of what comfort is it to the weeping parents to know that the physician loved their child, and would have saved him if he could, but that he did not know

how! They would sooner have pardoned a lesser amount of sympathy, if there had been a better-trained judgment. In matters concerning education the people are not yet capable of distinguishing between sure-handed expertness and bungling dilettanteism, though they are learning, slowly and by costly experience, that there is such a difference. Many communities have already discovered that the superintendent, at least, should be a trained specialist. However, there are still to be found too many of the "hurrah, boys!" type of superintendent, expert in the art of endearing themselves to school boards, principals and teachers, but expert in nothing else. They address every man most cordially as "Brother" or "Son" and the women as "Sisters" or "My Girls." Their visits to the class-rooms are brightened by funny stories, and the pages of their reports are illumined by expressions of gratitude to everybody in town for having helped make the local schools the glory of the State, and for having brought them to their present high grade of efficiency. But one by one these jolly good fellows are being replaced by those whose chief purpose is to serve the schools, and who know how to conduct them in the light of the best thought and according to the most approved experience. The expert is more and more in demand.

There are certain signs by which the expert superintendent may readily be distinguished from his dilettante colleagues. His vocabulary proves nothing. Psychological and pedagogical verbiage is not infrequently the cloak of charlatanry. The expert takes a serious attitude towards his work and expects his teachers to do likewise, constantly casting about for ideas, suggestions, and plans that will increase the general efficiency of the schools. Efficiency spells economy. The expert does not consider himself the fountain of all educational wisdom nor a czar whose mighty edicts must be obeyed, neither is he a truckling clerk of the board of education. He is an expert by right of his command of certain positive facts—facts, not theories—the result of his investigations of actual conditions, together with experience derived both from his own work and from study of the masters of his specialty. He encourages teachers to bring forward their own experiences and conclusions. His communications to teachers are neither general orders nor prescriptions for pedagogic infants. As the executive representative of the board of education, his chief care is to see that every dollar expended on the schools shall bring the fullest possible returns. His principal anxiety as professional representative of the teachers is to keep alive by every means in his power a genuine enthusiasm for education among his fellow-workers, to inspire and aid them to grow in efficiency, and to promote good will and harmonious co-operation between parents and teachers.

"Many country teachers lack even the most rudimentary preparation for their calling." This is certainly putting it very mildly indeed.

Trained Teachers

"The system of preparing teachers is inadequate." This might well have been made a point by itself. Some very interesting revelations could be brought to light if an expert should investigate the programmes and methods of the various schools purporting to train teachers and then publish his results to the world. However, there are quite a number of institutions doing excellent work in this field. If only their output could be ten times as large! Trained teachers have no difficulty in finding positions. They are in such demand that even the untried normal-school graduate is readily placed. One result is that the cities and villages which offer particular attractions absorb almost all the available trained material. The country school is quite generally neglected. A solution that might be tried, at least in the East and the States of the Middle West, would be to require every normal graduate to teach for a year in a country school before a professional diploma can be obtained. This would presuppose, of course, that the State has the power to assign teachers to schools which are either without teachers or which are conducted by people without preparation or experience. In other words, the State must develop the right to demand that all teachers shall possess specific qualifications for the work.

Feminization of the Schools

"The employment of women in school work is altogether too extensive." This point may well be taken up in conjunction with the one to the effect that "Excepting a few cities, the pay and social position of the teacher are not what they should be." The latter criticism explains the scarcity of men in the teaching service. The salaries of teachers in the United States are, generally speaking, poor and in striking contrast to the enthusiasm with which education and the noble work of teaching are acclaimed in public. The shabby treatment which teachers receive in rural communities did not escape the attention of Dr. Kuypers. He found, too, that in the South and also in some other sections unskilled farm labor is generally better paid than teaching. He singles out for special and well-deserved censure the niggardliness of "the rich Northern States of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, both settled largely by frugal Germans," in which the emoluments amount often to "no more than \$250 a year."

On the whole, teaching offers few attractions, excepting to altruists and those afflicted with the teaching mania. The inducements held out by

industrial and commercial life are such that few men turn to teaching, and women abandon school work at the earliest opportunity. Men who have failed in other pursuits or who have lost in the struggle for the attainment of other ambitions find "a modest haven for their lifeboat" in teaching. At any rate there is no doubt that male class teachers are a rare exception and certainly do not represent the pick of intelligence and character which by virtue of their office they should. All the kindergartens and about ninety-five per cent. of the pupils in the elementary schools are taught by women.

Dr. Kuypers declares it to be one of the greatest defects of our schools that the education of boys is conducted almost exclusively by women. He explains, however, that the defect is not as serious as it may impress the German reader at first thought. The teacher is an American woman, freer and more independent in all respects than the German *Fräulein*. No one has yet been able to prove that women lack the power to control boys; on the contrary, lack of disciplinary control is a point not infrequently raised against men who are teaching boys. Moreover, our boys are by nature chivalrous, and appeal to them from this side meets with almost unfailing response.

All this is not reassuring to Dr. Kuypers, who regards with deep concern the predominance of purely feminine educational influences upon American boys, though he concludes that the native love of manly sports, inherited from our Anglo-Saxon forebears, forms an effective counterbalance to feminization. I quote the following thoroughly German expression of view:

There is no profession of men teachers. Accordingly, the country is deprived of the blessing of teachers' families, in which the new generation is born into the calling, as it were, which makes preparation for the calling so easy, and activity in that calling predetermined. However, the teaching profession shares this lack with other occupations—physicians, lawyers, and clergymen. There is no vocational tradition as yet; each must spy out right and left where to build his home.

The improvement of the pay and social condition of the teacher is well under way. In some places the subject is energetically kept to the fore by courageous teachers who have become conscious of their grievances. Availing themselves of their observations of how the advantages have been gained by laborers in other spheres, the teachers have effected organizations after the style of labor unions. In Chicago the Teachers' Federation actually affiliated with the local trades unions. In New York City the strongest organization of women teachers, under

**Equal Pay for
Equal Work**

the leadership of Miss Grace C. Strachan, may take a similar step. There are those who are horror-struck at the very idea of an affiliation with labor unions. And yet such a procedure would be quite in accordance with the tendencies of the times. Besides, women have learned by experience that the political influence necessary to win practical consideration is acquired only by a show of votes, which in turn suggests an alliance with organized male sympathizers. Teaching does not yet take rank with the professions of law and medicine. Some would have it that it is an art to which people are born as painters and poets are. Admitting this claim, the question may be raised, Why is not the public indignant at the unionizing of orchestras and operatic choruses? Of course, the great virtuosos and prima donnas receive due consideration without bending their individuality under the union yoke, but the rank and file have discovered material advantage to result from aggressive combination. The flesh-pots of Egypt look more promising of nourishment to them than the tramp over the hot sands in the desert with only the hope of a brighter beyond for sustenance. Teachers are as human as the allied chorus singers.

In New York City the move toward unionization began with the demand of the women for "equal pay for equal work." It was found that women officially charged with the same duties as men were receiving less pay. Our mothers and grandmothers would have seen nothing strange in this condition. The women teachers of New York City did. Experience having taught them that a humble appeal to their local superiors in office would yield them no substantial encouragement and might bring censure upon their heads, they turned to the State for redress. By a magnificently conducted campaign the State legislature was persuaded to grant their demands. Now began a most extraordinary public debate to defeat the legislative victory of the women by the vetoes of Mayor McClellan and Governor Hughes. The veto of the Mayor was obtained, but was overridden by the legislature, but that of the Governor was left uncontested. The significant feature of the explanations given by the two executives for their action is that both evade the issue of "equal pay for equal work." Mayor McClellan rejected the salary bill because he regarded it as unnecessary and obnoxious class legislation and a violation of the principle of home rule. Governor Hughes took the broad ground that the bill involved a large economic principle which must be settled for the State at large before the State could insist upon its adoption in any particular locality.

There is no doubt about the fundamentality of the proposition of "equal pay for equal work." The difficulties are in the application of it.

What is meant by "equal work" is a large question. It is quite possible that no two persons can be found who do equal work in education. Is the personality to be deducted? If so, do we not omit the most valuable educational influences which may proceed from a teacher? If we admit that the personality is an educative asset, we are compelled to deal in our calculations of results with a variant of considerable proportion. The opponents of the women who persuaded the legislature at Albany to vote for "equal pay" stood before two horns of a dilemma. Either they must prove that the work of the men is superior to that of the women, or else they must establish that the teachers are not paid for the work they do, but according to their social or individual needs. The question of supply and demand could not enter into the discussion under the circumstances. The principal issue would rather be, Are men really needed as teachers? That in turn would depend upon the answer to the question, What results are to be achieved? Theoretic assertions cannot convince the taxpayers that men are needed. They must have exhibited to them incontrovertible realities.

What results are expected? How is the attainment of the results to be determined? A few years ago Dr. Rice gave us a method for testing certain simple results which every elementary school must produce, whatever else it may do or try to do. The plain sensibleness of the proposition appeared to have confounded the teachers accustomed to the hallowed obscurity of psychological parlance. Here was something that even the plain citizen could understand. That seemed to suffice to bring upon it the condemnation of those distinguished speakers and others who build for the teachers comfortable bowers of ease beside the still waters of tradition. Nevertheless, the discovery must be regarded as one of high importance for education, more especially for school administration. We now have at least a plan, practically tested and fully presented, for going about the study of results in school work. A community desiring to inquire after such simple results as Dr. Rice himself investigated need only apply the same method. Bare intellectual results are easily judged. Following the lines of least resistance, many superintendents and principals confine their examinations to this one line. The women teachers of New York City, therefore, may well conclude, upon the basis on which their own work is judged, that they are entitled to as much pay as the men in charge of like work. "The superintendents and principals," they say, "fill out the same blanks and judge from identical standards in rating the work of either men or women teachers." Therefore if no other results are required, no discrimination should exist in the pay. The point is plain. If the men really do supply something more than is exacted of

the women, then it would seem to be but just that this something should be brought out in the rating of results. It is possible, for instance, that certain women supply more efficient training in what is commonly called manliness than certain men. If the community pays a man for manliness, he ought to possess it, or give evidence of the ability to develop it in his pupils. As long as this is not done the weight of the argument would seem to be on the side of the women teachers.

There is no doubt that the boys—and the girls too for that matter—ought at some time in the educational course to come under the influence of a virile personality. The people have not yet realized the importance of this proposition. A careful analysis of our social life reveals certain positive dangers which may be traced to over-feminization in education. Stern solidity looking toward the attainment of great ideals is giving way to efforts to please, to favor and be favored. Our whole political life has shifted to this wrong basis. However, this subject is not under discussion here. The point is that the schools cannot do entirely without men teachers. If men of the right sort are to be employed the pay must naturally be such as to attract and hold them. There will be money enough to supply adequate salaries, once the people realize the positiveness of the need. The present haphazard procedure does not meet the issue, and is not half as logical as the argument of the women who are demanding "equal pay for equal work."

Can manliness be determined by tests? The plain citizen can readily discern manliness in a man, however transcendental the problem may appear to an educator accustomed always to look for the psychological handle by which to take hold of it. There are manly teachers and there are men teachers who are not manly. To be sure the written examination and other procedures so dear to the scholast will not establish the presence of manliness. The successful private-school manager knows how to find it. His institution does not thrive on theory. His procedure is worth looking into. He must have good teachers and he manages to get them and to keep them. The latter is a point of considerable consequence. The public school has had in its service many of the best men the country has produced, but it could not hold them. Even men who would rather teach than do anything else gave up the struggle. They were willing to forego material gain but they could not give up their manhood, for they realized that this loss would deprive them of a quality essential to real success in education.

However, the things that are are not the things that will be. We are progressing every day. Dr. Kuypers, too, appreciates that we are at present in a transitional period in school matters. Our country is young.

Many of the present defects are merely the natural results of the measles and whooping-cough stage. Our ills are not yet deep-seated nor are they chronic. Untrammelled by tradition and innocent of any thorough acquaintance with history, we experiment boldly, attacking fundamental questions like "equal pay for equal work" not in their theoretically natural order—as in this case, for instance, after settling the question of woman suffrage—but as they come up, projected into public view by the agitations of enthusiasts. The critical Old World is perfectly willing to benefit by our successes and our failures. Relatively, our growth is very rapid. Dr. Kuypers notes some striking evidences of the progress in public education. He points out that while at present only one in a hundred proceeds beyond the elementary school, the ratio was one in five hundred twenty-five years ago. Or, while only 8 per cent. of the teachers in the South hold certificates of normal preparation, there is comfort in the observation that the number of normal-school students increased 50 per cent. between 1880 and 1890, and 94 per cent. in the twelve succeeding years. Before many more winters have passed efficient and faithful educators may be permitted to give their main strength to the schools. Perhaps they may be allowed even to die a peaceful death in the harness, or, better yet, feel at the close of a long and useful term of labor in the schools that they have really earned the gratitude of the people for whose benefit they have spent the best portion of their lives.

Ossian H. Lang.

APPLIED SCIENCE

PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTATION

BY HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE

ONE of the controlling elements in the value of a thing is that of its location. Very often the whole difference between the potential and the active value of an article lies in its position. Practically all of the resources of Nature require, either that the materials be taken from their original location to some place where men and markets are awaiting them, or that men be brought to the place where the latent values are awaiting the presence and effort of man for their utilization. It follows that a large part of the work of the engineer in the application of science to the service of man must be devoted to the removal, transport, and delivery of materials from places where they cannot be used to the points where their mere presence creates value. Economists have much to say about the law of supply and demand, but often ignore the fact that the control which man is acquiring over the forces of Nature is enabling him to modify the sources and means of supply to such a degree as to render the law far more complicated than formerly appeared.

Probably there is no more powerful influence at work to-day in the civilized world than the question of transportation. Within the limits of great cities the whole system of commerce, politics, and daily life is dependent upon the provision, maintenance, and control of local transport. Beyond and between the cities the same problem demands solution as the essential element of prosperity. Between states and foreign nations the means of communication and for the conveyance of merchandise and of men constitute the chief factors upon which interstate and international existence depends.

The opening of communication and commerce across the Atlantic and through the Pacific, following upon the voyages of Columbus and of Magellan, practically turned Europe inside out, placing Venice and Genoa in the rear and putting the British Islands, hitherto in the background, in the very front of activity.

When the transcontinental railways penetrated to the Pacific, the essential elements of local provincialism in the United States began almost imperceptibly to lose their hold, until now we are beginning to realize that the application of engineering science has made of "these United States" what has aptly been termed an "interstate country."

Meanwhile the engineer was opening another route for transport, and with the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez the eastward flow of commerce in Europe was partially restored, while even now the cutting of the other isthmus at Panama has become a matter of national and even international importance.

During the whole period in which modern engineering has been developed this silent but controlling influence upon commerce, politics, government, and warfare has been extending, and to-day nearly every economic, diplomatic, and financial question relates to some problem in which applied science is the controlling force. Because Russian engineers were able to build a railway across Siberia there came war in Manchuria and peace negotiations at Portsmouth. Because steam railways cross the American continent and electric power fills the Empire State we see rate regulation and the control of utilities becoming the overshadowing questions in national and State politics. Because the high-speed elevator is eliminating the question of vertical transport in business and residence buildings we see cities transformed, land values multiplied, and commercial activities redoubled. There is little doubt, then, that modern civilization depends for its very existence, commercial, political, military, social, upon the increasingly successful application of science by the engineer to the work of bringing together from all parts of the world the materials of service, the forces of Nature, and the men who alone can use them.

Taking, then, a broad survey of the field of applied science as it exists to-day, we see certain underlying questions demanding attention, these being partly covered, and often greatly obscured, by minor details, sometimes of pressing importance even though capable of ready solution.

Thus, increased capacity in the transport of merchandise must be provided, both by land and at sea. Increased speed, even yet sought for certain purposes, is beginning to be accepted at its real and limited value, and replaced to a great extent by greater train-loads on the railway and by the larger cargo-carrier at sea. Further, it is beginning to be realized that periodic congestion is one of the greatest obstacles to capacity, and that continuous flow, or some close approximation to it, is essential for maximum capacity. These things are by no means realized as yet, but at least their truth is not denied. For the present the railways are attempting something in this line by frequent trains at close intervals; in ocean transport the promise once held out of daily sailings for merchandise, passengers, and mails, has not been fulfilled, although the mere perception of the possibility showed that the principle was understood. In local transport the idea of continuity has until now been almost ignored, notwithstanding the fact that the engineer has made some im-

portant practical steps in that direction. The necessity for some recognition of the principle appears in the fact that in the New York Subway, for example, the headway between trains is limited by the time required to unload and take on passengers at the express stations, and is not, as matters are now arranged, a function of the speed at all. An approach to continuity is announced in the arrangement of the New York terminal of the Hudson Companies' tunnel, the passengers being taken on from one side of the train while others are discharged on the opposite side, a method which will reduce the time of stop to a minimum. The true solution of such local service, however, is found in the continuously travelling platform, possibly supplemented by high-speed express trains for long-distance through traffic.

The increasing congestion of railway traffic in the United States is causing attention to be turned again to the value of internal waterways, and herein lies another fundamental principle in the problem of transport. Waterways are not necessarily competitors of railways; there is ample room for both; but the railway cannot be expected to carry certain kinds of merchandise as economically as the slower waterway, be it canal or river. One of the most important engineering questions in the United States to-day is that which has recently been submitted to the Inland Waterways Commission, involving as it does the preparation of a complete plan for the utilization of the navigable rivers of the country. Pascal's definition of a stream as a road which travels shows that the principle of continuity in water transport was long ago appreciated, and thus we may yet see an extensive return to the canal and the canalized river as an important department of transport.

In all lines of such work, however, it must be remembered that the actual cost of the service is not a safe guide as to its efficiency or desirability. When plans for electric traction for main-line railway service are discussed it is usual for railroad men to show the enormous cost of making the change, and the probable greater cost of maintaining the new system. Similar arguments might be brought, and indeed have been brought, against almost every such change. The railway itself represents a vastly increased cost over its predecessor, the stage-coach line, just as the electric tramway is more costly than the horse-car line. The watch, as has often been pointed out, is far more highly organized, costly, and delicate than the sun-dial; but any argument based thereon has long since ceased to have weight. The real question to be answered in the transportation problem is the accomplishment of results. The products of

Nature, the output of the mine, the quarry, the furnace, the farm, must be carried where they are wanted with a minimum of delay and a directness demanded by the customer. These points being satisfied, the question of cost must be met by the engineer.

Two methods of transport, one extensively used for certain products, the other only beginning to be considered, meet the requirement of continuity to a high degree, and both represent some of the best work of the engineer. I refer to the existing pipe lines for oil and the proposed pipe lines for gas.

The Development of the Pipe Line

The value of continuity of flow in the case of the pipe line for oil is well shown by the fact that the pipe has supplanted railroad transport of oil wherever it has been introduced. So far as gas is concerned, the experience in pumping natural gas in West Virginia has demonstrated the feasibility of the system. It has been suggested that the scientific method of using the fuel deposits of the Lehigh and Schuylkill valleys in Pennsylvania is to produce fuel gas at the mines and deliver the gas in New York and in Philadelphia by pipe. The pumping might well be done by gas engines in relay, the pipe itself being tapped for the fuel supply for the relay stations.

In this connection it may be noted that gas-power distribution in the machine shop has been found both successful and economical. By arranging small gas engines to drive various groups of shafting for the machines in different departments, the gas being distributed in mains from a central generator, the distribution losses are reduced to a minimum, while the fact that a small gas engine is practically as efficient as a large one enables the high economy of the internal-combustion motor to be realized for each group.

Coming now to some of the detailed problems in transport which are attracting special attention at the present time, we may note the matter of rail breakages, concerning which much has been said and published during the past few months. That the number of breakages has been excessive there is no doubt, and the principal controversy is in the determination of the cause. There is no question as to the fact that wheel-loads on locomotives and trains have been greatly increased during the past few years. In the case of locomotives the loads on the driving wheels have nearly quadrupled, while the total weight of the passenger car of to-day is from three to four times that of a few years ago. Freight cars have increased in capacity from 30,000 pounds to

The Problem of Rail Breakage

100,000 pounds, while an increase in the frequency and weight of trains has added correspondingly to the severity of the work on the rails. This, however, seems insufficient to account for the breakages, and it is maintained that with the increase in the weight per yard of modern rails there has not been as high a standard of quality maintained.

There is no doubt that it is more difficult to roll a heavy rail to the same advantage as one of lighter section. The greater mass of metal in the head of the rail causes this portion to retain its heat longer than the thinner parts in the web and flange. It is well known that the best texture of rail steel is secured by care in the heat treatment, especially the temperature during rolling, and if the rail is still at a high heat after the rolling is completed the metal is apt to assume a coarse and granular condition which does not exist when the metal is worked while cooling. Experimental investigations, including the use of the drop test, as well as the microscopic examination of polished and etched sections, show that metal of the same chemical composition may and does vary greatly in strength and wearing qualities according to the heat treatment it has received. The present outcry against the use of Bessemer steel and in favor of steel made in the open-hearth furnace does not seem warranted by the facts, and at the present time the remedy appears to lie in a rigid inspection of the product, both at the mills during the operation of rolling, and by severe testing of representative specimens before laying the track.

The latest suggestion in connection with the improvement of the Bessemer process is to use a blast from which all moisture has been removed by passing the air over refrigerating coils. The success which has attended this application of the dry-air blast in the blast furnace will, it is hoped, be extended to the operation of the Bessemer converter. If the use of the dry-air blast prevents the formation of blowholes and defects in the steel ingot, it should enable sounder rails to be rolled.

Last year I referred in these reviews to the anxiety expressed in some quarters as to the possible limitations of the supply of iron ore, both for

The Supply of Iron Ore

Europe and for America. The inquiry was met by a prompt response, and it has been fully demonstrated that the supply is ample for many generations, if the hitherto unworked deposits are developed. Thus again the question of transport enters to solve the problem, and what in one part of the world is merely so much earth, of no appreciable value, becomes, when transported to the centres of industry, the raw material important above all others, the food supply alone excepted. The

agitation in this matter has certainly been productive of good, since it has called attention to the fact that, entirely apart from the actively worked mines, there are immense deposits of iron ore untouched and as yet unreached in northern and central Africa, in Australia, New Zealand, China, and India. All that is needed to bring these "potentialities of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice" into actual value is the element of transport, and the means of transport will be forthcoming.

An interesting development of municipal transport in London is seen in the rapid increase in the use of the self-propelled omnibus, the so-called "motor-bus." During the past few years hundreds of these machines have been put into service, and while defects in construction and operation have naturally been revealed, the results, on the whole, have been encouraging. As Colonel Crompton pointed out some time ago, the omnibus is superior to the tramway in the important feature that it possesses an "overtaking power," the stoppage of one vehicle not necessarily interrupting travel on the entire line. This feature aids in the maintenance of continuous traffic, so essential in the relief of congestion, and permits a flexibility of operation extremely desirable.

The Future of The Motor-Bus

The defects of the present motor-bus appear to lie mainly in skidding, in bad weather and on dirty streets; in the production of noise and bad odors; and in breakdowns. Skidding may be remedied by the proper care of the streets, a matter which was demanded before the motor-bus ever came into service. Modern pavements are not slippery in themselves, or even when wet if they are clean; but when covered with a coating of greasy mud, both automobiles and "hippomobiles" have trouble. A free flushing with the hose will remove the slipperiness, and skidding need not be feared on clean wet asphalt. Improved design and construction of motors will aid materially in reducing the noise, while the number of breakdowns demands not only better construction, but more rigid inspection. When it is considered that the motor-omnibuses in London are operated continuously for sixteen to seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, leaving only night hours for cleaning, inspection, and repair, it is remarkable that they stand up as well as they do. Very few of the private automobiles could be depended on for such results. There is little doubt that the severe tests of such daily service will try out the existing models and enable steady improvement to be made. Some satisfactory substitute for the differential gearing is to be desired, while automatic lubrication, or possibly the employment of some form of graphite in the cylinders, will prevent the offensive smoky exhaust, and

there is every reason to believe that the motor-bus will become a valuable auxiliary to the underground tube or the subway in meeting the problem of municipal transport.

Some of the important details in the successful application of electric traction to main-line railway service are being worked out in the practical operation of trains in tunnels. Thus, in the handling of the electrical equipment of the Simplon Tunnel the three-phase alternating current is being used with success for trains of weights up to 300 metric tons, on heavy grades, at speeds of 40 to 45 miles an hour. The locomotives themselves weigh 62 tons, of which 42 tons are on the driving wheels, and develop draw-bar pulls of 16,000 to 20,000 pounds in starting heavy trains. The difficulties experienced at first with the moist atmosphere of the tunnel have been wholly remedied with improved insulation, and regular service is now maintained. An interesting fact observed in the operation of the tunnel appears in the increased resistance of a train in the tunnel over that in the open air. Measurements have demonstrated that at speeds of about 43 miles an hour it requires 400 horse-power more to haul a train while in the tunnel than in the open. This excess resistance diminishes at slower speeds, and at 33 miles an hour it amounts to about 15 pounds per ton.

The Simplon Tunnel is hardly completed and the railway in operation when the next great Alpine-tunnel project appears to be assuming definite shape. The much-discussed Splügen Tunnel is included in the concession recently granted for the construction of a railway from Chur, in Switzerland, to Chiavenna, in Italy. This route will give convenient communication between the Engadine, Tyrol, and Vienna and the cities of northern Italy, and the plans include a number of steep grades and the boring of a tunnel $16\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, the entire line having a length of 55 miles. The project offers many difficulties, but with the experience gained on the St. Gothard and on the Simplon routes there appears to be no reason why the undertaking may not be carried through successfully. The principal question involved is the cost, this being estimated at about \$25,000,000, or \$10,000,000 more than the Simplon Tunnel, the estimates including roadbed, tunnel, and railway equipment. Electric traction is to be used, ample hydraulic power being available both at the Swiss and the Italian ends of the tunnel.

One of the recent developments in railway passenger service is the

arrival of the all-metal car. The first active incentive toward the use of non-combustible cars was probably the result of the disastrous fire in the Paris *Métropolitain*, the effect appearing in the steel cars built for use in the New York Subway. It is now announced that one of the great trunk lines has decided to use steel passenger cars for both local and through **service, not only as a precaution against fire, but also because of the greater resistance in cases of collision and accident.** These cars are to be lighted and heated by electricity, thus removing the principal cause of the fire which so frequently follows a railroad wreck.

Several months ago I referred to the plan of the German marine engineer, Herr Otto Schlick, to utilize the gyroscopic action of a revolving flywheel to check the oscillations of a vessel at sea. Since that time the plan has been given practical trials, the apparatus having been installed upon a torpedo-boat, the *See-bar*, of the German navy. This vessel, of 116 feet in length, 11.7 feet in breadth, and with a displacement of 52.2 tons, was fitted with a flywheel of a diameter of 1 metre, arranged to be rotated at 1,600 revolutions per minute. This wheel had its axis placed in a vertical position, the casing, or frame, to which it was fitted being mounted on horizontal trunnions athwartship. The casing was fitted with hand and hydraulic brakes, and the whole apparatus designed to enable the action to be tested. The performance of the device demonstrated its effectiveness. At a time when the rolling of the boat reached 15 degrees each side of the vertical, with the gyroscope out of action, the starting of the gyroscope reduced the roll to 1 degree out to out. Similar results were obtained on successive trials, and there appears to be little doubt that, for small boats at least, the gyroscope may be found very effective in reducing the rolling to a minimum. The great size and steadiness of the large Atlantic liners renders such a device unnecessary, but for small vessels of war the gyroscope may be found very useful in securing a steady gun platform.

Another plan for the practical application of the gyroscope is seen in the Brennan mono-rail car, a working model of which attracted most interested attention at a recent soirée of the Royal Society in London. The model there shown was a car about six feet in length, supported on a pair of wheels at each end, the wheels all being placed tandem, so to speak, and thus in line of the single rail. Within the car there were two small flywheels about five inches in diameter, revolving in opposite directions at a speed of about 7,000 revolutions per minute. When these flywheels are in motion the car stands as steadily upright as if it had the

wheel base of an ordinary car, but when the flywheels are stopped it falls over, just as might be expected. With these gyroscope wheels in action the car may be propelled either upon a single rail laid on the ground or upon a cable, and the demonstrations showed that the apparatus acted perfectly in passing around sharp curves.

The use of the gyroscope in connection with the control of submarine torpedoes is well known, and this latest application of the principle bids fair to lead to developments of still greater value.

Transportation, in its limited sense, may be taken to mean the carrying of ponderable substances from one place to another, but in recent years it has become closely associated with transmission.

Transmission of Energy

In the early history of the electrical transmission of energy the statement was made that the most economical method for the long-distance transmission of energy was to be found in the hauling of coal between the two points by railway. This is doubtless still true in some instances, but there are many cases in which energy can be derived from natural sources not capable of bodily transportation, and the conversion of hydraulic power, for example, into electrical energy and its transmission to distant points continues. A recent list of hydro-electric power-generation and long-distance transmission plants, covering the work in the United States and Canada during the past decade, includes sixty installations, ranging from 1,000 to 50,000 horse-power, transmitted over distances from 2 miles to more than 200 miles. Some of the largest amounts of power also include the longest distances, Montreal receiving 46,000 horse-power from Shawinigan Falls, 85 miles distant, while the longest transmission in California delivers 15,000 horse-power over 220 miles. During the ten years from 1890 to 1900 the increase in hydraulic-power development was shown by the census to be nearly half a million horse-power, while it is estimated that by 1910 there will be, in the United States alone, an aggregate of two and a half million horse-power in service, nearly all of it electrically transmitted.

The latest achievement in the long-distance transmission of electrical energy is the Kern River plant in California. This installation is the first of the stations intended to derive 60,000 horse-power from the Kern River, and is of 25,000 horse-power. The impulse wheels of this plant are driven by water acting under a head of 877 feet, corresponding to a pressure of 380 pounds per square inch, and the electric current is transmitted to Los Angeles, a distance of 117 miles from the power-house, under an electrical pressure of 85,000 volts. While this distance has been

exceeded in the case of a few other electrical transmissions, there is no other in which so high a voltage is used.

The development of the hydraulic power of the streams in the Sierra Nevada and its transmission to the agricultural regions and to the coast is making up in large measure for the insufficiency in the fuel supply of the Pacific Coast. With the exception of the natural-gas belt in the Middle West, it is said there is now no section of the United States in which the cost of power is so low as in the portion of California supplied from the electric stations of the Sierras, and the use of this power for irrigation is redeeming thousands of acres of land.

I have referred already in these pages to the possibilities of the gas engine for marine service, and this subject appears to be attracting renewed attention. In England especially the question is being discussed in naval circles, and the advantages of gas over steam power are being seriously considered.

**The Gas Engine
for Marine
Service**

Naturally, the first consideration in favor of the internal-combustion motor is its high thermal efficiency. A horse-power can be developed with one half the amount of fuel required by a steam engine. Again, there is no large reservoir of fluid under high pressure in the case of the combustion motor, the pressure being produced directly in the cylinders of the engine at the moment of its utilization. With the gas engine one of the difficulties in handling the machinery in rough weather is absent, since there are no boilers with large volumes of water to give trouble by priming or carrying of water over into the pipes and the engines. Gas producers need charging only at intervals of several hours, and the severe duty of firing in a heavy seaway is rendered unnecessary.

In view of these advantages the present obstacles to the practical use of the gas producer and engine must be considered, these being of two kinds. In the first place the gas producer, as at present designed, gives entirely satisfactory results only with certain fuels, such as anthracite coal, or coke. An altogether satisfactory gas producer for use with bituminous coal has not yet been perfected, but there is every reason to believe that it is capable of being developed with the increasing experience which is being had in this department of practice.

The other feature in the gas engine which is open to improvement for its adaptation to marine service is the prompt and complete control of speed and power of reversal. Several methods have been proposed, these including the use of a reversible propeller, the direction of motion of the engine remaining unchanged; also the Del Proposto system, al-

ready mentioned in these reviews in connection with the introduction of the Diesel motor upon vessels on the Swiss lakes. This latter method involves the use of electrical transmission between the engine and the propeller, and, with certain modifications, it presents a fertile field for development and extension. With such manifest advantages, and with the obstacles so evidently capable of removal, the application of gas power to marine service appears to be approaching commercial success.

Last year I mentioned in these pages the proposed expedition of Mr. Walter Wellman from Spitzbergen in a dirigible balloon in an effort to reach the North Pole. The attempt was given up, or rather postponed, and now it is announced that the plans are completed for an attempt this summer. Whatever may be thought of the object of the proposed expedition, there are many matters of interest connected with its equipment. The balloon, which has been rebuilt in Paris, is 55.8 metres in length, with a middle diameter of 16 metres, giving a volume of 7,500 cubic metres, and an ascensional force, with hydrogen, of 8,870 kilogrammes. With a principal motor of 70 horse-power, and a supply of 6,800 litres of gasoline, the navigable radius of action is estimated at 2,000 miles, the speed being about 15 miles an hour. The whole apparatus is to be fully tested before the attempt is made. According to recent trials, the loss of hydrogen is only about 1 per cent. of the volume of the gas bag in twenty-four hours.

The Balloon in Arctic Exploration

If it can be demonstrated that a practicable trip of arctic exploration can be made with such an apparatus, some useful results may follow, even though no great measure of success be attained so far as the search for the pole is concerned. There are numerous explorations in various parts of the world which would be materially advanced if from a suitable base station a reliable aerial reconnaissance could be made. Photographs of regions otherwise inaccessible would serve to complete the record of the earth's surface, and various disputed questions be cleared up.

From the pole to the tropics is a wide range, but the applications of engineering science cover all portions of the globe. During the past few months the question of the extension of the regulation of the Nile for the irrigation of Egypt has been actively discussed, and it is probable that the great dam at Assouan will be increased in height and also partly strengthened and reconstructed. The exact nature of the work to be undertaken has not been officially made public. In a despatch from Lord Cromer recently laid before Parliament, it is stated

The Regulation of the Nile

that the whole question has been carefully considered, especially in view of the doubts which have been cast upon the stability of the structure under the proposed conditions. The despatch contains a report by Sir Benjamin Baker, according to whose plans the dam at Assouan was originally built, and whose recent death draws added attention to these his last words on this critical subject. Sir Benjamin makes several statements which are of especial interest in connection with the most recent work at the dam. It had been found that the scour caused by the discharge of water through the sluices was causing serious erosion in the bed of the river below the dam. There has, therefore, been constructed a masonry apron below the dam to receive the force of the discharge, and this apron is now completed. Sir Benjamin Baker now states that the completion of this apron will permit the water level to be raised 1.50 metres without carrying out any works at the dam or locks, from which it must be assumed that until now the absence of the apron rendered it inadvisable to carry the water up to the level originally intended. He further states that the existing dam and locks may be so modified as to admit of the level of the water being raised 7 metres, but shows that the temperature variations make the problem a difficult one, especially in connection with the bonding of the new masonry to the existing structure. It has generally been assumed that the dam as it exists to-day is ready for the addition of 7 metres, or about 23 feet, to its height without further change. Such, however, is by no means the case, and if the present factor of safety is to be maintained with the added height the dam will have to be strengthened, at a cost of \$7,500,000 in money and five years in time. When the new works are completed the additional amount of water stored is stated to be sufficient for the irrigation of 1,000,000 acres of land.

The question of the actual value of these works to the agricultural population of Egypt is to a certain extent a matter of economics, and outside of the field of these reviews. As a matter of fact, land values and rentals have been raised and the area under cotton cultivation protected, but the actual supply of food still seems to run short. As it now stands, the dam provides less than one fourth the amount of water required, and already it has cost \$14,500,000, while half as much more will be required for the new works, the reservoir then being only a little more than half as large as is really necessary. In the meantime natural-storage reservoir sites, requiring a comparatively moderate expenditure to make them available, are ignored or overlooked.

Henry Harrison Suplee.

THE DRAMA

RECENT PLAYS BY NEW AMERICAN DRAMATISTS

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

THE most salient feature of the theatre season which has terminated lately in New York was the simultaneous success of several plays upon American subjects written by American authors hitherto unknown upon the boards. The mere fact that half a dozen managers gave a hearing to ambitious playwrights yet unknown was in itself remarkable; and the further fact that they reaped a harvest on their investment of courage and capital is reassuring to those who believe that the future of the American drama depends upon the encouragement afforded to new writers. The voice of several unrecognized American playwrights has been heard at last; and the public has learned that unrecognized American playwrights have all along had something to say. The way seems open to them now for several seasons; now or never, therefore, American drama must be born. And because of the high promise afforded by the success of the new American dramatists in the season that has lately closed, it seems advisable to analyze their efforts with thorough critical consideration, to decide what was worthy in their work and what was faulty, to the end that in the seasons to come they may hold fast to that which was good and avoid the reappearance of evil.

I have sufficient faith in the public to believe that the success of a play affords indisputable proof that the play deserved success. The reverse of this axiom does not logically follow; a play may fail that deserved to succeed; but when the public pays its money to see a piece, we may be certain that it gets its money's worth. Nevertheless, it is easy, upon the basis of popular approval, to rear a superstructure of over-praise. One at least of the new American successes of the season past was hailed by certain critics, and two or three others were advertised by their managers, as "The Great American Drama." The epithet was not, by any of the plays, deserved. Each of them was good, but none was great, because each was marred by some weakness in the theme, the structure, or the style which prevented its author from accomplishing the entire possibility afforded him. In view of this fact, excessive praise appears not only uncritical but also unencouraging. A really good play has earned the right to be criticised adversely for the faults that it exhibits; and it

is by honest criticism of his faults that the best encouragement may be afforded to a dramatist who has done good work and promised to do better later on.

It is my purpose in the present paper to consider critically certain representative plays that have succeeded in the season past, each written by an American dramatist hitherto unknown or little known. I acknowledge at the outset that the plays were good; and for that very reason I intend to point out the faults of each, in order to indicate the lines along which our new playwrights must develop if "The Great American Drama" is ever to be more than a phrase.

Dramatic criticism of an academic cast is of little value either to those who write plays or to those who see them. The man who buys his ticket to the theatre knows little and cares less about the technique of play-making; and for the dramatist himself there are no ten commandments. I have been gradually growing to believe that there is only one commandment for the dramatist—that he shall tell the truth; and only one fault of which a play is capable—that, as a whole or in details, it tells a lie. A play is bad only when the average theatre-goer—a man, I mean, with no special knowledge of dramatic art—viewing what is done upon the stage and hearing what is said, revolts instinctively against it with a feeling that I may best express in that famous sentence of Assessor Brack's, "People don't do such things." A play that is truthful at all points will never evoke this instinctive disapproval; a play that lies at certain points will lose attention by jangling those who know.

The test of truthfulness is the final test of excellence in drama. In saying this, of course, I do not mean that the best plays are realistic in method, naturalistic in setting, or close to actuality in subject-matter. *The Tempest* is just as true as *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Peter Pan* is just as true as *Ghosts*. I mean merely that the people whom the dramatist has conceived must act and speak at all points consistently with the laws of their imagined existence, and that these laws must be in harmony with the laws of actual life. Whenever people on the stage fail of this consistency with law, a normal theatre-goer will feel instinctively, "Oh, no, he did *not* do that," or, "Those are *not* the words she said." A play is bad only when the audience does not believe it.

It is not an easy thing to tell the truth and nothing but the truth; and there are many, many ways in which a dramatist may lie. He may be untruthful in his very theme, if he is lacking in sanity of outlook upon

the things that are. He may be untruthful in his characterization, if he interferes with his people after they are once created and attempts to coerce them to his purposes instead of allowing them to work out their own destinies. He may be untruthful in his plotting, if he devises situations arbitrarily for the sake of theatrical effect. He may be untruthful in his writing, if he puts into the mouths of his people sentences that their nature does not demand that they shall speak.

A dramatist is not capable of a single fault, either technical or otherwise, that may not be viewed as one phase or another of untruthfulness. The plays to be considered in this paper were, for the most part, true; and it was because of the freshness of the truth which they exhibited that each of them achieved success. But each of them told lies at certain points, either through unwisdom on the part of the dramatist or through lack of technical ability. In some cases the author did not know the truth; in others he was unable to express it.

Mr. William Vaughn Moody, in *The Great Divide*, came very near to writing a great play. At the outset he began with a big theme, which was as new and daring as it was momentous and profound; and a big theme that is both deep and novel is a rarity indeed in this repetitionary period of the drama. Ruth Jordan, a young woman brought up amid the strait-laced puritanical conventions of New England, finds herself, under the wide skies of Arizona, stirred to certain inner feelings that indicate that she is ripe for real experience. A drunken ruffian named Stephen Ghent possesses himself of her under the law that might makes right. They are married. Stephen conceives for Ruth a love both manly and profound, under the influence of which he becomes the man that God intended him to be; but the woman revolts against their union, because it began in wickedness and she has not yet learned that out of evil good may grow. This great lesson is taught her after she has left her husband. She also learns at last the woman that God intended her to be, and of her own will she returns to Stephen. As Browning would have said, earth has gained by one man and woman the more, and the gain of earth must be heaven's gain too. The theme is deeply moral, and is worthy not only of Browning but of Mr. Meredith as well.

If Mr. Moody had told this momentous story at all points truthfully, he would have written one of the great plays of all time; but he fell far short of entire truthfulness, and his play was therefore to me one of the most disappointing that I have seen for several seasons. First and worst of all, he did not dare to tell the basis of his story as it really happened.

"The
Great Divide"

It may be that in this initial lack of courage he was influenced by his actor-managers: I have not read the original manuscript of the play and can criticise the story only as the public paid to hear it. Unless at the outset Stephen possesses himself of Ruth by violence, there can ensue no spiritual struggle to realize the good that has been born of evil. Mr. Moody knew this very well; and yet, with a mistaken purpose of sparing the sensibilities of some callow-minded auditors, he deliberately lied in his first act by trumping up an impromptu marriage ceremony before a justice of the peace. "You may have me," said the heroine, of her own accord, "if you will take me under the law." In this makeshift marriage service it is impossible to believe. In the first place, a drunken ruffian who had just bought off one man and shot another in order to make himself sole master of a woman, finding himself at last alone with her in a ranch-house far from any help, would never have ridden for miles to wake up a snoring justice of the peace; and in the second place, even if he had done so, the New England woman would have demanded at once the protection of the justice and revoked her given word to marry her assailant. There can therefore be no second act unless the audience admits that in the first act the author has told them one thing and expected them to believe another. The first time that I saw the play, I was totally unmoved by Ruth's subsequent revolt against her husband; because, according to the letter of the author's first act, she was revolting merely against a relation she had brought upon herself. It was only during my third visit to the play, after I had schooled myself to feel the first act as it really happened instead of as the author said it did, that I realized that the second-act emotions of the heroine were true and vital instead of merely maundering.

It has long been our custom in the theatre, in setting forth certain situations, to mean one thing and say another, and then to ask the audience to translate the obvious lie into the truth, in order that the play may proceed. This may be for business reasons a serviceable policy; but from any real point of view it is not only false but prurient as well. No theme that is not inherently right and true, and therefore moral, is worth setting forth at all; but any theme that *is* worth setting forth should, it seems to me, be handled without compromise. What Ibsen has dared in Norway, we may dare in America; or what's our drama for? Even though our playwrights may be condemned to write for "the tired business man," I can see no reason why they should write also for the tired business man's daughter in boarding-school. And Mr. J. M. Barrie, in the wisest of his plays, *Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire*, has told us very deftly that the daughter in boarding-school might profit by having the truth

told her in the theatre instead of a series of evasions that she is not mature enough to understand.

In several minor moments Mr. Moody was also untruthful in the conduct of his plot. A single instance will suffice for illustration. At the opening of his second act he tells us that Ruth and her husband have been living for a few months in the mountains practically alone, and that during this time she has been assiduously weaving blankets and baskets to sell at a tourist hotel some distance down the valley. Then he asks us to believe that in this way she has already made enough money to buy back a long chain of gold nuggets; and that, furthermore, although frequently she has toiled up and down an arduous trail freighted with the wares that she has manufactured, her husband has never suspected that she has been selling her handiwork. The point is trivial, of course; but the danger is that the audience, being asked by the author to believe an obvious impossibility, will lose faith in his truthfulness at more important moments. A dramatist cannot afford to sacrifice his credibility in little things, when he has larger things to say that must demand belief.

Again, Mr. Moody was frequently untruthful in his writing. The greatest danger for a literary man who turns his effort to the theatre is the danger of writing over-well from an artistic standpoint, and therefore badly from a dramatic one. Mr. Moody's theme was so vital that he should have written down at all points the words that his people really said; but instead of doing this, he frequently translated what they really said into the language of the best poet in America to-day. Miss Margaret Anglin confessed to me that many of her lines in the second act seemed to her too elaborately literary for Ruth to speak at such a moving moment, even though she *had* been brought up in New England. There were, to be sure, passages of very truthful writing in the play. The small part of Lon Anderson evoked approval for vernacular dialogue, and Stephen's lines in the last act hit home with deep simplicity. But in the elaborately literary humor of Polly Jordan one suspected the Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago. Artistry in non-dramatic writing is a very different accomplishment from efficiency in dialogue. Mr. Moody has long been recognized as an able artist in verse, and certain of his academic writings have proved him also to be a master of literary prose. But in the crises of their lives, people do not talk in literary prose: they doff the artist in putting on the man. Not until he has conquered a greater simplicity and directness of utterance will Mr. Moody write as well for the theatre as he has written for the library.

For all these reasons, *The Great Divide* seemed to me a disappointing play. It did not quite achieve the greatness that its theme demanded.

But it was the most striking attempt to achieve something great that our theatre has set forth for several seasons, and it deserved success because of its sincere intentions.

The Three of Us, by Miss Rachel Crothers, deserved success on other grounds. It was strong in the very points wherein *The Great Divide* was weak, and weak in the very points wherein *The Great Divide* was strong. It was a lesser thing done better. There was no big idea behind it; it had no theme; and its homely little story of a young girl and her two younger brothers, the villain who loved her, and the hero whom she loved, was not at all important. And yet its homely little story was handled, on the whole, with such sincerity and truthfulness that the play touched the heart like the wisdom of a child. The plotting was unskilful and the structure was not firmly built. The second act, which was dangerously thin, turned chiefly on the heroine's clinging to a foolish promise she had given to the villain without knowing what it was that she was promising; and the third act introduced the conventional situation of the heroine's being discovered by the hero in the villain's rooms at midnight and being suspected of the worst. But the weakness of the plot at vital moments in *The Three of Us* was, remarkably enough, a matter of very small importance. The piece was not primarily a play of plot but a play of character, and the people of the story were seen clearly by the author and reported faithfully. People so simply and engagingly alive have seldom walked the boards in recent seasons. They felt as people do, and thought as people do, and (on the whole) behaved as people do. And their feelings, thoughts, and actions were so wonderfully usual that they evoked emotion like the unexpected sight of a familiar face.

The little scene that opened the last act of this play deserves to be long remembered in our theatre. A young lad, tangled in circumstances, has decided to run away from home in the early morning. His elder sister discovers him just as he is about to leave the house, and makes him change his mind. She does this, not by mothering his weakness, but by asking him to father her with his strength. Instead of telling him to brace up and take things bravely, she makes him tell *her* to do so. She makes a man of him by needing him to be a man. That was all there was to do in this little scene, but Miss Crothers did it with absolute truthfulness. And there is something about absolute truthfulness in any work of art, however slight, that brings a moisture of recognition to the eyes.

But the chief excellence of *The Three of Us* was the fact that it was

greatly written. Miss Crothers had never been heard of before and Mr. Moody had long been recognized as a literary artist; and yet, when it came to writing dialogue, she easily surpassed him. Miss Crothers seems to have a knack of writing down exactly what her people really said, without translating it into any other language—her own or some one else's. In the scene I have selected for especial praise, not a word seemed fabricated by the dramatist; each word seemed spoken inevitably, then and there for the first time. There were frequent repetitions in the dialogue, for in scenes of emotion people frequently repeat. The characters spoke in phrases rather than in sentences: it is thus that people really speak when their thoughts are those that lie too deep for tears. Mr. Bronson Howard has said to me in casual conversation that he considers the dialogue of *The Three of Us* the most simply and directly truthful that he has heard for years.

The Three of Us was by no means a great play. Its main shortcoming was the fact that it wasn't *about* anything. But if, in some future play, Miss Crothers can set forth a really vital theme with a story-structure firmly built, and at the same time can write with such touching sincerity of dialogue as she has shown in this, she will accomplish a performance that will be memorable in the history of the American drama.

In spite of the fact that Mr. James Forbes's *The Chorus Lady* presented a sentimental view of the phase of life which it depicted, it deserved success, not merely on account of the novelty of its subject-matter but also on account of honest humor and a sincere effort to be real. This effort was successful in the first and second acts. The return of the chorus lady to her home among the racing-stables and her life in the make-up room behind the scenes were convincingly portrayed, and both acts were written in a vivid racy slang that (to speak in harmony with the subject) delivered the goods. A slang so rich, so various, and so expressive not only convulsed the auditors with laughter, but made them believe that if chorus ladies didn't actually use such language, they certainly would if they were clever enough. There was genuine emotion, also, in the first-act scene between the heroine and her lover, and genuine pathos in the homely simplicity of her mother's character. The play was living along very charmingly, until the author made up his mind that he ought to do something strikingly dramatic in his third act—and did something conventionally theatric instead. He employed the same situation that Miss Crothers used for the climax of *The Three of Us*, and per-

**"The Chorus
Lady"**

mitted the hero to discover the heroine at midnight in the villain's rooms. Of course the hero acted like a cad—theatre heroes do at such a juncture—and an opportunity was given the heroine to deliver Third Avenue heroics. I don't think that Mr. Forbes himself believed in this dear old scene; for as soon as he saw it coming, he stopped writing truthful slang and translated what he had to say into conventional theatre-talk. All at once the chorus lady forgot her racy vivid jargon; she became another person—a *Two Orphans* sort of person—and delivered an address upon the thesis that in social entanglements "the woman pays—and *pays*—and PAYS." This ancient and honorable address evoked plaudits from the gallery, but made the judicious grieve. In the last act Mr. Forbes wrote truthfully again and almost made the audience forget that he had been lying for a time.

The Chorus Lady, therefore, failed of entire excellence because it was a compound of honest observation straight from life and conventional theatric artifice. It was true at certain moments and false at others. Mr. Forbes wrote badly only when he was trying hard to write well, and his play was weak only when he was trying hard to make it strong. He was not clever enough to let his story alone. In its most truthful moments the play seemed to write itself; in its least truthful moments the hand of the playwright was too apparent in it.

Long before *The Chorus Lady* and *The Three of Us* were produced, many dramatists had taught us that heroes have a habit of discovering heroines at midnight in another man's rooms. Why is it, I wonder, that in this familiar situation the hero always assumes the worst at once and casts the heroine away? It is a convention in the theatre that the hero should be the sort of man that the audience wishes the heroine to marry. Why, then, if he be conceived as worthy to marry her and make her happy, does he show so little faith in her at such a moment? The girl always has a good and simple reason for being in the villain's rooms. Why, I wonder, does the hero never even suspect that she may have an honest reason? And why, after he has discarded her like a cad, does the audience always approve of the reconciliation in the subsequent act, when the hero admits that it was all a mistake and the heroine promises to marry him after all?

The theatric view of life that is taken in these scenes seems to me not only base but false. I believe that a right-minded hero really worth while, loving a right-minded heroine really worth while, would believe in her at such a moment; and that even if the villain should (for reasons of

his own) assert that the heroine was guilty, the hero would reply, not by believing the villain, but by punching his face. I should like to see the dear old situation handled in this way, truthfully for once. I offer the suggestion freely to any American dramatist; for I feel that if a hero were exhibited manly enough to believe in the girl that he loves, the audience would be surprised and pleased, and educated in the things that ought to be.

Mr. George Broadhurst is not a new dramatist, and he is not an American by birth; but *The Man of the Hour* is his first venture in the serious drama, and its subject-matter is derived from his adopted country. The play succeeded mainly because, like Mr. Charles Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse*, it was a sort of dramatized newspaper. Its material was timely, and of vivid interest to "the tired business man." It told the story of a young man of good family who had never done anything in life until he was unexpectedly nominated and elected for the mayoralty by a gang of machine politicians that hoped to make a tool of his inexperience, and who, after his election, showed himself strong for righteousness and defeated the nefarious intrigues of the grafters who had made him. It would have been difficult for a dramatist to fail this season with a subject such as this. Interest in political graft is in the air, scattered wide by journalistic fulminations; and what the public has read about in life it likes to see enacted in the theatre. Mr. Broadhurst invented an interesting story that crystallized the mood of an epoch in our national development, and devised his play with a craftsman's hand made dexterous by long experience in farce. In consequence, the public liked the piece; and yet to me it seemed that Mr. Broadhurst made very little of his opportunity.

I think it not unfair to state that *The Man of the Hour* was the most untruthful of the season's great successes; the reason being that, throughout his work, the author fixed his mind upon the theatre instead of upon life. He showed a very clever sense of what would be effective on the stage, but very little sense of how things really happen in the world of men. He never seemed to ask himself, "*Do people do such things?*" but merely, "*Will it interest the audience if I state that people do?*"

The story, as I said before, was skilfully devised; and the play was pretty well constructed, except for unnecessary intricacy in the concluding act. Mr. Broadhurst's weakness was in characterization. Some of his people were real—the rival bosses, Horrigan and Phelan, for example, and the alderman who wavered on the verge of selling his vote; but the

rest were puppets pulled by dramaturgic wires. The women were most noticeably false. The heroine loved one man, misunderstood him, broke her engagement to him, promptly announced her engagement to another man whom she hated, and ended by marrying the first. The mayor's mother, being apprised that her dead and idolized husband had been a grafter, was hardly shocked at all by the intelligence, but composedly told her son that he must always be an honest man—as if a woman would preach at such a moment! The play was replete with conventional theatric figures. Among them were a ruinous villain who was ruined in the end (poetic justice!), and a senile crack-voiced dotard who, having served in the war under the father of the mayor, greeted the young official with a rheumatic military salute. One felt that the orchestra should have played *The Star-spangled Banner* at this pathetic moment. The mayor's office was an extraordinary place. All the time that the mayor was making up his mind to quash the grafters, his mother, his sweetheart, the lover of his secretary, and other folks of sentimental interest kept happening in to interrupt him. He held a sort of family party in the intervals of official business.

Mr. Broadhurst's writing was without distinction. His politicians often spoke like living people, his women almost never; and most of his characters spoke the ordinary sort of theatre-talk which (in Mercutio's phrase) is enough and will serve, but which is devoid of those sudden flashes of reality that are meaningful. Mr. Broadhurst, in spite of his longer experience as an author, wrote less well than Mr. Forbes.

I regard *The Man of the Hour*, therefore, as a wasted opportunity. It deserved success because of its subject-matter; but from its subject-matter might have been developed a far better play, if the author had handled it with sincerity instead of with conventional theatricism.

Mr. Paul Armstrong's play, *Salomy Jane*, violated the geometrical axiom that a whole can never be less than the sum of its parts. His piece was much better in detail than in entirety. Like his earlier play, *The Heir to the Hoorah*, it was flimsily constructed and wavered up and down in interest.

"Salomy Jane"

It was frequently untrue in plotting. At the end of the second act, the hero, disarmed and bound by a heavy rope, was led off to be hanged by half a dozen men with guns. He had no friends among them; each of them was bent upon his death; and it was impossible to imagine, under the conditions, that without extraneous aid he could escape. And yet in the next act he appeared upon the stage, stated merely that he had gotten free, offered no explanation what-

ever of the miracle, and proceeded to make love to the heroine. A more skilful technician than Mr. Armstrong would have found a reason for the hero's escape, and would have utilized the reason to contribute an effect of character. And yet this much must be admitted—the author had the audience on his side. The theatre-public is easily credulous; it will believe almost anything that it sees; and the mere fact of the hero's reappearance convinced the audience that he had escaped. Of course, if he didn't escape, the play could not go on; and no one wanted the play to stop. And since the audience is, after all, the final judge, Mr. Armstrong is hardly to be condemned for making it accept an impossibility. But I think he lost an opportunity by dodging the difficulty which bothered him. Some of the best moments in the greatest plays owe their origin directly to a difficulty which has stung the dramatist into making it an opportunity.

Mr. Armstrong was unsure of his entrances and exits, and his first-act exposition was very crudely handled. I mention these technical deficiencies chiefly because they didn't matter after all. They were more than atoned for by the truthfulness of his characterization and the sincerity of his writing. The play was rich in human interest. The people who appeared upon the stage were real people. They loved and hated with a large simplicity of motive that won the heart of the audience. The colonel from Kentucky with his exaggerated sense of honor flaring into hectic chivalry, the rough stage-driver whose love was won by a little child, the gambler who saved the life of his rival in love because he cared more for the girl than for himself—these were noble figures, truthfully conceived and finely drawn. And the writing was sincere throughout the play. The people talked as people do; thereby they evoked sympathy and made the audience care about their destinies.

The last line of *Salomy Jane* may be taken as an illustration of the feeling that pervaded it. The heroine loved a stranger in her country. She had suffered much to save him from many dangers imminent. When at last they were safe together and a new life was dawning for them, she looked up at him and asked him, "What's your name?"

Although Mr. Armstrong showed himself inferior to Mr. Broadhurst in mere theatrical dexterity, he far surpassed him in reality. *Salomy Jane* was a more sincere play than *The Man of the Hour*, though it was not so skilfully devised. And since it is less difficult to be clever than to be true, Mr. Armstrong's accomplishment was the greater.

Mr. Percy Mackaye's *Jeanne d'Arc* was generously accorded a *succès d'estime*, because the critics, and to some extent the public, were well

disposed toward an American poet who had succeeded in getting a blank-verse drama set upon the boards. Yet I think that a great deal of the praise that was bestowed upon his effort was bestowed upon mistaken grounds. A good many people were bored by the performance, but solaced themselves with the reflection that, after all, the piece was literature, and that therefore, lacking entertainment, they had achieved edification. It is amazing how many people seem to think that the subsidiary fact of a play's being written in verse makes it of necessity dramatic literature. Whether or not a play is literature depends not upon the medium of utterance the characters may use, but on whether or not the play sets forth a truthful view of some momentous theme; and whether or not a play is drama depends not upon its trappings and its suits, but on whether or not it sets forth a tense and vital struggle between individual human wills. *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* fulfils both of these conditions and is dramatic literature, while the poetic plays of Mr. Stephen Phillips stand upon a lower plane, both as drama and as literature, even though they are written in the most interesting blank verse that has been developed since Tennyson. *Shore Acres*, which was written in New England dialect, was, I think, dramatic literature. *Jeanne d'Arc*, I think, was not, even though in merely literary merit it revealed many excellent qualities.

Its chief excellence lay in the fact that it exhibited a central character of great loveliness and charm—a character drawn simply and consistently, with childlike sweetness and poetic strength. The story was panoramic and colorful; and the verse in which it was told, considered merely as verse and not as dialogue, was fluent, harmonious, and luring with a lyric lilt. But these were literary merits only; in dramatic merit the piece was unnecessarily deficient. Of course the story of Jeanne d'Arc is basically not a dramatic but an epic theme. Southey was nearer to the truth than Schiller when he made the maid a subject for narrative instead of drama. But Mr. Mackaye's handling of the theme was needlessly narrative throughout. He presented a series of story-telling pictures instead of a tense and rigidly constructed play. A whole scene was given up to a procession—a thing by its very nature narrative but undramatic. The heroine had a habit of hearing voices and seeing angels—a habit by its very nature lyric instead of dramatic. Jeanne remained throughout the narrative a person set apart; she did not come into personal contact with any of the other characters; but without personal contact there can be no clash of individual wills—in other words, no drama.

In his very selection of incidents from the material before him, Mr. Mackaye proved himself deficient in sense of drama. From one point of view, and from one only, does the story of Jeanne d'Arc offer possibilities for a play. It must be taken as the story of a girl who made all France believe in her because she believed in herself, and subsequently lost her power over France and France's enemies because she lost her belief in herself. Whether actually or imaginatively, she was divinely inspired; and before her inspiration from on high—patent because she herself believed in it—strong hostile armies bowed their heads like wheat before the wind. Her will, made mighty by faith in itself, conquered the will of thousands. But there came a time when she questioned her own power and lost complete faith in her own will. Then, of necessity, her will weakened and her power sank, and she dwindled to her doom. The story, viewed thus, is a tragedy of disillusionment. Illusions may move mountains, so long as there is faith behind them; divested of informing faith, they blow away like smoke upon the air. Mr. Mackaye, I think, felt this as his theme; he therefore started out upon the right road. But it will be seen that the necessary climax of the story thus conceived must be the battering of hostile wills beneath which the maid's gigantic belief in herself is beaten down and shattered. This climax is, in Sarcey's phrase, a *scène à faire*—a scene that must be shown, if the audience is to be moved by the consequent catastrophe. But Mr. Mackaye did not show this scene; he entirely omitted the climax of his story. When the curtain fell upon his fourth act, the maid still believed in her inner inspiration; when the curtain rose on his fifth act, the audience was told, by narrative and not dramatic means, that during the interim she had somehow been overcome by doubt. Her doubt led to her doom; but because the audience had not been shown that her doubt had been inexorably beaten into her by opposing forces stronger even than her faith, the audience had no tears for her catastrophe. Mr. Mackaye left out his dramatic climax and merely versified its after effects in retrospective exposition.

Jeanne d'Arc was not a play; it was a narrative in verse, with lyric interludes. It was a thing to be read rather than to be acted. It was a charming poetic story, but it was not an interesting contribution to the stage. Most people felt this, I am sure; but most people lacked the courage of their feeling, and feared to confess that they were wearied by the piece, lest they should be suspected of lack of taste. I believe thoroughly in the possibility of poetic drama at the present day; but it must be drama first and foremost, and poetry only secondarily. Mr. Mackaye, like a great many other aspirants, began at the wrong end: he made his piece poetry first and foremost, and drama only incidentally. And I think that the

only way to prepare the public for true poetic drama is to educate the public's faith in its right to be bored in the theatre by poetry that is not dramatic. Performances of *Pippa Passes* and *The Sunken Bell* exert a very unpropitious influence upon the mood of the average theatre-goer. These poems are not plays; and the innocent spectator, being told that they are, is made to believe that poetic drama must be necessarily a soporific thing. And when this belief is once lodged in his uncritical mind, it is difficult to dispel it, even with a long course of *Othello* and *Hamlet*. *Paolo and Francesca* was a good poem, but a bad play; and its weakness as a play was not excusable by its beauty as a poem. *Cyrano de Bergerac* was a good play, first of all, and a good poem also; and even a public that fears to seem Philistine knew the difference instinctively.

A word now as to blank verse upon the stage. Mme. Nazimova has been quoted as saying that she would never act a play in verse, because in speaking verse she could not be natural. But whether an actor may be natural or not depends entirely upon the kind of verse the author has given him to speak. Three kinds of blank verse are known in English literature—lyric, narrative, and dramatic. By lyric blank verse I mean verse like that of Tennyson's *Tears, Idle Tears*; by narrative, verse like that of Mr. Stephen Phillips's *Marpessa* or Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*; by dramatic, verse like that of the murder scene in *Macbeth*. The Elizabethan playwrights wrote all three kinds of blank verse, because their drama was a platform drama and admitted narrative and lyric as well as dramatic elements. But because of the development in modern times of the physical conditions of the theatre, we have grown to exclude from the drama all non-dramatic elements. Narrative and lyric, for their own sakes, have no place upon the modern stage; they may be introduced only for a definite dramatic purpose. Only one of the three kinds of blank verse that the Elizabethan playwrights used is, therefore, serviceable on the modern stage. But our poets, because of inexperience in the theatre, insist on writing the other two. For this reason, and for this reason only, do modern actors like Mme. Nazimova complain of plays in verse.

Mr. Mackaye's verse, for example, was at certain moments lyric, at most moments narrative, and scarcely ever dramatic in technical mould and manner. It resembled the verse of Tennyson more nearly than it resembled that of any other master; and Tennyson was a narrative, not a dramatic, poet. It set a value on literary expression for its own sake rather than for the purpose of the play; it was replete with elaborately lovely phrases; and it admitted the inversions customary in verse intended for the printed page. But I am firm in the belief that verse

written for the modern theatre should be absolutely simple. It should incorporate no words, however beautiful, that are not used in the daily conversation of the average theatre-goer; it should set these words only in their natural order, and admit no inversions whatever for the sake of the line; and it should set a value on expression, never for its own sake, but solely for the sake of the dramatic purpose to be accomplished in the scene. Verse such as this would permit of every rhythmical variation known in English prosody, and through the appeal of its rhythm would offer the dramatist opportunities for emotional effect that prose would not allow him; but at the same time it could be spoken with entire naturalness by actors as ultra-modern as Mme. Nazimova.

Mr. Stephen Phillips has not learned this lesson, and the verse that he has written in his plays is the same verse that he used in his narratives, *Marpessa* and *Christ in Hades*. It is great narrative blank verse, but for dramatic uses it is too elaborate. Mr. Mackaye has started out on the same mistaken road: in *Jeanne d'Arc* his prosody is that of closet-verse, not theatre-verse. The poetic drama will be doomed to extinction on the modern stage unless our poets learn the lesson of simplicity. I shall append some lines of Shakespeare's to illustrate the ideal of directness toward which our latter-day poetic dramatists should strive. When Lear holds the dead Cordelia in his arms, he says:

Her voice was ever soft,
Gentle, and low,—an excellent thing in woman.

Could any actor be unnatural in speaking words so simple, so familiar, and so naturally set? Viola says to Orsino:

My father had a daughter loved a man,
As it might be, perhaps, were I woman,
I should your lordship.

Here again the words are all colloquial and are set in their accustomed order; but by sheer mastery of rhythm the poet contrives to express the tremulous hesitance of Viola's mood as it could not be expressed in prose.

There is a need for verse upon the stage, if the verse be simple and colloquial; and there is a need for poetry in the drama, provided that the play remain the thing and the poetry contribute to the play. Mr. Mackaye, in *Jeanne d'Arc*, failed as a dramatist, although he succeeded as a narrative poet. Unless he alters his method, alters even his aim, he will never write a real poetic drama. And I say this the more emphatically because I appreciate keenly the loveliness and the loftiness of what he has accomplished in this something else than play.

Excepting *Jeanne d'Arc*, all of the plays which have been reviewed in the present article drew their subject-matter from contemporary American life. It was the novelty and freshness of their material that Mr. William Archer most enjoyed when he saw these plays on his recent visit to America; and it was because of their novelty and freshness that they succeeded in New York even better than the most recent contributions by the accredited English masters, Mr. Arthur Wing Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones. The subject of Mr. Pinero's *His House in Order* was novel but not important; the subject of Mr. Jones's *The Hypocrites* was important but not novel. Neither drama, therefore, really mattered very much, except as a piece of play-making. In technical mastery, however, both dramas were amazing. The experienced British dramatists did their work far better than the inexperienced American.

On the basis of the last season, therefore, it seems logical to state that the strongest possibility for American drama lies in the fact that our national life, in its many varied phases, offers to dramatic authors at the present day wider tracts of subject-matter hitherto unexhibited in the theatre than the life of any other nation. We need only look about us in order to find subjects at once novel and important. We run no danger of a dearth of themes. On the other hand, it must be confessed that our most promising dramatists seem as yet to be hindered by inexperience from telling nothing but the truth. Some of them construct well but write badly—Mr. Broadhurst for instance; some of them write well but construct badly—Miss Crothers for example. In some of our plays, like *The Great Divide*, the theme is greater than the accomplishment; in others, like *The Three of Us* and *Salomy Jane*, the accomplishment is greater than the theme. None of our new plays, interesting as they all are, has been entirely satisfactory.

We can gain nothing by undue complacency. In the last season we have accomplished much toward establishing a national drama; but we must not mistakenly assume that we are near the goal. Our new dramatists have not yet learned the game. They are playing for big stakes, playing also with energy and dauntlessness; and in future seasons they may win for us the theatre we are waiting for. But they must strive earnestly to conquer their debilities, and learn to tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

Clayton Hamilton.

LITERATURE

A DISCREET BIOGRAPHY¹

THERE are many reasons why Mr. Rollo Ogden would be an ideal biographer of Mr. Godkin. He was Mr. Godkin's editorial associate on the staff of the New York *Evening Post* for many years. He enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with his chief. He saw him in all his moods and under all possible circumstances. He has, moreover, a keen insight into character and he writes in a style as lively and as pungent as that of Mr. Godkin himself. At the same time there are other reasons, equally obvious, why Mr. Ogden could not undertake the task of an impartial and independent biographer. The very closeness of his relations to Mr. Godkin would make it a difficult and delicate matter to write of him with perfect frankness. Having obtained much of his material from Mr. Godkin's own family, and being in a sense Mr. Godkin's literary executor, he is naturally enough estopped from exhibiting the subject of his book in any but a favorable light. He cannot disclose the defects and limitations which were so marked in Mr. Godkin as an editor, and which to a certain extent impaired his influence even with those who read him most assiduously. Few literary executors have the courage of a Froude; and Froude's example may well serve as a deterrent rather than as a model. Hence Mr. Ogden wisely prefers to figure merely as an editor of a mass of interesting letters.

Mr. Godkin as an editor had very definite and positive ideas. He was bred up in the school of John Stuart Mill, and his own associations in this country were with that section of society from which come Mugwumps, Anti-Imperialists, and men who believe on principle that whatever is is wrong. Mr. Godkin himself, being an Irishman, was also temperamentally opposed to the constituted authorities. All this made him necessarily a "reformer," and his whole editorial career was a long battle on behalf of unpopular causes. Some of these were essentially right, and therefore they finally prevailed. Others were such as never could gain the sympathy of Americans, and hence they failed. But into his advocacy of every cause Mr. Godkin flung himself with an intense ardor, using with extraordinary skill those controversial weapons with which nature had endowed him and which his training had sharpened to a keen edge.

¹ *The Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin.* With portraits. Edited by Rollo Ogden. 2 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company.

As an editor he wielded an influence which is not to be measured by the length of his subscription list. What he taught his readers they in turn taught to others. His immediate appeal was to men of mind, and with them he wrought powerfully. Lucid as an expositor, maddening as an antagonist, he possessed logic, wit, sarcasm, and irony to a wonderful degree. There was, however, another side to his editorial career which was less admirable. He resembled his formidable opponent, Charles A. Dana, in this one thing: that he too often allowed personal feeling and personal prejudice to direct his pen. Those who were not with him were anathema. He could see no virtue in even the most honorable opponent. He had no patience and no charity for such; but he stabbed them and slashed them unmercifully. In name, the *Evening Post* was always independent. In fact, it was the most partisan journal in the United States. In ordinary newspapers men expected to find misrepresentation and unfairness; but Mr. Godkin's attitude of high morality made these things appear absolutely shocking when he perpetrated them. And he had also the very lamentable trait of being quite unwilling to rectify a wrong. When he had blackened an opponent's character and when he had received ample evidence of his error, he would still refuse to retract or to apologize. He would prefer even to take his chances in a libel suit rather than to do an act of elemental justice; and more than once this policy cost the *Post* large sums of money. Again, Mr. Godkin had a sense of humor which delighted all his readers; but, as is the case with so many other men, this humor vanished when anything touched himself or his own interests. The man who could jest with almost riotous fun about all other things became peevish, fretful, and waspish when the joke was turned against himself.

In the conduct of his paper, Mr. Godkin, like Dana, strongly influenced his associates. He was quick to recognize ability; he was generous in praise of what his subordinates accomplished. Oddly enough, he was not particularly conversant with the topics of the day. When he came to his office in the morning he relied upon other members of the staff for information about what had taken place in the preceding twenty-four hours. They furnished him with subjects; they looked up facts for him; indeed, they briefed him as an English barrister is briefed by an attorney. Then Mr. Godkin went to his desk and dashed off one or two of those pungent or vindictive or amusing articles which made the *Post* the power that it was. But, under such circumstances, it is evident that he was necessarily inaccurate at times, and perhaps also to the same conditions must be ascribed both his unfairness and his lack of sympathy with popular ideals.

Naturally enough, Mr. Ogden could not dwell upon these phases of his late associate's personality. He has therefore chosen to exhibit Mr. Godkin in the light of Mr. Godkin's own public and private letters, his editorials and the comments of his friends. All this material, which is of extraordinary interest, has been deftly connected by sufficient narrative to give it coherence and continuity. As an editor Mr. Ogden has done his work marvellously well. He has selected with rare discretion and with a keen sense of what is permanently valuable. Mr. Godkin knew every one who was worth knowing both in public and private life, and his comments are singularly keen, even when they are hasty and unfair. Moreover, these memoranda cover a long and interesting period of history. Mr. Godkin began his career as a war correspondent in the Crimea. He continued it as an observer of American conditions just before the Civil War and during that great struggle; and later, after the *Nation* had been founded, as a power in American political life. His off-hand sketches of Greeley, Bryant, Charles A. Dana, Seward, Sherman, George William Curtis, Goldwin Smith, and other men of distinction are as interesting as his savage comments on the ruffians of the Tweed régime. The book, in fact, is a delightful panorama of American life from 1859 until 1899, and cannot be neglected by any one who wishes to make a social and political study of those forty years. It is interesting to note, what not many persons probably knew at the time, that in 1870 President Eliot of Harvard offered Mr. Godkin the chair of history in that university. Had he accepted it he would have been a most stimulating and valuable lecturer; but he was right in thinking that as editor of the *Nation* and of the *Evening Post* his influence would be far greater. Two of his reasons, however, for wishing to accept it are eminently characteristic of the man:

I do not want to bring my children up in New York if I can avoid it, and the place has no social attractions for myself. I don't like New Yorkers, and I do like Bostonians.

Harry Thurston Peck.

A BOSWELL TO BEACONSFIELD¹

IT IS as a Boswell to Beaconsfield that Mr. T. E. Kebbel will make his strongest appeal to American readers of English political biography in his *Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memories*; although, quite apart from the side-lights on the great Conservative leader of the mid-

¹ *Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memories*. By T. E. Kebbel. With Rembrandt portrait of Lord Beaconsfield. New York: Mitchell Kennerley.

Victorian period, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* are of distinct value for the insight they afford into party conditions in England in the period that lies between the Reform Act of 1832 and the third and most sweeping reform of the Parliamentary system in 1884-85. Mr. Kebbel's intimacy with Beaconsfield was not much akin to Boswell's intimacy with Johnson. It was not nearly so close or so continuous. But it was marked by some of the same characteristics; and Boswell surely never had a greater admiration of Johnson than Mr. Kebbel had of Beaconsfield. He regards Beaconsfield as his patron; and it is from that point of view throughout that his admiration of the Conservative leader is expressed.

Mr. Kebbel is the son of a Leicestershire vicar. His birth and upbringing were in the most Tory of Tory environment, and, despite all the changes that have been made in political England since the middle fifties, when he began his journalistic career on the *Press*—a weekly newspaper that Disraeli had established—he is still a Tory of the Tories, and the very embodiment of the political opinions that were associated with the *Standard* in the days when it was edited by Mudford and Curtis, and before it changed proprietors in 1904, and became the organ of Chamberlain and the English protectionists. For twenty years before this change came Mr. Kebbel had been an editorial writer on the *Standard*; and his work there must indeed have been congenial, for no daily newspaper in England was ever truer to the creed and traditions of the old Toryism than the *Standard* in the days when it was justly regarded as expressing the political opinions of the squire and the country parson.

It was an accident that threw Mr. Kebbel into journalism. He was educated at Oxford, and was called to the bar at Grey's Inn. But he was not where he could wait until briefs poured in upon him; and in 1855 he welcomed an opportunity of going on the staff of Disraeli's newspaper. The accident that thus diverted Mr. Kebbel from law into journalism cannot have been an unfortunate one for him; for among English Tory journalists who have not reached the dignity of an important editorial chair, none has had a more pleasantly successful career than Mr. Kebbel; none has done more for the advancement of the political principles that he has at heart; and it is easy to realize from these *Memories* that political editorial writing—in fact any writing that would advance the Tory cause—has always been congenial to him. For the Tory party the accident that brought Mr. Kebbel into their journalistic service was indeed a fortunate one. In the fifties and the early sixties of last century, after the Stamp Act had been repealed and the English newspaper press was at last free from all its fiscal burdens, no lack was more felt by the Tory party than that of men capable of writing well for the daily press

who really believed in Toryism. It was easy enough, as Mr. Kebbel brings out in these *Memories* when he is writing of the founders of the *Yorkshire Post*, to find wealthy Tories who were willing to raise money to start Tory daily newspapers; but the hitch usually came when the editor and the editorial writers had to be recruited. For a long time Toryism was greatly handicapped from this cause, so much so that in the seventies and early eighties most of the daily newspapers out of London which were at once paying properties and influential in moulding political thought were in fullest sympathy with the Liberal party.

Between the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the third Reform Act in 1884-85, Disraeli rendered enormous service to the Tory party. During this period he practically reorganized and put new life into it. Directly and indirectly he did much for Tory journalism; and not least among the services he rendered to it was his discovery of Mr. Kebbel as a promising recruit for the Tory newspaper press. Disraeli parted with his control of the *Press* in 1858; but Mr. Kebbel continued in pretty close touch with him until 1873; and until the authentic biography of Beaconsfield which is now in preparation is published, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* must remain the book from which the Tory leader in the days when he had reached this position can best be studied at close range. After years of fighting, Disraeli's position was well established by 1855—the year in which Mr. Kebbel's association with him began.

At this time Mr. Disraeli was firmly established as the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. He had gained their confidence by the skill with which he had reformed their broken ranks, had reclaimed to their colors numerous waverers or deserters, and finally had formed a government which the public in general allowed to have played its part with dignity and efficiency. He always looked back on this stage of his career with satisfaction. He often told me of the pains which he had taken to reconstruct the party and the success which had rewarded them. The Conservative Ministry of 1852 showed how well he had performed his task. Out of the broken and dispirited remnants which accepted his leadership in 1848 he had built up a powerful opposition; had drawn from its ranks men capable of filling with credit the highest offices of the State; and had shown the world that there was again a Conservative Party, qualified both by numbers and ability to take the reins of government whenever the Liberals should drop them. To the younger generation of Tories he presented just that combination of originality, courage, and wit which was a welcome change after the Parliamentary respectability which followed the death of Mr. Canning. They asked for nothing better. After the great tergiversation of 1846, and the coalition of contradictories in 1853, men had ceased to inquire too curiously about principles.

Although Disraeli had ceased to be the owner of the *Press* in 1858, he was again in close association with Mr. Kebbel in 1866, when Mr.

Kebbel was editor of the *Day*, a daily newspaper that was launched to support the Parliamentary Reform Bill of the Tories that was enacted in 1867; and it is in writing of this episode in the history of the Tory party that Mr. Kebbel puts on record Disraeli's opinions on the great constitutional changes in England which had their beginnings in 1832.

Disraeli's ideas on the subject of Parliamentary reform in general can hardly be gathered either from his speeches or his books. Though he was no friend to the Venetian Constitution, he was as little a friend to democracy; and looking at the question as a practical statesman, apart from historical speculations, he considered that the English aristocracy had it in their power before 1832 to preserve the best parts of the old Constitution intact. But after 1832, he said, there was no stopping. An arbitrary pecuniary franchise could only be maintained so long as it was not assailed. Not to suggest changes, and to refuse them when they were demanded, were two totally different things. The Whigs, he once said, taught the English people to eat of the tree of knowledge, and to know that they were naked. The rest followed as a matter of course. Successive requests for more clothing in the shape of franchises had to be granted with discretion. A hungry man must not have too much to eat all at once. It must be given by degrees. But he thought the Conservative Reform Bill of 1867 had done enough for the time. It had satisfied a large section of the population. He knew that more would have to be done. He said that of course the turn of the peasantry would come, almost implying sometimes that it would not be in his own time. Others must carry on the work, which, perhaps, need never have been begun; but as it had been, it would be necessary to go on.

As has been said, Mr. Kebbel's *Memories* are valuable, apart from the chapters devoted to Beaconsfield. They bring out better than any of the existing political histories and better than any history of political parties in England that has yet been written the position and aim of Toryism between the days of Pitt and the last great division in the Tory party due to the propaganda which Chamberlain began in 1903. The Toryism of which the creed is "keep all you can have" of political and social advantage is set forth in its pleasanter aspects in Mr. Kebbel's retrospects, and especially when he is describing the Toryism which he seems to know best—that of the squire and parson, and their political and social attitude towards the Established Church, towards dissenters, and towards tenant farmers, retail tradesmen in country towns, and agricultural laborers. It is a patriarchal Toryism of which Mr. Kebbel is so much enamoured—a Toryism which seems much out of date in these days of a widely extended Parliamentary franchise, of halfpenny daily newspapers which reach the remotest country villages, of cheap railway travel, and of constant movement between town and country. It is a Toryism that is idealized a little in Mr. Kebbel's pages; but it is a Toryism that

must have presented some ideals to Mr. Kebbel, or he could never have worked long and vigorously, as he has done, to uphold it.

Incidentally Mr. Kebbel makes some interesting revelations of the relations which formerly existed between Government and the press in England. Mr. Kebbel was more than half-way through his long career as a Tory publicist before journalists ceased to look to the politicians whom they supported for Government offices as rewards. These rewards were never considerable. Nothing more valuable or important than an inspectorship of factories or a consulship was ever bestowed on a journalist, although a county court judgeship was, through Beaconsfield's good offices, once offered to Mr. Kebbel by Lord Chancellor Cairns. The end of the connection between Government and newspaper writers came while Mr. Kebbel was still in harness. Nowadays no Government in England—Liberal or Conservative—ever dreams of bestowing Government appointments on a journalist. Journalists do not look for Government appointments any longer, because there are few appointments open to journalists which a successful newspaper editor or political editorial writer would accept. All rewards nowadays go to newspaper proprietors; and for twenty years past newspaper support of a Government has been remunerated, not by offices in the civil service, but by baronetcies or peerages. This form of reward for partisan newspaper support is now so well assured that no proprietor of a daily newspaper need stay long outside the baronetage or the peerage. This is why wealthy colliery owners and wealthy manufacturers, who know as much of journalism as they do of Greek, are found when well on in middle life carrying the financial burden of a daily newspaper. It means simply that they have accumulated sufficient wealth to found a territorial family, and that it has seemed to them that the newspaper route to a peerage was the one they could travel with ease. Both political parties reward their newspaper supporters in this way; and thus whether Liberals or Tories are in power, the peerage grows; and with every addition to the peerage, whether at the instance of a Liberal or a Tory Prime Minister, there comes, sooner or later, added strength to the Toryism of which Mr. Kebbel has been for so long a newspaper exponent.

Edward Porritt.

WRIGHT'S LIFE OF PATER¹

"THE function of the æsthetic critic," says Walter Pater in the preface to *The Renaissance*, "is to distinguish, analyze, and separate from

¹*The Life of Walter Pater.* By Thomas Wright. Two vols. Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

its adjuncts the virtue by which a picture, a landscape, a fair personality in life or in a book produces this special impression of beauty or pleasure, to indicate what the source of that impression is, and under what conditions it is experienced." In his criticism of Pater's critical method, Mr. Wright quotes the substance of this passage, representing Pater as asking himself before writing on any subject, "What is that man's or that object's real self? . . . In short, what is its Formula?" But in spite of the precept and example of his subject, Mr. Wright nowhere comes nearer to supplying us with a "formula" for Pater's peculiar excellence than to assert that he is "a painter of imaginary portraits." Obvious as this judgment is with reference to Pater's method, it is totally insufficient to characterize the substance of his contribution to literature.

But if Mr. Wright fails of producing an adequate critical formula in which we may epitomize his estimate of Pater as an artist, he has given us a number of comparisons or analogues to serve as tests of his critical acuity. Let us not dwell on his observation that Pater is "the grasshopper of English literature"; the grotesque nature of the suggestion may perhaps be set down to the account of the humorist in this biographer. Take a more sober passage, in which there is no suggestion of levity—a paragraph out of a chapter on Pater's style. Quoting the distinction of Mr. Watts-Dunton between the "two leading impulses that govern man" (broadly speaking, the romantic and the classical), he proceeds:

In what relation, we may ask, does Pater stand to the newly awakened spirit of romance? Is his work allied to the artificialities of Pope, Dryden, and Gray (for Pater is essentially a poet), or is he steeped in the fountain which is Coleridge? Well, it seems to us that Pater belongs to both schools. As a rule, he worked in the spirit of Pope; . . . his method of work was like that of Pope, only worse.

This, of the arch-Romanticist of the later nineteenth century, the man who might be called the last of the Romanticists, is at least startling. But this illuminating dictum pales beside the calm assertion that Pater was "the Alma-Tadema of English literature." And why? Because, forsooth, he loved white marble surfaces. How Mr. Wright missed calling Pater the Mark Twain of English literature, because he sometimes wrote in bed, or the Nietzsche of English literature, because he was liberally moustached, is a mystery.

Obviously, nothing of value is to be looked for in the way of criticism from a man capable of such pronouncements; these two bulky volumes mark no forward step toward a just and final evaluation of Pater's significance in literature. But this was perhaps not to be expected. Mr.

Wright is not a critic, but a professed biographer. The fact is sufficiently proclaimed in the early pages of the work, along with other matters of some interest. It is only fair to judge him on his own ground, which he has taken with evident deliberation. No one, after reading his preface, need be in doubt as to the claims he makes for his work. At the outset he puts out of court, with a wave of the hand, all earlier accounts of Pater's life. They are "crowded with the most astonishing, the most staggering errors." The chief transgressor in the eyes of Mr. Wright is, of course, Mr. A. C. Benson, the author of the monograph in the English Men of Letters Series. It would be interesting to examine in detail Mr. Benson's "principal errors of commission and omission," twelve in all; but it is not necessary to our present purpose. At least half of them are so trivial as to have no significance one way or the other. Five or six at most of the counts in Mr. Wright's indictment have interest for the student of Pater's life.

Of these perhaps the most important is the statement that Mr. Benson does not even mention five of Pater's most intimate friends, including one Richard C. Jackson, the alleged original of Marius, with whom he was on terms of intimacy for seventeen years. The omission is bountifully rectified by Mr. Wright; he devotes perhaps half of his second volume to this intimate associate, of whom Mr. Gosse, Dr. Shadwell, Dr. Bussell, and other close friends of Pater apparently never heard. It is unfortunate that this romantic story must rest, as it does, on the practically unsupported word of Jackson himself, who thus comes into Pater's life, so to speak, a dozen years after his death. Documentary evidence confirming the intimacy is singularly lacking. This lack might be set down to the fact noted by Mr. Benson, that Pater wrote very few letters; but no, cries Mr. Wright, Pater wrote "an enormous number of letters—as many as four hundred, indeed, to one friend." Yet not one word have I been able to find quoted by Mr. Wright from any letter written to Mr. Jackson. Indeed, the only letter of Pater's mentioned in the entire second volume is the one written after Jowett's death, which was published in his *Life*. In the face of Mr. Wright's positive statement this fact is either a grave reflection on his diligence as a biographer, or—but we need not press the alternative.

One further example of Mr. Benson's "errors": "Mr. Benson tells nothing," says Mr. Wright, "about the great central event of Pater's life—his connection with the St. Austin's 'Monkery,' which is something like giving an account of Wellington and leaving out the Peninsular War and Waterloo." Now, what is the true complexion of this "central event," on Mr. Wright's own showing? Somewhere about 1878,

he tells us, Pater met, through Mr. Jackson, the Rev. Father Nugée, who had established an ecclesiastical brotherhood and a chapel, St. Austin's, with a very ornate ritual. Attracted by the service, Pater occasionally attended this chapel, as he did other elaborate services, both Catholic and Anglican. This, so far as can be discovered, was the extent of his "connection" with the St. Austin's Monastery; that it should form a "central event" or "climax" in his life is a theory too silly for notice were it not a fair example of Mr. Wright's method.

The most charitable construction to be placed on this parade of absurdities is that Mr. Wright, with a childlike trust that might be touching in a less experienced biographer, has accepted the unsupported recollections of this soi-disant friend of Pater's as sufficient to establish historical truth, however at variance with probabilities or with previously recorded facts. In short, Mr. Jackson—a sufficiently unattractive figure as here presented to us, in spite of Mr. Wright's ardent eulogies—is allowed to become the author of a substantial portion of the work, expatiating unchecked on his conception of Pater's relations and Pater's obligations to himself. In the first volume Mr. Wright similarly waives his editorial prerogative in favor of a Mr. McQueen, one of Pater's schoolmates at Canterbury.

By such means Mr. Wright has assembled the material necessary to make up—with the generous assistance of the printers—two volumes of the required size. He traces with all possible minuteness the course of Pater's uneventful life, following him through his school days at the King's School in Canterbury, thence to Oxford, accompanying him on his occasional visits to the Continent, recording his removal to London and his return to Oxford. It may safely be asserted that little exploration of this kind remains to be done by a future biographer. He has gathered, too, a number of anecdotes about Pater and his friends. A few of these are of genuine interest; others would have a certain value if properly authenticated; by far the larger number are either trivial and insignificant, or totally unconnected with Pater himself. Among the seventy illustrations, which Mr. Wright assures us are "of intense interest," there are four portraits and a caricature of Pater, three of which are unfamiliar; pictures of the various places in which he lived, views of his rooms, pictures, and inkstands. There are, besides, views of the house which was *not* the one described in *The Child in the House*; of the church which Pater occasionally attended, and the chair in which he sometimes sat when he visited his friend Jackson. Of this gentleman there are portraits in various striking attitudes and costumes; views of this and that corner in this and that room of his house; reproductions

of illustrations from books which he owned; even his pet dog is immortalized in a full-page portrait.

These irrelevancies are in themselves harmless enough. Evidently Mr. Wright was bound to produce a work of the required size and apparent importance, and not finding a sufficiency of legitimate material—for Pater lived the most uneventful and secluded of lives—he took what was to be had and made the largest possible show with it. Had he been content with this, there would be no reason for taking his book seriously. But it is not so easy to pass over in good-humored tolerance his coarse attack on Mr. Benson, his gratuitous sneer at Mr. Greenslet's suggestive little study of Pater, and his vulgar laudation of his own work. "It is," he proclaims, "the kind of work (if I may without egotism say so) in which Pater himself would have gloried." It is actually, of course, the kind of work which would have disgusted Pater beyond words. "I have spared no pains to be accurate, and my investigations have obliged me to contradict flatly (though I hope courteously) much that has been written about Pater by superficial or less privileged writers." If not inaccurate, he is at least incredibly uncritical, and his courtesy, already sufficiently illustrated, is displayed in the sentence just quoted. "I have endeavored to bear in mind that the first duty of a biographer is to try to avoid hurting the feelings of any living person." It is said that the work was published in the face of a protest from the surviving members of Pater's family. "I feel for Pater a sympathy bordering on love; . . . it [the *Life*] will seem practically an additional *Marius* or *Renaissance*—that is to say in the sense of its being a new presentment of Pater's mind." So far is this from the truth that this work will seem to many the supreme example of the tactless and unsympathetic biography. It is equally distinguished for failure to penetrate the character of the man and pitiful incapacity to appreciate the excellence of his work.

Edward Clark Marsh.

THE FALLACY OF TENDENCIES IN FICTION

BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER

A good deal of well-intentioned foolishness has been written regarding the tendencies which from time to time certain critics are pleased to think that they have discovered in the new fiction of a particular season. It is of course as natural and as logical to watch for changes in the form and aim of the novel and to try to determine the underlying principles of such changes as in any other branch of literature. Fiction is

subject, equally with poetry, history or the essay, to the gradual and unremitting action of the laws of evolution, and the stories of to-day which posterity will single out as the fittest to survive will differ appreciably from those which the present generation

**The Business
Element in
Fiction**

has chosen to preserve from earlier decades. And yet it is quite true that most of the so-called tendencies in fiction, in so far as they imply any permanent influence, any change that will make the novel of to-morrow different in kind from the novel of to-day, are largely fallacious. And the simple explanation is that the critics who discuss this subject do not make clear to the reader, perhaps have not made clear to themselves, just what they mean by the term "tendency." They have not duly taken into account the motley variety of influences all the time at work upon the makers of novels; influences which count for little or nothing in the writing of history or biography or philosophical treatises. In these, a new tendency means an improved method for chronicling the lives of individuals or of nations, an improved system for setting forth a code of philosophy. But in nine cases out of ten a tendency in fiction does not mean a better way of picturing life as it really is, but simply a new way of making a "best selling book." Mr. Marion Crawford has somewhere owned quite frankly that he is "credibly informed by his publishers that novel-writing is a business;" and in this respect he does not stand alone. The factor of commercialism really underlies the great majority of newly discovered tendencies in fiction; they no more represent the natural and spontaneous development of a literary form than the geographical distribution of caged canaries represents the natural migrations of songbirds. When a *Richard Carvel* or a *Janice Meredith* catches the popular fancy for a brief season, a flood of colonial novels follows in their wake; when *An Englishwoman's Love Letters* turned public favor in a new direction, there resulted a host of volumes that read like the "First Aid to the Love Lorn" columns in the evening newspapers. Yet these were not tendencies, in the proper sense of the term. They did not mean that novelists whose work counts seriously in the history of letters had come to the conclusion that these passing fads were an improvement upon the methods of Dickens or Thackeray or Trollope. They meant only that for the time being a certain brand of popular novel, like a certain brand of soap or breakfast food, was being successfully exploited.

The only safe and sane way in which to study the tendencies of the modern novel, is to recognize frankly that not five per cent. of the books constantly pouring from the press really count in any enduring way; that the whole onward movement of fiction may be fairly likened

to a river which, in the spring flood of the present hour, has overflowed its banks and spread out widely beyond its boundaries, here broadening into a pretentious sea, there rioting down a new channel that promises to divert it permanently from its former course. And all the while, hidden far below the surface of this boisterous, undisciplined flood of popular fiction, the old, well-worn course remains unchanged. A little time passes, the freshet has subsided, the new channels have run dry, the normal current reappears once more, flowing tranquilly along its ordained course; and all that remains of the boasted new tendencies is an additional stratum of alluvial deposit on the banks of the river of literature. Indeed, it is not too much to say that scarcely a single volume of real importance has resulted directly from any one of these sudden surface movements in fiction. Sometimes a book of great cleverness but debatable merit, such as *David Harum*, will start a current of considerable apparent strength. But the writers of enduring quality are not only outside of the popular movement of the hour, but rarely have successful imitators. The novels of the past quarter century which have the best chance of surviving are those which least reflect the so-called tendencies of their time. Stevenson quietly and undauntedly adhered to his romantic creed at a time when the reaction against romanticism was at its strongest. Kipling and Hewlett and Joseph Conrad, to name but three contemporary writers who show qualities that are not ephemeral, obviously write with scant regard for the fluctuations of the popular mood. Yet a later generation will see in *Kim* and *The Queen's Quair* and *Nostromo*, wide apart as they are in style and purpose, a far more accurate guide to the tendency of present-day fiction, than in any of the "best selling books of the month."

And this brings us to the natural and fair question: if the majority of the so-called tendencies are fallacious, what is the real and trustworthy tendency of fiction, from season to season, from decade to decade? If novel writing were a stereotyped art; or if it were customary to study the early masters of fiction as art students study the Preraphaelites, and to make replicas of Fielding and Richardson and Smollett, instead of following new and independent paths, then even the novice in criticism might pick out the good work from the bad. But under existing conditions, by what criterion are we to distinguish out of the mass of mediocrity the occasional book that really counts, the rare author who is going to exert an enduring influence upon future fiction?

This is a question which may not be answered with assurance. Pre-

dictions regarding the future destiny of books, and especially of novels, are always rash, and the personal equation enters so largely into such judgments that no absolute working rules can be laid down. But in the main, it may be safely said that throughout the history of its development fiction, like all things else that are subject to the laws of evolution, has changed slowly, showing as strong an adherence to type, and as little tendency to produce new species and genera, as any of the members of the physical world. The novel in its modern form is a conception of more unity of form and purpose than anything that the classic world conceived. Yet realism, in its fidelity to evil and good alike, to the little significant trifles as well as the momentous crises, was not an invention of Zola. It was already understood and applied with forceful irony in the *Satiræ* of Petronius. The Beast Story, from its early literary development in the *Hitopadeça*, down through Æsop and La Fontaine to Kipling, is in the *Jungle Books* different only in degree, but still essentially the same in kind. Indeed, the whole cycle of Mowgli stories are nearer in spirit to their Sanskrit prototypes than to the work of the great French fabulist. But whatever the type of fiction, whether realistic novel or picaresque romance or simple beast fable, the same general tendency is observable—a natural and logical tendency to keep pace with civilization, to become more careful of the truth, in proportion as the reading public becomes more sophisticated. And this increased respect for the truth on the part of the novelist is not a matter of ethics, but of self-preservation. The romanticist, quite as much as the realist, must assume a virtue if he has it not. If his hero is mortally wounded and the reader knows it, prayers, witchcraft, black magic, will no longer serve to restore him to life; but a little pseudo-science, a few pages of bloodless surgery, skin-grafting and germ cultures, will win eager credence. And so, too, with the animal story. The child who has long since discarded the wolf who “huffed and puffed and blew the house down,” will read of Gray Brother with tireless interest, though he knows quite well that the one tale is as much a tissue of dreams as the other. But Mr. Kipling’s animals in the main come fairly near to satisfying the impression which the average modern child has of wolves and tigers and elephants; they do not gratuitously spoil the illusion by reminding him at every turn of the page that they are after all only make-believe.

And this quite naturally leads back to the tendency of literary forms to adhere rather closely to the original type. In literature, as in horticulture, the “sport” variety is always an uncertain quan-

tity. Rarely it may produce a new species, of widespread popularity, but more often it ends in disappointment. The whole class of animal stories which it is the fashion for the moment to stigmatize as the work of "Nature Fakirs" might not unjustly be described as a "sport" variety of the *Jungle Books*. They are something illogical, abnormal, apart from the natural development of the type. The beast story is founded on a convention which recognizes that the actors in it are human faults and weaknesses masquerading under the guise of animals. The Nature Fakir's story rejects the convention, and insists upon our recognizing as flesh and blood what is really only a masque and symbol. That is why the type of the Nature Fakir story is not sound art and is not destined to live. To accept even the best of nature stories as text books on animal life is akin to accepting the Dumas novels as text books upon French history.

**The
"Nature
Fakirs"**

In spite of the periodic vogue of the Purpose Novel, it may be said unhesitatingly that the deliberate attempt to inculcate any particular art, science or doctrine through the medium of fiction should be numbered among the fallacious tendencies. One does not read novels in order to learn a certain writer's private views about natural history, or Christian Science, or the rotation of crops—one reads them primarily to be entertained. And yet the novelists who secure an abiding hold upon their readers are something more than the mere "public entertainers" that Mr. Marion Crawford calls them. They must be men keenly conscious of the lessons which the realities of every-day life contain; they must write of life truthfully, so far as in them lies, secure in the belief that the best art does not require them to distort a single fact, because life of itself is always more interesting than any deliberately false presentment of it. They may, and indeed ought to have a very definite purpose underlying their book; it does not follow that they need to write a Purpose Novel. An author may wish to show the evils of sweat shops, of pool rooms, of "frenzied finance." Good art and good sense alike tell him to copy life as faithfully as he can; and if the evils really exist, the reader will see them for himself, and the lesson will be conveyed. But a Purpose Novel is like a picture in which the artist has deliberately painted in the evils against which he inveighs, regardless of whether they have a real existence. The result is not a lesson conveyed, but simply a consciousness that the whole picture is painfully out of drawing.

**The
Purpose
Novel**

In singling out a half dozen recent novels for detailed examination, no claim is made here that they are masterpieces of English fiction, destined to a permanent place in the list of volumes that the well-read person

is expected to know. But they are at least books which have striven to follow the best traditions of fiction, books which have tried to be faithful to the realities of life, and to avoid those fallacious tendencies that are the stamp of the novel which is merchandise as distinct from the novel which is literature. With this distinction in mind, *The Country House*, by John Galsworthy, seems to be a book peculiarly deserving of careful consideration. In all the real dramas of life, big or little, the world at large takes a double interest; first, as regards the actual deeds of certain men and women; secondly, and perhaps even more keenly, as regards what other men and women have to say on the subject. Abstractly, a murder or a suicide in the isolation of an African desert is as dramatic as though it occurred amid the afternoon throngs on Broadway; but for the purposes of fiction, the former theme is barren of material as compared with the latter. To get the full tensivity of human interest, you must have the effect upon the outside world, from the few who are closely and poignantly affected by the tragedy, down to the chance spectator, stirred only to a transient curiosity. It is precisely this power of showing the effect of a domestic drama on the local world in which it occurs that exalts Mr. Galsworthy's new volume into a class by itself. There is nothing novel or meritorious in a story of a young woman cursed with too much temperament, who being bound by marriage to a coarse-grained man unable either to understand or sympathize with her, finds another and younger man not only able but eager to do both. The special merit of *The Country House* is quite independent of this rather hackneyed situation. Indeed, the specific and personal drama of George Pendyce and Helen Bellew is deliberately thrown into the background. We catch fleeting yet illuminating glimpses of them, exchanging covert glances across the expanse of a crowded dinner table; stealing a swift caress in the fragrant dusk of a conservatory; supping clandestinely in the tawdry back parlor of some unfrequented, second-rate restaurant; and without effort we fill in the gaps between the lines. But the real story that Mr. Galsworthy has to tell is something radically different; it is the story of a break in family tradition, of violence done to the established customs of a social order. The little world that centres in the village of Worsted Skeynes and the House of Pendyce, that for generations has been a power in the county, is a rather remarkable study of stolid British conservatism. To Horace Pendyce, any rude break in the established order of things means chaos and ruin. His one prayer is that he may be the man his father was before him, and that his son may be, after him, the man that he himself is to-day. His one fear is that some member of

the House of Pendyce may do something that will give the outside world the right to talk and look askance and raise its eyebrows. And suddenly a catastrophe worse, much worse than anything that he ever dreamed, befalls the House of Pendyce. His son and heir, George Pendyce, is named as co-respondent in the suit for divorce that Helen Bellew's husband institutes against her. Here is the focus of interest of the whole book; here is Mr. Galsworthy's opportunity to show his keen understanding of human nature, his mastery of the technique of fiction. The rather sordid drama of a weak man and a foolish woman quite palls beside the keener interest of a proud old house under the imminent shadow of an unsavory scandal. The little world of Worsted Skeynes may not be painted on a very broad canvas, but it is drawn in with an admirably assured touch. And the pervading tone of indulgent irony justifies the classification of this volume with the fiction which in a true sense is a criticism of life.

A book which lacks the inherent bigness of *The Country House*, and which is nevertheless deserving of attention, because of the careful study it reveals of the motives that actuate men and women, is *Katherine*, by E. Temple Thurston. Like Mr. Galsworthy's book, *Katherine* is founded upon a discordant marriage, a young wife who craves pleasure and freedom and a far larger share of her husband's time and attention than she has a right to expect from a man who is already a power in English politics. It looks at first as though the story were nothing more important than a study of how a vain and frivolous young woman consoles herself for the fancied neglect of a busy and ambitious husband. But all of a sudden, Mr. Thurston takes it out of the class to which it apparently belonged, and cloaks it with the dignity of a grave psychological problem. Supposing, he asks, that a woman knows definitely that she has only a limited number of months left to live, barely a year more in which to snatch from life the happiness, the love, the devotion that have hitherto eluded her—will duty and honor mean the same to her as formerly, when she looked forward to all the possibilities that a long lifetime promises? Or will she not rather throw principle aside, and seize the fleeting joy that is offered her? Mr. Thurston's *Katherine* is placed in just this position. According to her physician's diagnosis, she has an insidious, incurable malady, and her days are numbered with a grim definiteness. There is, of course, the inevitable Other Man ready to pay the hundred little attentions that the busy husband, harassed by loyal service to his country, cannot find time to perform. The problem is worked out with a clear-sighted understanding of mood and temperament that stamps the novel as one

that really counts, in spite of the author's concession to the supposed popular demand for a happy ending, and the heroine's ultimate recovery and reconciliation with her husband—all of which was done long ago by Miss Edgeworth in *Belinda*, and done much more convincingly.

Another book which deserves a brief word of commendation is *Sister Carrie*, by Theodore Dreiser, which the London *Athenæum* placed pretty accurately by assigning it to the same shelf as Zola's *Nana*. When and how *Sister Carrie* came to be written, why it was virtually suppressed in this country almost as soon as published and how it happens to be reissued now, after a lapse of seven years, are a series of interesting questions in the secret history of book publishing. But they have no bearing upon the merits of the story, which for all practical purposes comes before the reading public for the first time. It is an unpretentious book, written without any effort after style, but with a downright sincerity that compels attention. It is simply the history of a young girl who comes to Chicago from a country village, intent on earning her own living, finds the toil too hard, the companionship of her fellow-workers too coarse, and inevitably drifts along the way of least resistance into that Half-World which Anglo-Saxon fiction for the most part chooses to ignore. Some critics have chosen to quarrel with Mr. Dreiser's choice of title; and in a way it is misleading. Yet it was presumably selected for its symbolic sense, as a reminder of the ties of blood between the Carries of this world and their more fortunate sisters, a reminder that we are our sisters' as well as our brothers' keepers. There are two reasons why *Sister Carrie* is a book to be recommended in spite of its boldness of theme. First of all, for the sake of its truthfulness, the frankness of its portrayal of a widespread type: the good-natured, yielding, pleasure-loving type of woman, not emotional, not capable of deep feeling, essentially selfish at heart, who finds it easiest to accept the good things of life as they offer themselves, quite indifferent as to who shall pay for them. And secondly it is a pitiless, unsparing portrayal of a man's ruin. The history of Hurstwood, from the first hour of his meeting with Carrie to the final moment when he turns on the flow of gas in an East Side lodging house and lies down to await oblivion, is fiction of a grim, compelling force that has the value of many sermons. It is the story so often repeated in life, so rarely frankly told in novels, of the man carried away by a foolish passion, and a woman thinking only of herself, her vanity, her ultimate glorification. When Hurstwood has sacrificed for her sake his social and financial standing, his prospects and his honor, and has

lost his self-respect and with it his grip upon life, you can see the moral and physical disintegration of the man, from day to day, see his clothes wear shiny, the seams fray out, the buttons fall away—symbols of the permanent wreck of the man's own self-esteem. And over the shoulders of this human wreck, Sister Carrie climbs into public favor, to a brief span of tinsel glory before the footlights, yet finding even in the midst of her triumphs that there is something, she scarce knows what, some indefinable, vital thing, the lack of which robs life of its savor.

Mr. Dreiser teaches his lesson by fearlessly telling the truth. Eden Phillpotts, in his latest volume, *The Whirlwind*, attempts to put a halo of self-sacrifice around a woman's frailty, and the result is one of the most unconvincing stories he ever wrote. There is the usual stage setting of Dartmoor landscape, with its misty sunshine and soft, slanting rain, and the usual gathering of typical Dartmoor peasantry, with their quaint speech and their primitive customs and beliefs. But there are just three persons with whom the story is immediately concerned, who may be conveniently denoted as the Master, the Man and the Man's Wife. Imagine a splendid specimen of primitive manhood, with the rugged muscles of a giant, but intellectually slow, both in thought and speech. And the woman is physically a mate for him; he is the one man for her, without him life would be empty, profitless, unthinkable. But in mind she is the more alert; she lacks her husband's abiding faith in religion, his acceptance of the existing social law and order; she has a restless, inquiring nature, easily misled by specious reasoning. And so, when her husband's master, a strong, unscrupulous mind in a sickly, feeble body, foredoomed to an early death, sees and covets her, she finds no difficulty in reconciling duty with dishonor. With almost brutal directness the master makes his proposition: he has a scant span of life remaining; she is the one woman in the world who can bring joy into these last months; if she will, then all his wealth, his acre upon acre of rolling Dartmoor land, shall be her husband's; and the why and wherefore her husband need never know. As already said, the weak point in an otherwise vigorous story is the attempt to surround a bargain of dishonor with an aureole of martyrdom, to make us believe that the wife's love remained untarnished, and that she believed that the lands she was winning for her husband justified her disloyalty. And not even her final tragic awakening and atonement quite redeems the book from its inherent weakness.

Norman Duncan is one of the few American novelists of the younger

generation who are to be seriously reckoned with. In his latest volume, *The Cruise of the "Shining Light,"* he shows, as never before, his kinship, on the one hand with Eden Phillpotts, on the other with a greater master than either, Joseph Conrad. What Mr. Phillpotts has done for Dartmoor, Mr. Duncan is doing for Newfoundland, for its primitive people, its rugged, storm-swept coast, its daily changing miracles of sea and sky. But in his handling of plot, in his ability to give a sense of mystery; a suggestion of dim, unrevealed vistas, down which the reader has only fitful, intermittent glimpses; a pervading impression that the people he shows us have strange, bizarre, uncanny pasts, full of wild and lawless deeds, he often suggests comparison with Mr. Conrad's greatest achievement, *Nostromo*. And yet it would be doing an injustice to *The Cruise of the "Shining Light"* to give the impression that it was anything else than an intensely human story, full of simple kindness and warm-hearted affection. A small boy, reared in the school of Chesterfieldian manners, by a drunken, profane old seaman, a piratical black-mailer to boot, yet the kindest, tenderest old soul that ever stamped through life on a wooden leg; such is in the main the substance of this curious and paradoxical volume. Why Uncle Nick reared Dannie in a luxury out of all keeping with his birth and station, is only a degree less of a mystery than why Uncle Nick himself shudderingly refuses to share in it, cursing himself for a miserable sinner, and darkly implying that every penny of the money he squanders on Dannie is the price of a human soul. The explanation when it comes is simple enough; and yet there is no effect of exaggeration, nothing lurid or melodramatic in the manner of telling—merely a lasting impression of having witnessed the writhings of a very simple and well-meaning human soul, caught in the toils of a problem too big to solve unaided. And this only touches upon one aspect of this many-sided book. No mention of it would be adequate that left out of consideration the idyl of Dannie and Judith, an idyl that began in childhood, that strengthened with their strength, and throughout its course stirs the reader to smiles that have in them the tenderness of tears. Unquestionably *The Cruise of the "Shining Light"* is an achievement that marks a long forward stride in Mr. Duncan's career.

There is one more volume which it seems worth while to include in this brief list of recent books of some merit, because it gave the present writer a more than usual degree of pleasure — *Fanshawe of the Fifth*, by Ashton Hilliers. Yet this is more than usually a matter of personal taste, and even to some

degree a matter of the passing mood. *Fanshawe of the Fifth* is what might be conveniently called a reversion to type, a literary atavism. It

**Fanshawe of
the Fifth**

is not merely a story of Eighteenth Century England, but it is an Eighteenth Century story, in form and style; a story that is not quite like anything by Fielding or Smollett or Sterne, and yet shows the influence of each of the three in turn. It is a detailed picture of English

life in the Napoleonic days; yet it is not a story of warfare, for although the hero at the start is an officer in the Fifth Dragoons, his career is ingloriously cut short, through no fault of his, and he finds himself not only without his commission, his horse and sword, but disinherited besides, and under the necessity of earning his daily bread by any chance labor that English field and village afforded. The structure of the story is of the simplest; but the style is ever possessed of a certain quaint charm, all the more grateful in these days of strenuous haste, because it is throughout so leisurely. The author seems never so pressed for time that he cannot digress in picaresque fashion, to weave in some extraneous tale, or stand and watch a well-contested fight, a hard-earned race. Indeed, the story is throughout subordinated to the panorama of life all the time unfolding in the background. Fanshawe himself is a not unworthy hero; but what interests you chiefly is the sense you get of having for the time being looked back upon the changing stream of human activity, as it swept along the highways and byways of rural England a century ago. But to be enjoyed, it is a book that must be read at leisure, and when you are in a congenial mood. *Frederic Taber Cooper.*

LILACS IN THE CITY

BY BRIAN HOOKER

AMID the rush and fever of the street,
 The snarl and clash of countless quarrelling bells,
 And the sick heavy heat,
 The hissing footsteps, and the hateful smells,
 I found you, speaking quietly
 Of sunlit hill-horizons and clean earth;
 While the pale multitude that may not dare
 To pause and live a moment, lest they die,
 Swarmed onward with hot eyes, and left you there—
 An armful of God's glory, nothing worth.

You are more beautiful than I can know.

Even one loving you might look an hour
Nor learn the perfect flow

Of line and tint in one small, purple flower.
There are no two of you the same,
And every one is wonderful and new—

Poor baby-blossoms that have died unblown,
And you that droop yourselves as if for shame,

You too are perfect. I had hardly known
The grace of your glad sisters but for you.

You myriad of little litanies!

Not as our bitter piety, subdued
To cold creed that denies

Or lying law that severs glad and good;
But like a child's eyes, after sleep

Uplifted; like a girl's first wordless prayer
Close-held by him who loves her—no distress

Nor storm of supplication, but a deep,

Dear heart-ache of such utter happiness
As only utter purity can bear.

For you are all the robin feels at dawn,

The meaning of green dimness, and calm noons
On high fields far withdrawn,

Where the haze glimmers and the wild bee croons.
You are the soul of a June night:—

Intimate joy of moon-swept vale and glade,
Warm fragrance breathing upward from the ground,

And eager winds tremulous with sharp delight
Till all the tense-tuned gloom thrills like a sound—

Mystery of sweet passion unafraid.

O sweet, sweet, sweet! you are the proof of all

That over-truth our dreams have memory of
That day cannot recall:

Work without weariness, and tearless love,
And taintless laughter. While we run

To measure dust, and sounding names are hurled
Into the nothingness of days unborn,

You hold your little hearts up to the sun,
Quietly beautiful amid our scorn—

God's answer to the wisdom of this world.

Brian Hooker.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE AS A CAREER

BY JOHN BALL OSBORNE

THEORETICALLY every good citizen is interested in the betterment of the American consular service; but, as a matter of fact, the average man, unless his personal interests are in some way affected, is strangely indifferent. Our manufacturers and exporters, however, are concerned on account of their foreign business; lawyers with international suits, for the same reason; American tourists, for the sake of personal convenience; and lastly, but not least numerically, the great army of place-hunters, from the defeated Congressman down to the callow youth, fresh from college, who aspires to a consulship as the easiest and pleasantest method of solving the increasingly troublesome problem of a livelihood.

It is gradually dawning upon the consciousness of all these classes of the public how radical a change for the better has been effected in the consular system as the result of the enactment of the Reorganization Act of April 5, 1906, and the promulgation of the scarcely less important Executive Order of June 27, 1906, and the regulations of the Department of State based thereon.

All these changes, which mark an epoch in consular history, are due, in largest measure, to the inspiration and forceful advocacy of Secretary Root. First the Morgan Bill, introduced in the Senate in 1884; then its successor the Lodge Bill, providing competitive examination for admission to the service; and the Adams Bill in the House, contemplating a reorganization commission of Senators and Representatives, rallied the support of the affiliated chambers of commerce and gained many earnest advocates in Congress. But none of these measures had the good fortune to be championed by a personality sufficiently convincing and powerful to break down all old prejudices and overcome the *vis inertiae* in legislative circles, carrying it triumphantly through both Houses of Congress.

When Mr. Root took up his duties as Secretary of State in the summer of 1905, one of the first matters that attracted his attention was the obsolete character of the consular system, especially its defects as a vital and essential factor in American trade development. The tenure of

office was almost equally unstable in the case of good and poor consuls, and there was no system for making promotions on the basis of merit. Elderly men who had failed in life and whose friends had to find some way to support them were constantly being appointed to the most important positions in the service over the heads of men who had done good work. The salaries were unevenly adjusted and, for the most part, inadequate. Many consuls resorted to questionable methods of increasing their official income, and the fee system was the subject of grave abuse.

It is, however, little short of wonderful how our consular service managed so well to worry along and work out its own destinies without the aid of more legislation affecting the system itself than was enacted by Congress from 1789 to 1906. During that period of 117 years only two acts of much consequence were passed; these were the Act of April 14, 1792, which defined the duties and privileges of consular officers, and the Act of August 18, 1856, which reorganized the system and placed it upon a basis that remained practically unchanged until 1906.

The system provided by the law of 1856 was satisfactory in its day, but as the service expanded in response to the commercial demands of the country it revealed a woful lack of elasticity and adaptability to the new conditions. Speaking of the lack of systematic treatment for which the consular service suffered since the great increase in our foreign trade, Secretary Root aptly remarked to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that it was in something the same condition that a village law office would be in if a big city practice were dumped down on it without any organization to deal with it. Nevertheless, the system as regulated by the law of 1856 was endured without important modification for exactly fifty years.

With the prodigious energy and enthusiasm for work that have always characterized him, Secretary Root set about to correct this situation. After carefully examining and comparing the various reorganization bills that had been introduced in Congress in the preceding decade, and applying thereto the information and experience gained by himself in the State Department, he drafted, in collaboration with Senator Lodge, whose experience as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations was of great value, an entirely new bill, which, in the words of a memorandum presented in the Senate, sought "to apply the practical remedies suggested by the experience of Congress and of the Department of State to the defects in our consular service which have long been recognized and discussed by the great business associations of the United States."

This bill "To provide for the Reorganization of the Consular Ser-

vice of the United States" was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Lodge on December 11, 1905, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was reported by Mr. Lodge on January 10, 1906, with several amendments, most important of which was the omission of the several sections relative to the establishment of a board of examiners, the holding of examinations to fill vacancies in the lowest grades, and the making of appointments to the higher grades by promotion only. These excellent so-called civil-service features were stricken out by the committee chiefly for the reason that it believed that their enactment by Congress would appear to be an infringement upon the Constitutional power of the President to appoint consuls, such officers being specifically enumerated in the Constitution.

The bill was passed by the Senate on January 30th, without further material change, and went to the House of Representatives, where it was reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs by the late Representative Adams of Pennsylvania, with additional amendments, none of which, however, was of much consequence, excepting the omission of the paragraph that provided for transfer by the President's order of consuls-general and consuls from one place to another in the same grade. After brief debate, the bill was passed by the House and received the approval of the President on April 5, 1906. The following is a concise summary of the provisions of this important law.

Section 2 classified and graded the consuls-general and consuls, besides fixing the salaries of each class, as shown in the following table:

CONSULS-GENERAL (London and Paris).			CONSULS (Liverpool).		
		No.			No.
Class 1.....	\$12,000.....	2	Class 1.....	\$8,000.....	1
" 2.....	8,000.....	6	" 2.....	6,000.....	1
" 3.....	6,000.....	8	" 3.....	5,000.....	8
" 4.....	5,500.....	11	" 4.....	4,500.....	12
" 5.....	4,500.....	18	" 5.....	4,000.....	21
" 6.....	3,500.....	9	" 6.....	3,500.....	32
" 7.....	3,000.....	3	" 7.....	3,000.....	47
			" 8.....	2,500.....	61
			" 9.....	2,000.....	70
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total.....		57			253
" Consuls-general and consuls=310.					

The above-mentioned salaries, which were fixed on the basis of official income from former salaries and unofficial fees combined, constitute the total compensation of the respective incumbents. They are reasonably adequate and equitably adjusted according to relative importance of the

different stations and the cost of living. In a few instances, however, the officers do not fare so well as formerly; for example, London, with a salary of \$10,000, in the last fiscal year paid the consul-general \$17,157, which means an annual loss to him under the new law of more than \$5,000; similarly, Paris netted \$16,143, of which \$10,000 represented the salary, thus indicating a decrease of more than \$4,000. On the other hand, Liverpool, of the highest class of consulates, yielded \$7,976, of which the salary was \$5,000, while it now pays \$8,000, a slight gain. Here are a few of the consulates that will profit materially under the new law:

	TOTAL INCOME FISCAL YEAR 1905-6.	PRESENT SALARY.
Aden, Arabia.....	\$1,639.....	\$2,500
Alexandretta, Syria.....	1,754.....	2,500
Bagdad, Turkey.....	697.....	2,000
Batum, Russia.....	908.....	2,500
Harput, Turkey.....	1,684.....	3,000
Iquique, Chile.....	920.....	2,000
La Paz, Mexico.....	251.....	2,000
Madrid, Spain.....	748.....	2,500
Puerto Plata, Dom. Rep.....	927.....	2,000
Saigon, Cochin China.....	841.....	2,000
Seoul, Korea.....	1,715.....	5,500
Stavanger, Norway.....	1,149.....	2,000
Suva, Fiji Islands.....	12.50.....	2,000
Tahiti, Society Islands.....	1,044.....	2,000
Tuxpam, Mexico.....	376.....	2,000
Warsaw, Russia.....	622.....	2,000

Section 3 empowers the President to designate consuls to act temporarily, not exceeding one year, as vice and deputy consuls-general or consuls, without change of their classification. It also abolishes the grade of commercial agent.

Section 4 provides a system of regular inspection of consulates. The President is authorized to appoint five inspectors, from the members of the consular force possessing the requisite qualifications of experience and ability, to be designated as consuls-general at large, who shall receive an annual salary of \$5,000, besides travelling and subsistence expenses. Each consular office is to be inspected at least once in every two years, and report made to the Secretary of State. Whenever the business of an office is not properly conducted, the President may authorize any consul-general at large to suspend the incumbent and administer the office in his stead for a period not exceeding ninety days, with power to suspend any subordinate officer or clerk in said office during the period aforesaid.¹

¹ The five consuls-general at large contemplated by this law, whose appoint-

SECTION 5. No person who is not an American citizen shall be appointed hereafter in any consulate-general or consulate to any clerical position the salary of which is \$1,000 a year or more.

This does not refer to the thirteen "consular clerks," who are appointed by the President and hold office during good behavior, enjoying virtually life tenure; but to clerks employed at the various consular offices and appointed upon nomination of the principal consular officer, although the Department exercises the right to make independent appointments whenever that course is for the best interests of the service. Some of these clerks receive as much as \$1,500 a year as compensation, and the new law, therefore, opens up splendid opportunities for the right sort of very young men who are willing to accept clerkships in consulates at \$1,000 or so and work hard at keeping books, writing letters, making out authentications of invoices, recording correspondence, and other routine work, with a view to qualifying themselves to pass an examination later for a consulship. Several fine young Americans, inspired by this laudable ambition, have recently been sent out as clerks at consulates in different parts of the world.

Section 6. The provisions of the Revised Statutes forbidding consular officers whose salaries exceed \$1,000 a year from engaging in trade are extended to include the practice of law or sharing in the fees or compensation of any lawyer, thus correcting what was formerly a serious abuse in the service.

Section 7. Every consular officer is required, on application, to perform notarial acts, charging therefor the appropriate fees prescribed by the President.

Section 8 effects a very important reform; it provides that "all fees, official or unofficial, received by any officer in the consular service for services rendered in connection with the duties of his office or as a consular officer, including fees for notarial services," etc., shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury, thus making the salaries fixed by law the "sole and only compensation" of such officers. This does not apply to consular agents, who shall continue to be paid by one half the fees received up to a maximum of \$1,000 a year. The former method of compensating vice and deputy consular officers by clerical salary or, when in charge, by a portion of the salaries of the consul-general or consul for whom they act, is also continued.

In Section 9 the President is authorized to fix the fees for the authentications took effect July 1, 1906, are Charles M. Dickinson, Richard M. Bartleman, Horace Lee Washington, George H. Murphy, and Fleming D. Cheshire—all with long and creditable records in the consular service.

tication of invoices, as well as all other fees. This will permit of the grading of invoice fees according to the amount of the invoice, instead of the former uniform fee of \$2.50.

Section 10 provides that the amount of the fee charged shall be indicated on every document issued by a consular officer by means of adhesive stamps furnished to him for the purpose.

In accordance with Section 11, the act went into effect on June 30, 1906.

As already stated, the so-called civil-service features of the bill were stricken out at an early stage of its legislative career, largely upon Constitutional grounds, and hence the measure as enacted was somewhat disappointing to those who had labored long and earnestly for the application of the principles of the merit system to the consular service. But while the business interests of the country were deploring this omission and planning to urge upon Congress at a later date acceptance of the rejected provisions, the resourcefulness of the Secretary of State found a way to accomplish practically the same result through executive action, without encountering Constitutional objections.

Mr. Root drafted and submitted to the President an Executive Order extending the system commonly called the merit system of the civil service to the consular service, incorporating therein the identical provisions that had been dropped out of the Reorganization bill. This Order met the hearty approval of President Roosevelt, who promulgated it on June 27, 1906, putting it into effect July 1, 1906, simultaneously with the Reorganization Act.

The several paragraphs of this admirable Executive Order are quoted below, with explanatory comments by myself, as well as reference to the departmental regulations governing examinations adopted in consequence of the Order.

Whereas, The Congress, by Section 1753 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, has provided as follows:

"The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct such inquiries, and may prescribe their duties, and establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."

And, *whereas*, the Congress has classified and graded the consuls-general and consuls of the United States by the act entitled "An act to provide for the re-organization of the consular service of the United States," approved April 5, 1906, and has thereby made it practicable to extend to that branch of the civil

service the aforesaid provisions of the Revised Statutes and the principles embodied in the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883.

Now, therefore, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution and laws of the United States, the President makes the following regulations to govern the selection of consuls-general and consuls in the civil service of the United States, subject always to the advice and consent of the Senate:

It is of interest to note that the language of the foregoing preamble and operative clause is such as might be used by the President in extending the principles of the Civil Service law of 1883 to any branch of the executive departments of the national Government where not previously applicable, with the single exception of the clause "subject always to the advice and consent of the Senate," which reservation is, of course, necessitated by the Constitution.

1. Vacancies in the office of consul-general and in the office of consul above class 8 shall be filled by promotion from the lower grades of the consular service, based upon ability and efficiency as shown in the service.

The effect of this rule is to restrict appointments of all consuls-general and consuls above class 8 to officers already in the service by promotion for merit, leaving only the vacancies arising in class 8 (\$2,500) and class 9 (\$2,000) to be filled by the appointment of subordinate consular officers or outsiders after examinations, as appears by the following paragraph:

2. Vacancies in the office of consul of class 8 and of consul of class 9 shall be filled:

(a) By promotion on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service, of consular clerks, and of vice-consuls, deputy consuls, and consular agents who shall have been appointed to such offices upon examination.¹

(b) By new appointments of candidates who have passed a satisfactory examination for appointment as consul as hereafter provided.

The provision for the promotion of subordinate consular officers was not in the bill at any stage; it opens a door of hope that has hitherto been practically closed, and will surely have an excellent influence upon the work of those subordinates.

3. Persons in the service of the Department of State with salaries of \$2,000 or upward shall be eligible for promotion, on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service, to any grade of the consular service above class 8 of consuls.

This provision is also new; it affects, according to the present salary list of the Department (fiscal year 1907), fifteen persons below the rank of Third Assistant Secretary, including eight chiefs of bureau.

¹ By amendatory executive order of December 12, 1906, student interpreters are included in this category on same footing as vice-consuls, etc.

4. The Secretary of State, or such officer of the Department of State as the President shall designate, the Chief of the Consular Bureau, and the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission, or some person whom said Commission shall designate, shall constitute a Board of Examiners for admission to the consular service.

The first Board of Examiners under the Act is composed of Mr. Huntington Wilson, Third Assistant Secretary of State; Mr. Wilbur J. Carr,¹ Chief of the Consular Bureau; and Mr. F. M. Kiggins, Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission.

5. It shall be the duty of the Board of Examiners to formulate rules for and hold examinations of applicants for admission to the consular service.

In pursuance of the foregoing regulation the Board of Examiners has formulated a series of rules to govern the examinations; the first of these is as follows:

1. The examinations will be the same for all grades and will be to determine a candidate's eligibility for appointment in the consular service, irrespective of the grade for which he may have been designated for examination, and without regard to any particular office for which he may be selected.

Continuing, the Executive Order reads:

6. The scope and method of the examinations shall be determined by the Board of Examiners, but among the subjects shall be included at least one modern language other than English; the natural, industrial, and commercial resources and the commerce of the United States, especially with reference to the possibilities of increasing and extending the trade of the United States with foreign countries; political economy; elements of international, commercial, and maritime law.

The details of the scope and method of the examinations have been formulated by the Board as follows:

2. The examinations will consist of an oral and a written one, the two counting equally. The object of the oral examination will be to determine the candidate's business ability, alertness, general contemporary information, and natural fitness for the service, including moral, mental, and physical qualifications, character, address, and general education and good command of English. In this part of the examination the applications previously filed will be given due weight by the Board of Examiners, especially as evidence of the applicant's business experience and ability. The written examination will include those subjects mentioned in the Executive order, to wit, French, German, or Spanish, or at least one modern language other than English; the natural, industrial, and commercial resources and the commerce of the United States, especially with reference to possibilities of increasing and extending the foreign trade of the United States; political economy, and the elements of international, commercial, and maritime law. It will likewise include American history, government, and institutions; political and

¹ Mr. Carr was subsequently appointed Chief Clerk of the Department of State.

commercial geography; arithmetic (as used in commercial statistics, tariff calculations, exchange, accounts, etc.); the modern history, since 1850, of Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, with particular attention to political, commercial, and economic tendencies. In the written examination, composition, grammar, punctuation, spelling, and writing will be given attention.

The Executive Order continues:

7. Examination papers shall be rated on a scale of 100, and no person rated at less than 80 shall be eligible for certification.

The Board of Examiners has elaborated the foregoing rule as follows:

5. Upon the conclusion of the examinations the names of the candidates who shall have attained upon the whole examination an average mark of at least 80, as required by the Executive order, will be certified by the Board to the Secretary of State as eligible for appointment in the consular service, and the successful candidates will be informed that this has been done.

It is to be noted that the passing mark for the entrance into civil service in this country is seventy on a scale of one hundred, excepting that honorably discharged war veterans become eligible on attaining a mark of sixty-five and take precedence over all others.

8. No one shall be examined who is under twenty-one or over fifty years of age, or who is not a citizen of the United States, or who is not of good character and habits and physically and mentally qualified for the proper performance of consular work, or who has not been specially designated by the President for appointment to the consular service subject to examination.

The age limit in the original bill was forty years; the justice of extending it to fifty years will be generally recognized, inasmuch as the average man while in the forties has still the capacity and energy requisite to learn a new business; but, as a rule, once in the fifties it is otherwise.

9. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in the eighth or ninth class of consuls which the President may deem it expedient to fill, the Secretary of State shall inform the Board of Examiners, who shall certify to him the list of those persons eligible for appointment, accompanying the certificate with a detailed report showing the qualifications, as revealed by examination, of the persons so certified. If it be desired to fill a vacancy in a consulate in a country in which the United States exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction, the Secretary of State shall so inform the Board of Examiners, who shall include in the list of names certified by it only such persons as have passed the examination provided for in this order, and who also have passed an examination in the fundamental principles of the common law, the rules of evidence, and the trial of civil and criminal cases. The list of names which the Board of Examiners shall certify shall be sent to the President for his information.

The following rules adopted by the Board have application to the last-quoted paragraph of the Executive Order:

3. To become eligible for appointment, except as student interpreter, in a country where the United States exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction, the applicant must pass the examination outlined above, but supplemented by questions to determine his knowledge of the fundamental principles of common law, the rules of evidence, and the trial of civil and criminal cases.

6. The names of candidates will remain on the eligible list for two years, except in the case of such candidates as shall within that period be appointed or shall withdraw their names. Names which have been on the eligible list for two years will be dropped therefrom and the candidates concerned will not again be eligible for appointment unless upon fresh application, designation anew for examination, and the successful passing of such second examination.

The Executive Order further provides:

10. No promotion shall be made except for efficiency, as shown by the work that the officer has accomplished, the ability, promptness, and diligence displayed by him in the performance of all his official duties, his conduct, and his fitness for the consular service.

The foregoing rule is aimed to give effectiveness to the permanent efficiency record of consular officers of all grades, made up from all sources of information available to the Department. The establishment of this record in the Department of State was one of the early acts of Secretary Root, whose experience at the head of the War Department convinced him of its need. Every officer in the consular service, principal as well as subordinate, was notified that the ability, promptness, and diligence displayed by him in the performance of all his official duties, his conduct while in office, and the character of his reports upon the trade relations of the United States, would be considered as proper elements in the determination of his relative efficiency, and that this record would be consulted by the Secretary of State and be brought by him to the attention of the President in determining questions as to retention in office, transfers, and promotions.

It requires no argument to demonstrate the salutary influence upon the entire service of this new administrative feature, which was in operation several months before the Reorganization Act went into effect. Prior to the establishment of efficiency records the Department made practically no effort to preserve evidence of meritorious service on the part of consular officers, and hence good work frequently went unrewarded. Under the present system a consular officer has every reasonable incentive for making a record for efficiency, inasmuch as that record is no longer written on the sands of one administration only to be washed away by the next political tide.

The final paragraphs of the Executive Order provide as follows:

11. It shall be the duty of the Board of Examiners to formulate rules for and hold examinations of persons designated for appointment as consular clerk, and of such persons designated for appointment as vice-consul, deputy consul, and consular agent, as shall desire to become eligible for promotion.¹ The scope and method of such examination shall be determined by the Board of Examiners, but it shall include the same subjects hereinbefore prescribed for the examination of consuls. Any vice-consul, deputy consul, or consular agent now in the service, upon passing such an examination shall become eligible for promotion, as if appointed upon such examination.

12. In designations for appointment subject to examination and in appointments after examination, due regard will be had to the rule, that as between candidates of equal merit, appointments should be so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service; and neither in the designation for examination or certification or appointment will the political affiliations of the candidate be considered.

The last rule represents a highly laudable effort to divorce appointments to the consular service from the domain of partisan politics. While no such provisions were contained in the original bill, the policy above outlined has always been favored, and, so far as practicable, acted upon by the present administration.

It will be perceived that the Executive Order quoted and discussed above has established, as fully as is possible by administrative action and declaration of executive policy, a rational merit system in the consular service of the United States, providing for original appointment to the lower grades only upon searching examination of the candidates, and promotion from grade to grade only as a reward for efficient and faithful service. So far as one administration can guarantee it, the tenure of all worthy consuls has been made secure and stable; that is, as permanent as the tenure of any Government office should be. I see no reason to doubt, for example, that the tenure of every capable, industrious, and efficient consul is now as stable as that of the average division chief in the executive departments at Washington, who is protected against political vicissitudes by the merit principles of the Civil Service Law and Regulations.

In the development of the merit system in the executive branches of the national Government there has been no retrograde step since the time of Pendleton. That system has eliminated absolutely the question of partisanship, and has steadily grown in popular favor; the press has only unqualified commendation for it, while it is now rarely attacked in Congress. It will be the same with the reorganized consular service;

¹ Student interpreters are included in this category by Executive order of December 12, 1906.

for the public sentiment, now so thoroughly aroused and crystallized through the efforts of the great business interests of the country, would never sanction the nullification by a future administration of the substantial reforms recently introduced by President Roosevelt.

In fact, many prominent members of both Houses of Congress have voluntarily indorsed these measures of reform, and there is a growing sentiment in favor of further solidifying them by the early enactment of a law that shall embody the essential features of the Executive Order of June 27, 1906. To this end Senator Lodge, on January 3, 1907, introduced a "Bill to improve the Consular Service," providing as follows:

That vacancies in the office of consul-general and in the office of consul above class 8 shall be filled by promotion from the members of the lower classes of consuls-general or consuls, on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service: Provided, That persons in the service of the Department of State with salaries of \$2,000 or upward shall be deemed eligible for promotion in the consular service equally with consuls having like salaries.

SEC. 2. That no person shall be appointed a consul of class 8 or class 9 before he shall have reached the age of twenty-one years or after he shall have reached the age of forty years; nor until he shall have passed a satisfactory examination as to his moral, physical, and educational qualifications.

SEC. 3. That as between candidates of equal merit, appointments of consuls-general and consuls shall be so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service.

This Bill was not acted upon by Congress.

In the whole history of the Government there never was a time when the President had better material from which to make consular appointments than is now offered in abundance. In the early days nearly all the posts were filled by foreigners, with a sprinkling of American missionaries and broken-down clergymen; for the precarious income by fees did not justify many *consules missi*.

About the middle of the last century a brilliant galaxy of literary men, some who had won fame and others on the eve of triumph, adorned the service; thus, Hawthorne at Liverpool, Donald Mitchell at Venice, John Howard Payne at Tunis, and, during the Civil War, Howells at Venice and Stillman at Rome. The Reorganization Act of 1856, with its salary system, attracted many defeated politicians and unsuccessful business men. Following the Civil War came a goodly company of gallant officers of the Union Army, among whom I recall Generals Badeau at London and Havana, Fairchild at Paris, Warner at St. Johns, N. B., Shaw at Toronto and Manchester, and Torbet at Paris and Havana. Later, in the eighties, when I entered the service, there was a

marked increase in the number of lawyers, while still later the journalists came into evidence. Under the new régime I confidently believe that the day of the college man—particularly the young man specially educated for the consular service—has at last arrived.

The first examination under the Executive Order of June 27, 1906, was held at the Department of State on March 14th and 15th last. Of the 23 persons designated for examination by the President from States below their proportionate representation in the service, 18 appeared and were examined, with the result that 10 received the required mark of 80 and were duly certified as eligible for appointment. The ages of these eligibles range from 26 to 43, four being above 35 and three between 26 and 30. Six of the eligibles have had practical business experience and four have had professional or journalistic training. Seven of the successful candidates have already been appointed to places in the lower grades.

The second examination will take place on July 9th and 10th. About 250 persons have made application, of whom about 40 have already been designated, which number will probably be increased to about 50 before the date mentioned. Most of these candidates are under forty years of age and a goodly proportion have enjoyed the advantage of a college training.

Hereafter the consular service—always fascinating, even when most insecure and transitory as regards tenure of office—will offer a most attractive career to ambitious young men; a career scarcely second in point of assured rewards to the Army or Navy, and certainly infinitely more interesting than office-holding in almost any branch of Government service at home. The capable and worthy officer will have the strongest possible incentive to devote himself to the work of perfecting himself in his chosen career and faithfully serving the Government to the best of his ability, as well as fulfilling every duty enjoined by law or regulation toward his fellow-countrymen who are engaged in foreign trade or merely travelling abroad for pleasure, for he has it in his power so to shape his official conduct as to secure for himself at the Department of State an admirable record for efficiency, which, under the new system, will, when a question of retention in office or promotion arises, serve him to better advantage than all the political influence he might be able to summon to his aid.

Keeping abreast of these epoch-making changes, and, to some extent, anticipating them, several of our great universities have recently established departments for the special education of young men who desire to enter the consular (or diplomatic) service. Noteworthy as pioneers

in this field of future usefulness are the courses of study offered by Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin, Illinois, George Washington, and Dartmouth. Unless there be a reasonable measure of stability of tenure in consular positions, it is manifestly a waste of time for a young man to attend such courses; but, in the light of recent developments above outlined, I believe that the faculties of the institutions named can conscientiously recommend to students—as they are actually doing—to prepare themselves systematically for a life career in the American consular service.

John Ball Osborne.

SCIENTIFIC AND ÆSTHETIC METHODS OF TEACHING LITERATURE

BY ALBERT SCHINZ

Professor of Romance Languages at Bryn Mawr College

ANOTHER academic year is completed; this is a proper time for the professor to pause and think of the work he has accomplished.

For some time the writer has felt like offering a little confession; yet, as it was a delicate matter, he hesitated; this year, however, he will speak. He has been giving one of the courses announced under his name in the programme "French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century." He conducted the work according to strictly modern methods; some of the results have been rather embarrassing. For instance:

Lamartine had been taken up. Before reading *Le Lac* the students had been briefly told of the story of Elvire and Raphael on the shore of the Lake Bourget, in Savoy; of the poetic passion; of the journey to Paris; of the rendezvous arranged by the two seraphic lovers for the following season; of the illness and the death of Elvire, which put an end to the celestial dream. They knew enough to appreciate the poem, i.e., what the poet wanted to say and what he did say; thus the immortal song had been duly understood and admired. But then came the task of the professor: he proceeded to show how Lamartine had not received his first inspiration from the tragic events usually connected with *Le Lac*, but had carried within his mind, for a long time before, the idea of singing the despair of a lover; the death of Elvire had only been the experience which he needed, and which thus came in the nick of time, to carry out successfully his plans. It was shown by means of convincing documents that the first attempt to use this theme was made one day when, as a young officer, he was taking a solitary walk in the country and had taken off one of his boots to serve him as a desk upon which to write a

first sketch of the *Lac* to be. This was long before he knew Elvire. The professor told further how the souvenir of two women were woven together in the heroine of *Le Lac*; how, soon after having written the poem, Lamartine married, and how a third woman was thus added to make up the Elvire, which kept hovering about the poet's mind in the *Nouvelles Méditations*. The effect of those scholarly remarks was, as one may easily surmise, to dispel the magic impression of the poem. The students who had come under the spell of the moving stanzas left the class-room with an ironical smile on their lips.

Some time later it was Victor Hugo's turn to be summoned before the tribunal of modern scholarship. If there are any poems in Hugo that are sincere and beautiful and do honor to the man who wrote them, they are the collection called *Pauca Meæ*, the poems of the *Contemplations* devoted to the memory of his eldest daughter, who after three months of marriage was drowned in a cruel accident near Havre, together with her young husband; the latter could have saved himself but refused to live without her. Those poems were read and the students seemed to understand easily the greatness of this sorrow; the idea never occurred to them that a man could bring in connection with those sincere cries of a grieved soul, anything that would be only for show or to increase the effect on the public; such a suggestion would have been generously rejected. But, behold, the demon of duty and pedantic scholarship again took hold of the professor; he mentioned some ungracious documents, the authenticity of which cannot possibly be doubted as they are in Victor Hugo's own hand and intrusted by himself to his late friend, Meurice. The students had remarked how touching it was that regularly, on each anniversary of the catastrophe, Victor Hugo, in visiting the grave of his child, found an inspiration for a new beautiful poem. Throughout the collection there is a perfect harmony between the dates of those poems and the events that suggested them. Well, the documents just quoted destroyed the legend. The harmony of feelings and dates exist in most cases only in the printed edition, while the manuscript tells another story: the emotions had been carefully tabulated not by the man, but by the poet shortly before going to press; some of the poems had not been written much before the date of issuing the book in 1856; and frivolous chansons like *Nous allons au verger cueillir des bigarreaux* or *La coccinelle* were of the same epoch as the dramatic *A Villequier* or *A celle qui est restée en France*.

Those changes of dates were not a great crime, but for those who know about it, some of the poetic effect is lost. One student could not help asking: "Why did you tell us?"

Again a few weeks later Musset was read. Of course the romantic passion of the poet for George Sand was told in connection with the *Nuits* and the *Souvenir*. Could the professor, without risk of losing his reputation as an up-to-date man, fail to speak of the revelations made in 1904 at the time of the celebration of George Sand's centenary? Certainly not; so the students heard that Musset had seen Georges making love to Dr. Pagello in Venice:

Vu, vu, de ses yeux vu; ce que l'on appelle vu.

How could this fact not be detrimental to the effect of Musset's poems, that Georges succeeded in making him believe that he had only believed he had seen, just as in the story of the middle-age *fabliau*? A man like that deserves, one will almost feel like saying, to be deceived.

Moreover, how was it feasible for a professor at one of the best institutions of learning in the United States not to mention the observations of alienists regarding Musset's hallucinations which inspired the *Nuit de Décembre*? How could a man drawing a salary for telling the truth to his students avoid saying that the direct connection between Musset's poems and the Muses was not at all as easy to trace as that between liquid stimulants and the inspiration of his most pathetic and apparently most sincere songs?

There is no need of further illustrations. So it went to the end of the year; whenever some æsthetic impression had been gained, it was destroyed again by erudition. Could the professor help concluding that that erudition did perhaps as much harm as good in literature?

This will be considered a terrible paradox. And yet it seems that there is something manifestly wrong in modern methods. It seems as if we were living on a confusion of some sort, if not in overestimating the value of erudition, at least in putting it where it does not belong. It is a fact that we study literature as we would study a crystal, a frog, or radium. Now, of course, in sciences we wish to satisfy our intellectual curiosity; knowledge is the only aim, and sharpening of the intellect the result. But in literature we want to develop the mind in another direction, namely, not cultivating specially our intellect, but our sense for higher feelings, a taste for refined and noble emotions. If this is true, does it not seem *a priori* natural that an aim so different could hardly be expected to be brought about by the so-called scientific method which just makes it a point to remove all possible intrusion of emotion and feeling in its domain? In other words, literature is the domain of emotions and feelings based upon fiction. The poet must create by his imagination something which does not exist in real nature, and he does it so that we cannot help seeing the superiority of his suggestions over nature, we are

pleased with it, we feel inclined to make it our own. For the special aim they are pursuing, i.e., to awake in man and develop a taste for more refined sentiments and emotions (by the way, they need not be moral only), the fictions of artists fulfil exactly the purpose which the experiments made by scientists are aiming at in their domain, namely, when they endeavor to discover the essence of phenomena. The works of artists must be explained to students from this æsthetic point of view, laying stress upon what emotions are suggested by some situation, not upon what is true or real. Even with realistic writers it is wrong to explain—as most people do—that their works interest us because they are faithful to nature; the author only starts from nature, but points elsewhere, showing, if it were only in a negative manner, that nature is insufficient, or even bad. The so-called “returns to nature” are only returns to a certain nature, namely, as conceived by the special author who speaks, but not natural nature. Or if something in nature is pointed out as beautiful, it represents only a selection of some exceptional element and certainly never means that everything in nature is admirable. We admire the spontaneity, the grace, the charm of childhood, but we do not consider it our duty to admire everything in children.

So to explain how an author wants to take us away from mere nature to the special domain of art (*ars = homo additus naturæ*) is the duty of a professor of literature, while questions as to how, where, when an artist wrote, or which author he knew who had treated the subject before him and might have suggested either plot or ideas, are of very secondary value—if of any value at all—for the understanding of literature as a discipline to train our emotional nature.

This brings us to the real cause of the misunderstanding under consideration. Literature, there is no doubt about it, can be studied from a scientific point of view as well as from an æsthetic point of view. Works of art are products of our brain as well as an hallucination or as a treaty on political economy; authors themselves are natural products just like a frog, a crystal, or radium. As such both the masterpiece and the author can be made the subject of scientific investigations, the interest of which is not inferior to those in any other domain; but such studies, fascinating as they may be, are no longer literature but psychology, or history, or even physiology. And now the point is this: the educational advantages—and we have limited to them our considerations in this paper—brought about by psychology, history, or physiology can be gained very well in studying those branches of human knowledge. It will interest me both as a psychologist and as a historian to discover the sources of Shakespeare's plays, but it will hardly help me to enjoy them

more from the æsthetic standpoint. It is an enjoyment of an altogether different nature, but which does not blend with the other—about as a musician can appreciate the technique of a composition without enjoying the music; they are different enjoyments, the second having practically nothing to do with music. Now the trouble with us seems precisely to be this, that in our universities and colleges we are altogether given to literary documentation; the word literature in our programmes remains a mere pretext for psychology and history.

It might be worth while to inquire where this tendency to ignore æsthetics and lay all stress upon scholarship in literature comes from.

Three reasons chiefly will account for it.

Regarding the first we need not insist; it is the fascination of our age for the so-called scientific spirit which one finds at work everywhere, with the grocer who sells “scientifically” prepared breakfast food, and the druggist who offers “scientific” ice cream soda, as well as with the college professor who teaches “scientific” literature.

The second is that the æsthetic side of literature, to a great many who have to teach it, seems to be very difficult to grasp and to impart to students, while it is extremely easy to enumerate sources. It requires some work to collect the latter, and in some cases very keen insight to determine their exact relations to the piece under consideration; still a great part of it is clerical work. Take away from us the resources of literary documentation and many professors would feel very much embarrassed as to how to fill out their lecture hours. A proof that this view of the case is correct is found in the fact that so many professors devote their whole attention to mediæval literature and so few to modern literature. Mediæval literature is brimming with purely scholarly problems and comparatively little chance for literature considered from the æsthetic side, while in modern literature the proportions are reversed; the more one comes down to our time, the less there are scholarly problems connected with literature, but the field for really literary treatment gets more and more remunerative, and at the same time interesting, since we are naturally more interested in our own epoch than in others.

Perhaps the chief reason is that the poor results obtained by those who try to take the æsthetic side of literature by opposition with the scientific side do not seem to warrant the trouble. But would this not be due possibly to the method in use? Under the noble pretext of developing individuality, students are asked to pass a personal judgment or to formulate some personal impression regarding their reading. Very few people seem to realize that this judgment or this impression—if any value can be attributed to them—presupposes the thorough understanding

of a poem or of a piece of prose. Does the understanding exist? That is the question. We must remember that one can follow the plot of a story, or of a drama, and enjoy them, and yet not see the real sense which the author meant to convey. Now surely every professor of literature has had innumerable occasions to find out that students as a rule do not understand what they read.

A nation that has the reputation of succeeding better than any other in forming the literary taste of its young people is France; and this success is undoubtedly due to the fact that the teaching staff there start precisely from this proposition: the student *does not* understand. They have a great many courses, university as well as college courses, given often by the most famous professors and critics, and who do not consider it at all below their dignity to spend a whole hour in simply explaining—not commenting upon—twenty lines perhaps of prose or poetry. The student is taught how to read. The *explication française*, as it is called, leaves no comparison unexplained, no image unrealized, no allusion unaccounted for, no word obscure. Every syllable, every letter is weighed, and strange as it may seem to us, in this minute study there is a fascination that one can only realize after a trial. The character and purpose of the piece are explained, the division of the material, the progression of thought, the dialectic force—everything is so analyzed that simply no possibility of misunderstanding or of not understanding is left. The student leaves the class-room each time with the agreeable feeling that he has solved a problem. If very little ground is covered, it is at least in a veritably profitable fashion. Compare a French lycée programme with an American college programme; glance over the list of books read by our student who has just taken his A.B., the amount of reading done is amazing, it is stupendous, it is incredible. And yet the results are not satisfactory. Suppose all that misunderstood, suppose only half of it misunderstood, or even a tenth—this is more than enough to spoil a man's mind for life. Fortunately in most cases it is not misunderstood, it is only not understood; the harm is not so great; still, think of the immense waste of time.

Let us come back to our starting-point. As long as literature is conceived of as a mental discipline of its own kind, as a subject of teaching different from a scientific subject, no scholarly comments are necessary, no revelations as to sources, or to methods of working on the part of the author, such as we have mentioned with regard to Lamartine, Hugo, and Musset,—nothing that might deter the student from getting at the meaning of the text, at the idea the poet wishes to convey. A man full of common sense, Voltaire, said one day, “La vertu même a ses limites”; re-

garding the genuineness of the virtue of a university professor and of his enthusiasm for truth when he has a chance of making a little show of his scholarship, we would have some little doubt.

Some will protest no doubt in the name of science or of morality: This, they say, is deliberately deceiving the student; if a man makes us believe that he sings one woman and he actually sings three, we ought not to allow this poetic mormonism to deceive us; if an author does not tell the truth, if he puts down wrong dates, like Hugo, he ought to be exposed; if he finds inspiration in wine, his poems are to be despised. But this is not the question; a course in literature is not in psychology or in ethics. If the poet suggests to us beautiful feelings and emotions which will raise us above the natural level, this is all we can ask of him. We went to him to find them, why then reproach him if he has succeeded? Art is fiction, anyway. If in order to be good it had to be undistinguishable from reality, what would be the use of it? And if people want to be so particular about truth, why do they go to the theatre? Why do they admire pictures or statues?

Albert Schinz.

OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

BY EDWIN MAXEY

Professor of International Law in the University of Nebraska

THE controversy between this country and Japan over the exclusion of Japanese children from the public schools of San Francisco must be regarded as a closed incident. And while there is no disposition upon either side to reopen the controversy, the present is not an inopportune time for taking a sort of inventory that will be valuable in case of future controversies. For it is not unreasonable to suppose that, even between the best of friends, controversies will arise. It is therefore fitting that we ask ourselves the question: Is there a sufficient basis for an enduring friendship between the two nations? Is there such a clash of interests as to overcome the traditional friendship?

True, there is not between the United States and Japan, as between the United States and England, a community of blood language and religion. There are none of these ties to unite the two nations. Yet those are not the only bonds by which nations may be held together. While they are by no means unimportant, it is entirely within the facts to say that they are becoming less important. It was but little over a century ago when the political policies of a State were controlled very largely by its religious beliefs. If the monarch were Catholic, he chose his allies from among Catholic countries, and if Protestant, from

among Protestant countries. To-day England has among its allies Catholics, Buddhists and Mohammedans. The fact that the Sultan is the head of the Mohammedan religion has not prevented England from championing his cause against Russia. While the United States has from the standpoint of religion little in common with Russia, China or Japan, it has always pursued a policy of friendship toward them, however hostile certain of its individual citizens may have been toward the religions of those countries. The waning power of the Church over the State is shown in the triumph of separation in France and the majority in the House of Commons in favor of disestablishment in England. Except in a few fanatical countries foreign policies are not now determined by religious beliefs, and there is nothing to indicate a likelihood of a change in this respect.

The prejudices due to blood are far less strong than they once were and are constantly weakening. The old feeling which divided all into Greeks and barbarians has not entirely disappeared and probably never will, but, like all other prejudices and provincialisms, it does not flourish in the atmosphere of modern scientific thought. Such prejudices rest mainly upon ignorance. Hence it is fair to suppose that, in the future as in the past, improvements in the means of transportation and of communicating intelligence will, by enabling the peoples of different parts of the world and of different races to understand each other better, cause a decrease in racial prejudices.

A difference in language is not so great a barrier as it once was. The rapid increase in international trade is forcing each nation to learn more of the language as well as of the customs and industries of the others. The more important writings in each language are either translated into the others or furnish the inspiration for treatises in the others embodying substantially the same ideas. Thus the thoughts which determine national and international action are to a greater and greater extent becoming the common property of all nations, in spite of the differences in language.

While the lack of these bonds has been growing less important, the bond due to a community of interests has been growing stronger. Though commercial advantage is not the sole factor in determining national policies, it is nevertheless an important factor. That friendship between the United States and Japan is a decided commercial advantage to both can readily be concluded from a reference to the facts.

One of the great facts of recent decades is the unprecedented growth in international trade. And nowhere has this increase been more marked than in the trade between the United States and Japan. According to

the Statistical Abstract, the value of the exports from the United States to Japan in 1865 was \$41,913. From this insignificant sum the trade has grown until but forty years later the exports are valued at \$57,719,183. During the same period the value of imports has increased from \$285,176 to \$51,821,629. After allowing for the effect of war, this growth is certainly marvellous. Between 1895 and 1905 (the last year reported in the latest Statistical Abstract), the exports from the United States to Japan increased in value from \$4,634,717 to \$51,719,683 and the imports from \$23,790,202 to \$37,821,629. Thus during a single decade our exports to Japan increased over 1,000 per cent. and our imports over 100 per cent.

That this growth has not been due to accident, or to a series of accidents, will become evident by an inquiry into the causes which underlie it. The geographical location of the countries is such as to make trade between them easy. In this respect the United States has a decided advantage over the countries of Europe. The route across the Pacific is shorter, safer and hence cheaper than the Suez or Cape of Good Hope routes. The control of the Pacific route is in the hands of the United States by reason of its possession of the coaling stations and ports of call. When this trade is developed to the proportions which it must from the nature of the case attain, the significance of our possession of the string of islands between our coast and that of Asia will be appreciated by many who seem as yet to have no conception of it. The course of history has been determined largely by the possession of trade routes.

The difference in the commodities produced in the two countries is such as to make the United States and Japan trade allies, i.e., to make them seek to promote rather than to place obstacles in the way of trade with each other. To appreciate the truth of this we have but to glance at the staple products of the two countries. Japan produces raw silk cheaply, and though the United States has attempted it, the attempts have availed us nothing except to show that either our soil or climate, or both, are not adapted to the industry. We are therefore importing about ninety per cent. of the raw silk exported from Japan and making it into fabrics, instead of doing as we once did—purchasing those fabrics from Europe and paying for them with the products of our farms. We still pay for them with the products of our farms, but it is now simply the raw material that we pay for, and give to our own factories the opportunity of performing the processes which enhance its value instead of having the same done in European factories.

Tea is another staple of Japanese production which has never been raised profitably in the United States. So far as can be seen, American

tea will remain a negligible quantity in the commerce of the world. It is therefore not at all surprising that the United States should take three fourths of the tea exported by Japan.

There are certain classes of works of art which the United States imports from Japan. These also are not, and for a long time will not be produced in the United States. The artistic temperament and abilities of a people are something which does not change rapidly. The whims of fashion may be ephemeral, but the ability to produce and the desire for artistic creations are far more constant.

As Japan is the available source from which the United States secures and will continue to secure the above classes of goods, there are certain other classes for the supply of which Japan looks and under normal conditions will look to the United States. Perhaps the most important of these is raw cotton. Cut off the supply of this staple and immediately one of the great industries of Japan is at a standstill. And such is the industrial organization of to-day that one industry cannot suffer without causing considerable demoralization in all other industries. During the period of hand industries the makers of iron would be affected but slightly by a shut-down among the makers of cloth. Each operative depended very largely upon his own capital. But under the factory system of to-day, let one industry be brought suddenly to a standstill and several of the banks that are furnishing money to manufacturers in that industry and others are forced to contract their loans and the stringency is felt all along the line. This is the mildest form which it can take. Not infrequently the shock causes several banks to break and confidence is so shaken that a financial panic results, and from the depressing, if not demoralizing, effects of financial panics no industry is exempt.

This dependence upon the United States of one of the great industries of Japan is a stronger guarantee of peace between the two nations than most of us appreciate. Japan is far too conservative a nation to enter lightly upon a war with the United States, knowing as she does that the consequences of such a war would be a suspension, if not destruction, of one of her industries, thereby threatening her whole industrial and financial organization. The danger of such losses and privations is too great a risk to run, except in self-defence. The mere prospect of enhanced military glory is not likely to appeal to Japan as being a commodity worth purchasing at such a price.

While the dependence of Japan upon the United States is less marked in other respects, there are nevertheless a number of commodities for which she is to a great degree dependent upon us. Most of the flour used in Japan is imported from the United States. Though there are other

countries that produce flour, there are none of them that can compete successfully with the United States in the Japanese market. To be suddenly cut off from the American supply would therefore put the Japanese at a disadvantage with respect to this one of the necessities of life.

What is true of flour is equally true of kerosene. Nearly all of the kerosene used in Japan comes from the United States. As yet the product of the Russian oil fields does not seem to have found its way into the Japanese market. This may be due to the fact that the freight rates over the Trans-Siberian Railway are not sufficiently low to enable the Russian shipper to compete with his American rival.

In locomotives, railway rails, and railway equipment in general, the United States is easily first of the competitors for Japanese contracts. This is due in part to our greater promptness in filling orders because of our resort to standard types and making hundreds according to the same pattern instead of waiting until an order is received and then drafting the plan according to which the locomotives, etc., in that order will be made, as is the custom in most European shops. Now that Japan has resolved to build railroads, which are indispensable to the development of Corea and southern Manchuria, her dependence upon the United States has in this respect increased very materially. Scarcely less pronounced is her dependence upon us for meat, structural iron, and machinery.

Among the marked tendencies of the last century has been the increasing influence of commercial considerations in determining the foreign policies of nations. Nor is there any convincing evidence that this tendency has reached its height. When we consider this in connection with the commercial relations of the two countries, we have an excellent basis for the conclusion that in the future, as in the past, the United States and Japan will continue to co-operate instead of foolishly casting aside the mutual advantages to be gained from a policy of friendly co-operation dictated by their geographical location and natural resources.

There is another force which cannot be left out of account, and that is the force of traditions. The United States is the first of the great nations of modern times with which Japan entered into diplomatic relations. From the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry to the present day, the diplomatic relations of Japan with the United States have been of the most friendly character. Japan has never distrusted the motives of the United States, but on the contrary has always looked to it for friendly advice and guidance. She has paid us the compliment of sending hundreds of her brightest youths to be educated in our institutions,

of sending commissions to study our industrial organization, of celebrating the anniversary of the landing of Commodore Perry and erecting a monument to his memory, and of bringing to a close at our suggestion a war in which she was uniformly victorious. Nor has Japan forgotten that in her struggle for fair commercial treatment at the hands of Western nations and for ridding herself of the hateful handicap of consular jurisdiction, she received most valuable assistance from the United States. The confidence begotten of these years of close friendship and helpfulness is not to be shaken by the first gust of breezy criticism or by restrictions which are economically advantageous to Japan. Traditions, however friendly, may not be sufficient to outweigh national interests, but when reinforced by them they constitute a force which is difficult to overcome. They at least make it easy to explain away minor differences, and that is all that is necessary in order that the friendly relations between the United States and Japan may continue to bless both nations by enabling them to realize their own possibilities and to exercise a wholesome influence for international peace.

Edwin Maxey.

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THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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The Forum

OCTOBER, 1907

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

**President
Roosevelt's
Position** SLOWLY but surely the lines are being tightened for the next Presidential campaign. President Roosevelt, speaking in no uncertain voice, has done much toward clearing the atmosphere. There is to be a more determined effort to regulate the railroads along national lines and an equally insistent endeavor to curb the corporations which fatten and thrive at the expense of the public. "Once for all," is Mr. Roosevelt's declaration, "let me say that as far as I am concerned and for the eighteen months of my administration that remain, there will be no change in the policy we have steadily pursued, no let-up in the effort to secure the honest observance of the law, for I regard this contest as one to determine who shall rule this Government—the people, through their governmental agents, or a few ruthless and determined men whose wealth makes them particularly formidable because they hide behind the breastworks of corporate organization."

This utterance of the President came as a climax to a remarkable series of events. The prosecution of the Standard Oil Company, the greatest monopoly in the world, led to the imposition by Judge Landis of the maximum fine of \$29,240,000 for 1,400 violations of the law. The immensity of the fine staggered the country. It was a demonstration of the purpose of the court to punish heavily those who held the law in disregard, and it gave a rude shock to those whose identification with other trusts rendered them also liable to severe penalty. Serious disturbance in money centres immediately followed. Stocks tumbled in value and a

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panic reigned. There was no real reason for the depreciation. The railroads were carrying as much freight and as many passengers as before; the manufactories were still busy; the farmers in the West were harvesting abundant crops. President Roosevelt directly charged that the shrinkage in the price of stocks was due to the manipulation of men who control the market. "It may well be," he said in his Provincetown speech, "that the determination of the Government, in which it will not waver, to punish certain malefactors of great wealth, has been responsible for something of the troubles, at least to the extent of having caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as they possibly can in order to discredit the policy of the Government and thereby to secure a reversal of that policy so that they may enjoy the fruits of their own evil doing."

These were bold words and, in the very nature of things, contained a charge which it would be difficult to substantiate. No one who knows President Roosevelt, however, believes that he would have made such an assertion without adequate foundation; and, as a matter of fact, the comment which followed the utterance demonstrated that he had, at least, given voice to a popular belief. Secretary Taft took occasion to refer to the same subject in his Columbus address. "If the prosecution of dishonesty and illegal practices," he said, "like the giving and taking of rebates and the destruction of competition by monopoly, is to injure the market for stocks on the stock exchange, then this is a burden that must be borne and must be charged, not to the head of the nation, whose duty it is to enforce the law, but to the violators of the law, whose pursuit of criminal methods has been so successful and far-reaching as to make their prosecution a serious threat against the stability of the market." And Mr. Taft added that the President did not intend to raid all corporations, but that "his only policy and sworn duty is to prosecute, with the fullest vigor, the corporations and individuals whose flagrant violations of the law make it necessary to do so."

The men who have amassed wealth through the operations of monopolistic corporations are blind to the handwriting on the wall if they do not realize that the great mass of American citizens are heartily in accord with the President's position. Viewed from a popular standpoint, it is impregnable. Honest corporations have nothing to fear; dishonest corporations are to feel the heavy hand of the law. If the President was a candidate for re-election, which he is not, he could well afford to go before the country upon this platform.

Amid all the smoke and disturbance which the past three months have

witnessed, one fact stands prominent. During the many years wherein no President had the temerity to charge the huge corporations with wrong-doing, these trusts accumulated an amount of wealth which makes them practical masters of the financial situation. They can raise or lower prices of stocks by their manipulation of the market; they can cause a money stringency by refusing accommodation to the provincial banks, which are dependent upon the big institutions in the money centres; they hold, in fact, the financial situation in the hollow of their hands. It is an enormous contract to undertake to dislodge this powerful element; it is even dangerous to arouse its enmity; and one can well understand the hesitation and inaction which characterized Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors. The deed has now, however, been done; the gauntlet has been thrown down; and, as in 1896, business affairs will be uppermost in the next Presidential campaign. There will be no discussion of, nor fight over, abstract principles. The pocket nerve, which the late Mark Hanna said was the tenderest part of a man's anatomy, is to be touched. There may be some patriotic pyrotechnics in the party platforms, some references to high ideals; but these will be words, mere words. Underlying all will be the practical considerations of corporations and dividends, of prices and the cost of living, of work and wages. These are the things which will stir men's hearts in the next campaign.

Commercialism, which now dominates everything and relegates sentiment to the trash-heap, was the paramount factor in 1896, when the dollar was elevated to the highest pinnacle, not only as the party emblem, but as the height of every man's ambition. This spirit of commercialism is to-day more rampant than ever. The managers of the great corporations—the men whose actions in the handling of life insurance funds and whose manipulation of railroads, as in the Alton affair, aroused wholesale condemnation—must, however, remember that there is one important point of difference between the situation which existed in 1896 and the condition which now presents itself. In 1896 every small property-owner and every man who had a dollar in a savings bank was told and really believed that his frugally acquired store was threatened. The free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one might cause him serious loss. He voted, therefore, on the side of safety. During the past few years, however, these thrifty persons have been unable, even by the exercise of closest economy, to add to their meagre store, while in many cases the savings of years have disappeared. The cost of living has increased enormously and there has been no proportionate rise in wages. There is, in consequence, throughout the country to-day an intense antipathy to the

trusts, because the latter are blamed, whether wrongfully or rightfully, with having ruthlessly extorted millions of dollars out of the pockets of the consumer. The average voter will hail with delight any movement which tends to curtail their enormous profits and will support any candidate who pledges himself to prosecute the task which President Roosevelt has undertaken. The battle is to be of the individual against intrenched corporate monopoly; and unless the signs of the times are strangely misleading, the individuals will be successful.

It is this feeling, so universally prevalent, which is the basis of the demand for President Roosevelt's renomination; it is this condition of affairs which makes Secretary Taft so popular because he gives assurances that he will, if elected, continue the policies which President Roosevelt has inaugurated. It is true that in New York, and especially in Wall Street, there is much denunciation of the President and an effort to treat his policies with scorn. New York and Wall Street are, however, proverbially inaccurate indicators of popular sentiment. The West and South are practically unanimous for a more vigorous regulation of corporations than has yet been undertaken. There was recently held in St. Louis a conference of the attorneys-general of several States to devise ways and means for further restriction of corporations. Every one knows of the attitude which the Southern States have adopted toward the railroads. In North Carolina the enforcement of the two-cent-per-mile rate led to a serious conflict between the State and federal courts. In Alabama, because the Southern Railway appealed from the State to the federal court in violation of a State statute, the license of the road was revoked, and if a compromise had not been reached, the State authorities would actually have prevented the operation of trains. In Arkansas, because the Rock Island Railroad sought the protection of a federal court in opposition to the State law, the Attorney-General of the State declared the road liable to a fine of \$1,000 a day, and proceeded to forfeit its right to do business in the State, being halted finally by an injunction. In Virginia the railroads were also in conflict with the State authorities, but finally agreed to accept the two-cent rate imposed by law. In Georgia the successful candidate for the governorship was openly hostile to the railroads, and in Mississippi the same situation prevailed.

All these incidents point unerringly and conclusively to the character of the campaign which will be waged next year. The cry will be, "Down with the trusts," and in some degree it will be as bitter as the outcry of the French populace against the monarchy. The trouble is that these

**Radical
Sentiment
in the South
and West**

trusts have flourished so long and have become so flagrant and unscrupulous in their treatment of the public that they have nobody to blame but themselves for the reaction which has set against them. The sentiment is now so intense that it will be only necessary to prove at the next Republican National Convention that one candidate or another is a friend of the monopolistic and law-breaking corporations and the defeat of that candidate will be accomplished. He will be in the same position as the candidates before the Democratic National Convention of 1896 who espoused the single gold standard.

In the West and Northwest the same sentiment prevails, the action of the Governor of Wisconsin in unhesitatingly signing a two-cent railroad rate bill being an indication of the attitude of the people toward corporations. There is, of course, more conservatism in the East, although the enactment of the public utilities commission bill by the New York legislature demonstrated the drift of public opinion. Governor Hughes, however, vetoed the two-cent rate bill on the ground that it was within the power of the public utilities commission to fix passenger fares and freight rates if, on inquiry, the existing rates and fares are found to be unjust and exorbitant; and also because the enactment of the law "was not preceded by legislative investigation or suitable inquiry under the authority of the State." Governor Hughes took the high ground that "injustice on the part of railroad corporations toward the public does not justify injustice on the part of the State toward the railroad corporations," and he added, in dealing with the important questions of the relations of earnings and expenses, "Democracy must demonstrate its capacity to act upon deliberation and to deal justly." All of which is self-evident; and yet it must be remembered that Governor Hughes is the only State executive who has had the courage to veto a two-cent fare bill.

There is one point of difference between the Republican position, as exemplified by Mr. Roosevelt, and the Democratic idea, as stated by Mr. Bryan, in this matter of dealing with the railroad problem. In his Indianapolis speech, the President indicated that the rate was not the most essential result to be attained. "Ample, safe, and rapid transportation facilities," he said, "are even more necessary than cheap transportation;" while, with much emphasis, he condemned over-capitalization. Mr. Bryan, however, insists that if there is not enough equipment to do the business which is offered, the suspicion is that the money paid in by the public has gone into dividends when it ought to have been used in the purchase of equipment. He also asserts that although many States had reduced the rate to two cents, the interstate rate remains at three cents, and, therefore, "Congress should pass a law compelling the

railroads to sell through tickets for a sum not greater than the sum of the local rates." Mr. Bryan, in brief, would make the rate, and not merely the regulation, of railroads, an issue. The action of a dozen or more State legislatures demonstrates that such an issue would meet with a popular response.

**The Tariff
Question
will be an
Issue**

The control of corporations and the regulation of railroads are not to be the only business-disturbing issues in the next Presidential campaign. The tariff question is to be fought out between the parties; and, pending the result of the election, manufacturing interests will trim their sails close to the wind. The history of 1893 is likely to repeat itself, although, happily, in less degree.

The tariff issue forges to the front for several reasons, principal among which are the immense surplus in the national treasury and the existence of the trusts. At the close of the fiscal year the revenues of the Government exceeded the expenditures by \$87,000,000. In 1887, when President Cleveland wrote his famous message concerning the Federal revenues, the surplus was only \$55,000,000, yet even that amount was regarded by Mr. Cleveland as excessive. "The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people," he wrote, "is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the treasury through the perversion of governmental powers." This is not a Democratic doctrine alone. It is shared by large numbers of people who believe in the principle of protection and yet do not believe that the principle ought to be exercised to their detriment. The Democratic position was recently expressed by Senator Bailey, of Texas, when he said that the tariff was now bearing upon the people with heavier exaction than ever before. Inasmuch as the revenue from the tariff was \$33,000,000 more last year than during the previous twelve months, and as a large portion of this increase is shown by a recent writer on the subject to have been collected from raw materials used in manufacture or from manufactures used in further manufacture, there is apparent ground for the demand for lower tariff taxes. "Put the surplus in the pockets of the people and not in the federal treasury," is to be the Democratic campaign cry.

In a letter addressed to Representative Watson, of Indiana, more than a year ago, President Roosevelt made this assertion:

The question of revising the tariff stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the so-called "trusts"—that is, with the control of monopolies and with the supervision of great wealth in business, especially in corporate form.

In the popular mind, however, the two questions are not wholly apart. The President may be right in his assertion that the problem of the trusts cannot be solved by changing the tariff; but there is, nevertheless, a very general desire to try the experiment. The sugar and steel trusts are, of course, the most flagrant illustrations of tariff-fostered monopolies, while the glass trust and the silk trust have also been made possible by high protective schedules. Secretary Taft fully appreciates the popular sentiment. In his speech at Columbus, wherein he advocated tariff revision, he suggested that in due time the respective committees of the House and Senate would undertake an exhaustive inquiry into the cost of production in this country and the cost of production abroad, together with the conditions existing in each trade. "If it shall turn out that popular opinion," he said, "should prove to be unfounded, then the revision of the tariff will be confined to minor irregularities." "But if," he significantly added, "the result of the investigation justifies the report of the National Association of Manufacturers, then the revision of the excessive schedules should be substantial, and the motive for the organization and maintenance of unlawful trusts to monopolize the manufacture and sale of articles in such schedules should be taken away." It will be surprising if investigation does not show that this latter condition exists.

The Republican party is already pledged to conduct its next campaign upon the promise that after the election the tariff will be revised. The Democratic party does not question the sincerity of this promise, but it does doubt the thoroughness of the proposed revision. On the very threshold of the contest, however, we are confronted with a most singular paradox. The only way to prevent a revision of the tariff will be to elect a Democratic President and a Democratic House of Representatives. Democratic victory in 1908 will not only fail to secure any revision, but it will fasten the present schedules securely upon the country for the next four years. This paradox is explained by the fact that the Senate is not only Republican in its majority at the present time, but will continue beyond peradventure to be Republican until 1912. Out of the ninety members of the Senate, only thirty-two are Democrats, and only a political revolution of the most remarkable nature will materially increase this number during the next four years. This Republican Senate will stand as a bulwark against any legislation emanating from a politically hostile House.

This condition of affairs suggests another curious situation. If it be true, as many believe, that the present high tariff schedules are responsible

for the creation and maintenance of great monopolies, it will be easy enough for these beneficiaries to continue in the enjoyment of their plunder by simply securing the election of a Democratic administration. They would help to administer an apparent rebuke to President Roosevelt, whom they hate with bitter hatred, and they would save themselves from any possible harm. If a candidate pledged to a continuance of President Roosevelt's policies should be nominated by the Republicans, the corporations would undoubtedly endeavor to defeat him. They would have nothing to fear from a Democratic President, who could only fulminate in words against them and whose efforts to secure the enactment of hostile legislation would be pigeon-holed in a Republican Senate.

Up to the present time, Secretary Taft is the only Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination who has openly avowed his endorsement of President Roosevelt's policies. He has ranged himself on the side of the progressive Republicans and hopes to recruit under his banner all those voters who believe in Mr. Roosevelt. Vice-President Fairbanks, touring through the West, has contented himself with more or less commonplace utterances, emphasizing his desire to be known as the candidate of the conservative wing of his party. There is no reason to change the prediction made in THE FORUM some months ago that the contest for the nomination will be between Mr. Taft and Mr. Fairbanks. In the first place, the candidate will probably come from the West. The party is not likely to honor the Eastern section twice in succession. In the last thirty years the Democrats and Republicans have only twice violated the programme of alternation. In 1876 the Democrats named Mr. Tilden, of New York; and in 1880 General Hancock, of Pennsylvania, was chosen. In 1896 the nomination of Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, followed the previous selection of Mr. Harrison, of Indiana. The probability is, therefore, that the Republicans will next year name a Western candidate, and for this reason the suggestion of the name of Governor Hughes, of New York, seems to lack logical foundation. He is much more likely to be given the second place on the ticket. If a New York Republican is, for advantageous reasons, decided upon, Secretary Cortelyou must be taken into consideration. He already enjoys the universal respect and esteem of the country, which has seen him fill subordinate positions with undeniable credit to himself; and in extent of acquaintance among the leading politicians of his party he is equalled by none. He is a man of the McKinley type, quiet, conservative, and tactful. Another Eastern candidate of con-

**The Struggle
for the
Republican
Nomination**

siderable force is Senator Knox, who has already received the endorsement of his State. Although as Attorney-General he instituted legal proceedings against the Northwestern Railroad merger, he is not regarded as a radical, and his address at Yale demonstrated that he held conservative views as to the power of the federal Government in contradistinction to the rights of the States. He is a man of exceptional ability, with a clean record and undoubtedly popular.

If, however, the nomination should go to the West, which would be the natural order of things, Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Taft are the only figures who appear conspicuously on the horizon. Speaker Cannon, of Illinois, would be a popular candidate, but would probably be considered unavailable on account of his age; moreover he does not seem to be making a serious effort to secure the nomination. Mr. Taft is already sure of the Ohio delegation. The State Committee has eulogistically endorsed him, despite the strenuous opposition of Senator Foraker, and there is no doubt of his ability to hold his own until the delegates are chosen. It must also be borne in mind that the progressive element of the party have a decided advantage in having a definite candidate in Mr. Taft. He is their rallying point, while the conservatives are not united. This is their handicap; and it undoubtedly accrues to the benefit of the candidate upon whom Mr. Roosevelt's especial favor rests.

On the Democratic side no one has yet appeared who seems able to wrest from Mr. Bryan the coveted nomination. Mr. Taft evidently regards Mr. Bryan as his future opponent, for in his Columbus speech he mentioned Bryan's name a score of times and undertook to measure lances with him on public questions. There is unquestionably considerable opposition to Mr. Bryan; but it does not seem to have crystallized, and certainly no one has yet been mentioned in Democratic councils whose name excites anything like universal attention. The attempt to revive Judge Parker, of New York, as a candidate can hardly be taken seriously. It is very doubtful whether he could secure the support of the delegation of his own State; and, besides, there was nothing in his last campaign to warrant promise of future success. Lieutenant-Governor Chanler, of New York, who is suggested, has no record of achievement to commend him. The South will not seriously present a candidate; and the outlook remains practically unchanged. If Bryan is to be discarded, there remain only the two men to whom reference has already been made in a previous issue of *THE FORUM*—Judge Gray, of Delaware, and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota. The

**No Candidate
yet in the Field
against
Mr. Bryan**

former is a jurist of acknowledged ability. He is most conservative. He is safe and sane to the last degree, an ideal representative of the Democracy of the olden days; and yet it is almost certain that he would suffer the fate of Judge Parker in 1904, simply because the great mass of the Democracy as at present constituted would not vote for him. Governor Johnson, who is understood to be the "dark horse" in Henry Watterson's mind, comes nearer to meeting present conditions. He has made a remarkable record as a Democratic executive of a Republican State; he is advanced in his views, but not radical; and although little known in the East, has a large and enthusiastic following in the West. While not afraid to state his views, he cannot be charged with seeking notoriety. He believes that the slogan of the Democratic party in the next campaign and in every succeeding campaign until the question is settled, should be "a revision of the tariff," in which declaration 90 per cent. of the Democratic party agrees with him. He thinks that Mr. Bryan "has too many 'isms' to win an election," and is of the opinion that "the Government should do no business that can be done as well, or better, by private individuals." During his recent visit to the East, Governor Johnson made a most favorable impression. He spoke wisely and modestly, and gave evidence that his success in his own State was not the result of accident.

And yet if Mr. Bryan announces himself a candidate, the chances are that he will get the nomination merely for the asking.

This assertion is made despite an apparently determined movement in the Southern States to prevent, if possible, the renomination of

The Southern
States and
Mr. Bryan

Mr. Bryan. It is a movement which deserves consideration, because if it should make headway, which is doubtful, it might result in shifting the political kaleidoscope.

In Virginia quite a number of the leading newspapers have united in an appeal for an early State convention in order that the Democrats of the State may go upon record as favoring a return to ancient Democratic principles and repudiating all forms of socialism, populism, and radicalism. In North Carolina the reactionary movement is endorsed by many influential and representative journals. In Tennessee the *Nashville American*, one of the most respected and thoughtful Southern newspapers, does not hesitate to express its opposition to Mr. Bryan. "The *American*," it recently declared, "is opposed to the nomination of Mr. Bryan because it is firmly convinced that he cannot be elected." Its analysis of the situation is expressed with emphasis. "As a prophet," it says, "Mr. Bryan has been

completely and thoroughly discounted. Added age, study, travel, and experience should have made him wiser and more practical, but he is as much of a dreamer and visionary as ever. Returning from his trip abroad, he astonished his friends by declaring for Government ownership of railroads. From all over the country protests from Democrats was heard, and nearly every Southern senator expressed disapproval. Mr. Bryan found that he had raised a storm, and began to hedge and explain; but his explanation and reference to the ultimate ownership of railroads by the Government cannot be otherwise than unsatisfactory to the South, which is, or should be, unalterably opposed to such a policy, for obvious reasons."

In Maryland, where Bryan has twice been repudiated in a Presidential election, Senator Rayner has thrown down the gauntlet to the Nebraska statesman, and would practically eliminate him from consideration. There are indications that in other Southern States something like a rebellion against Mr. Bryan is in its incipency; and yet nothing definite has yet been accomplished to interfere seriously with the Bryan programme. It so happens that the writer has attempted to learn the drift of opinion in the very States where the opposition to Mr. Bryan is said to be most active, viz.: Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina; and in these three States the judgment of recognized leaders is that Mr. Bryan will get the support of those States in the next Democratic National Convention. Nor is the wish the father to the thought; but, on the contrary, the very men who express this opinion would be perfectly willing to see Mr. Bryan rejected. The fact is that the conditions which prevailed in 1896 and 1900 are repeated. The great mass of the rank and file are still loyal to Bryan. They would not vote for Judge Parker in 1904 because they wanted Bryan, and they are not going to be satisfied with any other candidate now. Take the situation in Kentucky, for instance. A convention was held recently in that State for the purpose of nominating a railroad commissioner, and was attended by delegates from a large number of the counties. Resolutions proclaiming Bryan as the leader next year were enthusiastically passed, and it now seems to be accepted that Kentucky's delegation will be pledged to him, even though Mr. Henry Watterson may desire another candidate. In 1896 Mr. Bryan lost the State, twelve of the thirteen electoral votes being cast for Mr. McKinley. In 1900 the plurality for Bryan was less than 8,000, and in 1904 Judge Parker carried the State by less than 12,000, whereas in the years preceding Mr. Bryan's candidacies the State was safely Democratic by a majority reaching as high as 50,000. Despite the fact, therefore, that Mr. Bryan's nomination

almost jeopardizes the State from a Democratic point of view, the Kentucky Democrats again desire his nomination.

The situation thus outlined as existing in Kentucky is prevalent all over the United States. There is a devotion to Bryan which is marvelous and unprecedented. His defeats do not apparently diminish the number of his admirers, nor is the ardor of their devotion dampened by his errors. For instance, his endorsement of Government ownership of railroads was, to say the least, a most unfortunate utterance for him, and yet, when he sagaciously announced that this was not an immediate issue, his explanation was accepted and the episode ignored. His career has been without precedent in American political history. Eleven years have elapsed since he was raised from comparative obscurity to the high pinnacle of Presidential candidate, and yet to-day he is the pivot upon which his party revolves. He towers head and shoulders above any other member of his party in popular interest. His sayings and doings are chronicled with minute fidelity, while other men who have achieved some degree of fame are allowed to pass unnoticed. If there is any explanation of his remarkable eminence it lies in the fact that he does not content himself with rehearsing the traditions of the past. He is always reaching forward, always seeking a new path for his footsteps, always inscribing upon his banner some new idea. It is his activity and progressiveness that appeals to the rank and file of his party; and, curiously enough, this following would rather go down to defeat with him than eat at the banquet table without him.

Party Lines in Demoralized Condition	The effort which has been made by a leading New York newspaper to differentiate the principles of the Republican and Democratic parties has not met with complete success. Even Mr. Bryan, in his answer to the query, "What is a Democrat?" fails to give satisfying information. Here is his summary of his own definition:
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To recapitulate, a Democrat, according to a party definition, is a man who connects himself with the Democratic party and acts politically with those who bear the same party name. In a broader sense, he is a Democrat who believes in the rule of the people and who desires to make the Government the instrument in the hands of the people to carry out their will. Such a man trusts the people and favors such reforms as will give to the people an increasing power. And a real Democrat will not only favor Democratic methods in government and insist upon the right of the majority to rule, but will favor the administration of the Government in the interest of the whole people according to the Jeffersonian maxim, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

With all due respect to Mr. Bryan, the average man will agree with

the *World* that the Democratic leader "is unable to frame a definition which distinguishes a Democrat from a Republican." Surely every American citizen is a Democrat in the sense that he is a believer in the fundamental axioms of popular government. And yet if we attempt to go into details, we are led into a most perplexing maze. If it be asserted that the principle of States' rights be essentially Democratic, we find Mr. Bryan advocating a federal child labor law, whereas if there was ever a subject which belongs exclusively to a State it is the regulation of the hours and conditions of labor within the State. Mr. Bryan is also the advocate of Government ownership of railroads, which is federalism developed to the last degree; he favors the election of senators by the people, which would subvert the integrity of the States as States; and he advocates the initiative and referendum, which is equally inharmonious with the idea of the legislative powers of the States. In speeches and interviews Mr. Bryan labels these ideas as "Democratic," but he must be aware that there are many Democrats who fail to agree with him in his classification. If a lower tariff be a tenet of Democratic faith, he will find a large number of Republicans holding the same view, while if he upholds strict adherence to the Constitution as another Democratic principle, he will find Senator Knox, a Republican candidate for the Presidency, standing with him on the same ground.

The fact is that it is extremely difficult to discern a line of demarcation between the two parties at the present time. Condemnation of the trusts is a common ground upon which both organizations stand; the regulation of railroads is a joint purpose, and a revision of the tariff is promised by both. It is not at all improbable that in the near future this country will see a breaking up of the present alignment and the voters ranging themselves not under the old party standards, but along lines which shall represent the radical and the conservative ideas in national Government. Party lines never were so loosely drawn as they are to-day, and never was it so difficult for any voter to explain the faith that is in him. The two leading parties have now existed longer than any other political organization in our history. They have held together under their old names, with their differences growing less and less marked, and to President Roosevelt must be given the credit of having done more than any other man to bring about this result. He has been a President of all the people, irrespective of party, and in thus breaking down the barriers he has created a personal following greater than that enjoyed by any of his predecessors. It will be interesting, when the national conventions assemble, to see how the platform makers will attempt to outline really vital points of difference between the parties. At present they do not seem to exist.

Although the great battle of the people against the oppression of monopolistic corporations and against the encroachment of federal power may have its preliminary skirmish at the polls, the final word will be spoken in the highest courts. Some discussion, therefore, has naturally arisen concerning the manner in which the judges of the federal courts are selected. The Constitution, as every one knows, places the power of appointment in the hands of the President; and it has been suggested, notably by General Roger A. Pryor, of New York, that this system should be changed. He professes to see danger in the authority which is thus lodged with the executive, especially if the latter be a person of positive views. It is pointed out, for instance, that President Roosevelt has appointed three associate justices of the United States Supreme Court, twelve circuit court judges and forty-two district court judges. Some fear is expressed, therefore, that these appointees may even unconsciously give to all of Mr. Roosevelt's policies a legal force and effect not warranted by a strict construction of the Constitution.

The important part in public affairs which is now conceded to the federal judiciary is in strange contrast to the views entertained by the men who framed the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton held that the judiciary was incontestably the weakest of the three departments of power, and in one of the *Federalist* letters he spoke in the following terms:

Whoever attentively considers the different departments of power must perceive that in a government in which they are separated from each other, the judiciary, from the nature of its functions, will always be the least dangerous to the political rights of the Constitution; because it will be least in a capacity to annoy or injure them. The executive not only dispenses the honors, but holds the sword of the community. The legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated. The judiciary, on the contrary, has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or the wealth of the society; and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither force nor will, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm for the efficacy of its judgments.

Hamilton, with all his prescience, evidently did not foresee the day in this country when judgment would receive more consideration than force or will; while the possibility of an executive controlling the country through the attitude of the federal judiciary upon public questions does not seem to have entered his mind. The fact is, however, that to-day the judiciary, instead of being the weakest of the three powers, is, in fact, the strongest. The Supreme Court of the United States occupies the highest pinnacle in our system of government. The na-

tional legislature may enact, but, after all, it is the Supreme Court which gives final sanction to the statute; the President may execute, but the power of injunction resting with the courts can stay his hand; while it is in the power of any judge to thrust a citizen into jail upon the pretext that the latter has offended the dignity of the court. The practical operation of our system of government has completely changed the point of view which prevailed more than a hundred years ago; and it is no wonder that the method of appointing the judiciary now receives consideration. General Pryor's remedy is the election of the federal judiciary by the people. He believes that the judges, being thus removed from any feeling of personal gratitude to the executive appointing them, would not be unduly influenced. This may be true; but it is difficult to see how a judge elected by popular vote would be less independent than if appointed by the President. As soon as a candidate for a federal judgeship made known his determination to aspire to the bench, his opinions would be sought by the voters. He would be asked whether he favored the income tax or railroad rate reduction or the supremacy of the federal over the State court. His opinions would be discounted in stump speeches; or else we would have the spectacle of a candidate seeking elevation and preserving, meanwhile, the silence of the sphinx. No person who is to sit in judgment ought to be subjected to such catechism.

Much of the force with which General Pryor demands the election of federal judges is neutralized by the fact that up to the present time, at least, no President has dominated the judiciary. There have been insinuations in the past that courts have been "packed" by designing executives, but, happily, these insinuations have not been warranted by the facts. There is no evidence, even to-day, that any of the judges appointed by President Roosevelt intend to decide otherwise than in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. It may be that in the future some judge may reflect too faithfully the views and policies of an appointing officer; but even this would be preferable to the election of our judiciary when the shifting winds of public opinion were tempestuously sweeping over the land.

It is extremely doubtful whether any one who fails to follow the trend of political events has any adequate conception of the prominent part which prohibition has lately assumed as a political issue. The most recent significant event is, of course, the decision of the Oklahoma voters to establish prohibition in their State. This was preceded by the enactment by the Georgia legislature of a bill forbidding in that

State the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, including beer, which bill became a law on August 6th last by the signature of Governor Hoke Smith and will go into effect on January 1st next.

Prohibition

as a

Political Issue

The measure passed the House by a vote of 139 to 39, and was ratified by the Senate by a vote of 34 to 7, these figures demonstrating the almost overwhelming trend of public sentiment. Georgia, however, is not the only Southern State wherein advocacy of prohibition is almost a *sine qua non* to political success. In Florida, during the last session of the legislature, a proposed constitutional amendment placing that State in the list of prohibition commonwealths received a majority of votes and failed of the requisite two-thirds only by the narrow majority of seven. Kentucky, where 97 out of 119 counties are "dry," has enacted a law which forbids the shipment of intoxicating liquors into any "dry" community, laws of similar effect having previously been passed in Mississippi, Georgia, Missouri and Arkansas. The latest so-called anti-shipping law, iron-clad in its provisions, has been enacted by the legislature of Alabama, which has also decreed that saloons in towns of less than 10,000 population shall close at seven o'clock in the evening and that no saloon anywhere in the State shall be open after nine o'clock. It is stated that the liquor interests agreed to these measures rather than face a complete prohibition measure.

In Tennessee there is a movement on foot to compel the Democratic party, when it shall assemble in State convention next year, to declare for prohibition; and when it is remembered that 92 of the 96 counties in the State are "dry" and that 89 per cent. of the population resides in prohibition territory, the demand may compel recognition. Ex-Senator Carmack, a recognized Democratic leader in the State, recently delivered an address condemning saloons. Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, is authority for the statement that his State will soon declare for prohibition, and adds that the movement was under way and would have been carried to a successful conclusion even if Georgia had not taken action in the same direction. In Louisiana 61 out of the 75 counties have voted to abolish saloons. Virginia has also experienced the effect of the temperance wave and 72 of the 100 counties are "dry," while in the last primary for governor one of the candidates developed remarkable strength simply because he was a known prohibitionist. In fact, the vote all through the South shows that the prohibition element is a factor that must be reckoned with.

Nor is this movement confined to the South. The border States, like Maryland and Missouri, have recently demonstrated in local elections

that prohibition is a very vital political issue; and Governor Folk, of the latter State, has recently commented favorably on the fact that no liquor is sold in 39 of the 76 counties in his commonwealth. Governor Hoch, of prohibition Kansas, recently emphasized his temperance views in a message to the legislature. North Dakota is another example of the spread of the prohibition sentiment in the Northwest, a State prohibition law, which is now thoroughly in force, having been enacted there. Iowa has 65 "dry" counties out of a total of 99; the Colorado legislature has enacted a local option law; the movement is spreading in Oregon; and even in California there is considerable prohibition sentiment. The Illinois legislature has just enacted a local option law which provides that upon the petition of one-fourth of the registered voters of a township, village, town or city, the question of the sale of liquor may be presented to the decision of the voters, and if the verdict be against the sale of liquor, the will of the majority becomes operative in thirty days and the question cannot again be submitted within eighteen months. In the Eastern part of the country we find local option in New York and New Jersey, while the temperance sentiment in New England has always been pronounced. In New Hampshire, where the State prohibition law of 1855 was modified into local option a few years ago, there is a movement to return to the old conditions.

This bird's-eye-view of the growth of prohibition as a political issue might be almost indefinitely extended. Enough has been shown, however, to demonstrate that it is a real factor. Curiously enough, it is most vital in the Southern States, which are dominated by the political organization characterized by Dr. Burchard as "the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion," and which has always uttered the loudest protest against sumptuary laws. The drift of popular sentiment has not escaped the attention of the men whose business interests are threatened; for during the recent convention of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association in Atlantic City, the prediction was freely made that next year the national platforms of both parties would seek to secure the increasing temperance vote by either directly advocating prohibition or else favoring summary restriction of the liquor traffic. If this prophecy should be realized it would mark a tremendous advance in public thought. The present prohibition sentiment, if it continues to increase, may be reflected in some declaration of a national party platform.

Henry Litchfield West.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IRONIES OF PEACE AND WAR

BY A. MAURICE LOW

A STUDY of history is a lesson in the ironic. Kings have gone to war to keep the peace, and princes have preached the universal brotherhood of man and massacred their neighbors. Ironically appropriate then that, while the Hague Conference meets, shot and shell should play and the delegates should see the futility of the discussion of such Utopian projects as disarmament. Casablanca and Seoul have been the satiric comment on foolish mouthings. Once again force and progress have gone hand in hand, and civilization rides upon a gun carriage. This ought not to surprise any one except the professional Utopians, who are so busy in studying the clouds that they forget to read the signs of the earth.

When the Peace of Portsmouth was signed, which brought to an end the Russo-Japanese War and, among other things, was a recognition on the part of Russia that Japan had a more vital interest in Korea than any other people, not even excepting the Koreans themselves, it was obvious that the time must quickly come when Korea would cease to exist politically and fall under the domination of Japan.

**The Veil
of the
Far East**

Nor is this surprising when one remembers the peculiar geographical position of Korea. With that extraordinary faculty of epigrammatic expression that is characteristic of Oriental peoples—which is the reason why the proverbs of the East are more philosophical than those of the Western nations—a Japanese statesman expressed the menace of Korea “as an arrow always pointed at the heart of Japan.” Japan lived in fear that the cord might at any moment be relaxed and the arrow sped swift on its errand of destruction. To turn the shaft, Japan made treaties with Korea and Russia; she found it necessary to make war with China, to preserve the independence of the Hermit Kingdom; it was the knowledge that Russia, under the guise of commercial exploitations, was doing in Korea what she had done in Manchuria, and which if permitted to go unchecked would soon make Korea a Russian province, that drove Japan to war. It was exasperating to Japan that Manchuria should be Russian;

that Port Arthur, baptized in Japanese blood and won by Japanese valor, should be in the hands of Russia; but Japan could see Manchuria Russianized and still not feel that her national interests were imperilled. With Korea it was different. Korea in the possession of Russia meant that Japan would be permitted to exist solely by the sufferance of Russia.

The Far East is wrapped in impenetrable mystery. We guess much, but we know almost nothing; the veil of the past has been lifted ever so little, and we catch merely a glimpse of tradition and fable running back to an age when there were gods and demons, and the god in the car was a reality and not merely a fancy of mythology. Of the Japanese ethnologically we know little if anything; of the Koreans not much more, but if we are to believe tradition it is from the Koreans that the Japanese spring; it is from Korea that civilization was brought to Japan. Now the concept of civilization, like everything else artificial, is purely a matter of convention. That marvellous appreciation of color and harmony, that passionate love of the beauty of life that enables a Japanese peasant to put a spray of cherry blossoms in a penny vase and see in it a poem to nature, whereas the educated Westerner with unseeing eyes would see only a few delicately tinted leaves and a trumpery jar and understand nothing; that deft workmanship; that obedience to authority and loyalty to family—this was the civilization that Korea believed she had given to Japan. In the modern civilization—the great guns, humanity robbed of its individuality and made a military machine, in armor plate and torpedoes, in clanging trolley cars and snorting engines and the habiliments of the West, in all that we in the pride of our conceit call civilization, Korea took no pride. Rather she looked upon it with the same lofty disdain that the college professor does upon the parvenu who “improves” a colonial homestead with *art nouveau* and buys his library by the yard to fill a corresponding number of book shelves. Japan might become modern and take her place in the great family of nations and play her part in the world’s progress. Korea had no envy. She was content to remain the Hermit Kingdom sunk in the sloth of her own ignorance.

Japanese policy is a consistent one, and Japan has steadily pursued a policy that in the end must lead to the political control of Korea. With almost audacious courage, Japan during the progress of the war compelled the Korean Government to engage a Japanese subject as a financial adviser with such wide power that he practically became the country’s finance minister; and to engage a diplomatic adviser to the foreign office, a foreigner to be nominated by the Japanese Government,

who was to be consulted by the Korean Government on all matters relating to foreign affairs; and to agree not to make any treaty with any power or grant any concessions to foreigners until the Japanese Government had been consulted. In pursuance of this agreement Japan sent one of her subjects to take charge of Korean finances, and Mr. Durham White Stevens, an American long in the diplomatic service of Japan, and at that time counsellor of the embassy in Washington, was transferred to Seoul as diplomatic adviser to the Korean foreign office. Thus with Japan controlling the finances and foreign affairs of Korea, and with Korea unable to make any treaty or grant any concession unless with the approval of Japan, she was virtually in control of the government of the kingdom.

Perhaps nothing that Japan has done since she became a great power is more Napoleonic than this quiet absorption of Korea. She did it while she was still at war with Russia, and Russia could do nothing, because she had already employed the last argument of kings. Other powers that might have protested had Japan been at peace were compelled to remain quiet rather than run the risk of becoming embroiled in war. Statesmen less bold than the Japanese would have waited until the end of the war, excusing their timidity on the ground that if they were successful Korea would be theirs, and if they were defeated the attempt to acquire Korea would be merely useless effort. But the Japanese saw the advantage of possession, and when the peace plenipotentiaries met at Portsmouth there was one thing that Count Witte was made to understand from the first and was never permitted to lose sight of. Whatever else Japan might yield she would never yield her predominance in Korea. And Russia was forced to recognize this. Japan might waive the indemnity and make concessions elsewhere, but Korea was Japan's, and Japan's it would remain.

Quickly following the conclusion of peace Japan took over the foreign affairs of Korea, Korea withdrawing all her diplomatic representatives abroad and trusting her interests to the diplomatic representatives of Japan; Korea further agreeing that all matters of an international character should be transacted through the medium of the Japanese foreign office. This constituted virtually a protectorate, which was acquiesced in by the world at large.

Matters might have gone in this fashion indefinitely had it not been for the intrigues on the part of certain high Korean officials to throw off the Japanese protectorate. Had they been gifted with more sense

they would have known that was impossible; they would have known that after Japan had shown her ability to defeat Russia in open warfare she had nothing to fear from a Korean uprising; a more acute understanding of Western methods on the part of the Emperor of Korea would have convinced him of the folly of the plan he adopted to bring his position before the world. In violation of the agreement that matters of an international character should be conducted through the Tokio foreign office, the Emperor sent a delegation to The Hague to demand admission to the Peace Conference. Japan, regarding this as a nullification of treaty stipulations, demanded of the Emperor an apology and an explicit recognition of the Japanese protectorate. Rather than comply with these demands, which he deemed beneath his dignity, the Emperor abdicated in favor of the Crown Prince. The new ruler, who is reported to be intellectually and morally a weakling, will be merely a puppet in the hands of Japan; his position will be that of the Khedive of Egypt since Egypt passed into the control of Lord Cromer as the real ruler of the land of the Pharaohs. It is not likely that Japan will annex Korea, at least not in the immediate future, as it will be more convenient to maintain the fiction of Korean independence; and the Emperor, like the Khedive, will be permitted to amuse himself with the farce of reigning, but the real ruler will be the Japanese Resident General, at present that distinguished statesman the Marquis Ito.

Incompetence never lacked defenders, and the most hopelessly benighted nation can always find its champions to protest against the progress forced upon it. Japan has been accused by the emotional, who among men correspond to women who send flowers to a wife murderer, of rapacity in despoiling the Koreans of their independence and embarking on an era of conquest, the end of which shall have dire consequences to all the rest of the world unless it is speedily checked. Not to indulge in any maudlin humbug, it is well plainly to say that Japan has been forced to do in Korea what England did in the Transvaal, and it is safe to assume that the results will be as beneficial in the one case as they have already demonstrated themselves to be in the other. An international nuisance is no more to be tolerated than is a municipal nuisance; nations can no more make themselves objectionable to their neighbors than a man can to the adjacent householder, and when warnings have no effect it is the duty of the authorities to take the necessary steps for the abatement of the evil. Korea was an anachronism. She was a survival of mediævalism. The world moved all around her, but she alone clung to the fixed orbit of a dead past. All around her was progress,

**Korea
Forces
Japan's
Hand**

the progress that comes from spiritual as well as material uplifting; in Korea alone century-old traditions prevailed, and the people were crushed under the heavy burden of superstitions and customs from which other nations have long emancipated themselves. Japan now goes to Korea to infuse into her people the spirit of progress, to make them men, to do for them what England has done for the Egyptian peasant; and in all history there has been nothing more wonderful than this transformation of the fellah, the lowest and most degraded being in the human family, into a self-respecting peasant. It is the inevitable conflict between a lower and a higher scale of civilization, with the inevitable result. All history is but the chronicle of these two contending forces, and the history of human development is written in the forcing of a higher scale of civilization upon a people, who at first resisted it, but who later came to see the immeasurable blessings that it conveyed. Japan has no easy task in Korea, but she has set her hand to the work and need not fear that she will falter. When the task has been accomplished not only will Korea be the gainer but all the world will profit by it.

From Korea to Morocco is not a far cry; one is the counterpart of the other, and the only difference is that of latitude, which has its own code of morals as it has its own sartorial conventions. Both countries are barbaric, both are picturesque in a fashion, both are hopelessly behind the age. Just as Japan has been forced to teach Korea the blessings of civilization by force, so France and Spain, acting as the mandatories of the great powers under the Algeciras Convention, have been obliged to restore order in Morocco. The responsibility has been practically assumed by France alone, and the undertaking will probably be much more costly, both in money and men, than France reckoned on when the first contingent of French troops was dispatched to Casablanca.

It is very curious how great events sometimes run in parallel lines and the same results follow in widely scattered parts of the globe. There is, of course, no connection between Korea and Morocco; so far as their people are concerned neither existed for the other; but just as in Korea it is inevitable that Japan must step in, so in Morocco it has long been apparent to students of affairs that it was merely delaying the inevitable when the great powers closed their eyes to the conditions existing in Morocco. The Morocco affair is interesting. When Lord Lansdowne concluded his conventions with France which settled all outstanding differences between the two countries and made them allies, France recognized the "legitimacy" of England in Egypt, which was

Th Kaiser
Cries
"Check"

kind but really not essential so far as England was concerned, as she held those nine points of law, possession; and England in equally generous mood recognized the predominant interests of France in Morocco. Read between the lines, what the British Government really said to France in that treaty was this: "You now exercise a protectorate over Algeria and Tunis; therefore geographically, politically and commercially you have a greater interest in Morocco than any other power, and considering that Morocco has always been a storm centre, the best thing that can happen for all of us would be for you to round out your African possessions with a protectorate over Morocco. If you want to do that go ahead, and you can count upon the benevolent attitude of England."

This was a very nice arrangement as between England and France, and undoubtedly France would have proceeded to carry it out had it not been for the German Emperor, who pointedly observed that he objected to England and France assuming to be *dea ex machina* of the universe and arrogating to themselves the divine right of dividing the land and waters. When it came to disposing of Morocco, Germany was to be consulted; and if France was not willing to consult Germany, perhaps she might find it more convenient to fight. At one time it looked very much as if France and Germany would again meet in hostile array, and only the resignation of M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose vigorous policy was so objectionable to the Kaiser, saved a strained situation. Then came the Algeciras Conference, which resulted in a heavy defeat for Germany. The Kaiser expected to gain a substantial advantage and obtain from the world an acknowledgment that the interests of Germany in Morocco were at least equal to those of France, but the conference made it very clear that the interests of France were superior to those of any other power; and to France and Spain was delegated the responsibility of organizing and officering an international gendarmerie to preserve order in the principal Moroccan ports.

While Europe with the assistance of the United States, because this country was a signatory to the Algeciras Convention, was calmly disposing of Morocco, the fanatical Moors were daily becoming more incensed against foreign interference. Readers of this review will remember that I have more than once during the last few months called attention to the unrest pervading the Islamic world, which has grown to such ominous proportions that the British found it necessary to strengthen their garrisons in Egypt, and extraordinary measures had to be adopted by the Government of India to suppress sedition in the Punjab. In Morocco it is the same thing. Islam is in danger, every true believer must rally to the support of Islam, and the only way to protect Islam is

to prevent the foreigner from penetrating into the interior of the country and obtaining possession, as England has done in Egypt and India, and France in Tunis and Algeria. A situation that was becoming rapidly intolerable and was fraught with the gravest consequences was brought to a head by the fanatical attack of the Moors on Europeans at Casablanca. France was forced to send cruisers and troops to that port to prevent a wholesale massacre of Europeans.

France has made the same initial mistake that England made when she began the regeneration of Egypt, in minimizing the strength of her enemy and failing to take into consideration the peculiar difficulties she had to meet. Had she sent at the beginning a force sufficient to put the Moors to rout and to convince them of her determination to restore order, it would have been much cheaper in the end; instead of which she sent merely a handful of troops under the command of General Drude, who is able with difficulty to keep the tribesmen at bay, but who is unable to take the offensive or inflict upon them a crushing defeat. And with every day that General Drude can merely hold his position and keep the Moors from entering Casablanca fanatical fury rises, until now it is probable an occupation of the country in the real military sense of the word will be necessary before the safety of Europeans is assured. Abdul Azziz, the Sultan of Morocco, has been asked to proclaim a *jihad* or holy war, which would call to his standard every Moslem, which might spread and perhaps bring England to face a crisis more grave than that of the Indian Mutiny. So far he has refrained from giving the signal, at the cost of the allegiance of many of his principal viceroys, who are intriguing to make his brother, Mulai Hafig, his successor. Should Mulai Hafig be invested with Sharifian authority it is feared that he will openly defy the Frank and urge a war of extermination against every foreigner in his dominions. An outbreak that might have been suppressed in a week has now become a war that may require months and an army corps or more before France can retire.

While Premier Clémenceau has been blamed for this short-sighted policy, excuse can be found for him. In the first place France was in a delicate position, fearing that if she did too much Germany would at once construe it as a pretext for the occupation of the country and the protectorate which France is so anxious to exercise, and would resent it, even perhaps to the extent of seizing upon it as a *casus belli*. The French Government will not willingly give Germany cause for provocation, and it also knew the unwisdom of weakening the army at home in view of the

uncertain attitude of Germany. Furthermore M. Clémenceau had to consider public sentiment. The French people, similar to all the rest of the world at the present time, are in a peaceful mood and military adventure does not appeal to them. They will not lightly sanction a war that will cost millions of francs and the lives of many of their countrymen; it is not easy to convince the average Frenchman that the game is worth the candle, especially when he is taxed to the limit. It is said that as a result of the interview between King Edward and the Kaiser the latter has withdrawn all objections to France having a free hand in Morocco, and this may lead to much more vigorous action on the part of France. But it is not easy to understand why France should be willing to play such an altruistic *rôle* for the benefit of Europe unless she believes that altruism can be made to pay. Doubtless Germany might not be at all unwilling to see France engaged in a costly war, but what guarantee can France have that she is to be compensated for her sacrifices? England was forced by circumstances to go into Egypt and to stay there, and France may remember that. She has good cause to. When the British bombarded Alexandria the French were invited to join, but they refused, and their fleet mysteriously disappeared, causing the greatest anxiety in England, where for the following forty-eight hours it was feared in political and military circles that France had taken the opportunity while England was busy in the Mediterranean to slip into the channel and make a hostile demonstration. Had France taken part in the bombardment of Alexandria, she would have occupied the country jointly with England and a good deal of subsequent history would either not have been written or would have been written in another form. Germany now occupies the same position toward France that France did toward England at that time, but there is this advantage in favor of France: she has the support of England, and any overt act on the part of Germany would make England the ally of France. If France should decline to pull the chestnut out of the fire for the benefit of Germany and the other powers it may be necessary for an international army of occupation to be sent to Morocco, which is the last thing any far-seeing statesman will encourage, as it would almost certainly result in complications. But in some way or other Morocco must be tranquillized, and it is not easy at the present time to see how that is to be done or who is to do it. Morocco for the moment has taken the place of the Ottoman Empire to disturb the sleep of European statesmen.

But despite Morocco and Korea, despite the farcical Hague Conference, which talks much of war and little of peace and has not, up to the present time, done a single thing to advance the cause of peace,

the mood of the hour in Europe is peace. The chronic pessimists find no one to listen to them. The whole world is in a Christmas-like frame of mind, and peace on earth and good will toward all mankind is the motto that appears to have been tacked up in every European foreign office. King and nephew have met and parted, apparently the best of friends; Kaiser and Czar have met and renewed their assurances of friendship; the King of England and the Emperor of Austria have exchanged visits, and bourses remain unshaken.

Edward
the
Peacemaker

It is due entirely to the extraordinary diplomacy and tact of the King of England that the era of good feeling exists. How long it will continue no one can say, and no wise statesman deludes himself into the belief that it will continue indefinitely, but there is warrant for the hope that peace will not be broken so long as King Edward remains at the active head of affairs.

A man of extraordinary ability is the present King of England, a man whose great capacity was not suspected until long after an age when the world has usually formed and closed its judgment of men. Had the King died when he was stricken down with appendicitis on the eve of his coronation he would have occupied a much smaller place in history than he does now. Up to that time, as the world was able to know him, he was a man who loved life and got out of life all there was in it. He had always been noted for his tact; a marked trait was his desire to make every one around him happy and to play the peacemaker whenever it was possible, but no opportunity had been given him to give proof of statesmanship of the first order.

In a few short years he has shown himself to be the first statesman of Europe. He has brought about an *entente* with France, which made the two nations, for so many years bitter enemies, friends and allies. That was the beginning of a new policy, a policy as extraordinary in its far-seeing scope and wonderful results as it was logical and simple in accomplishing what the King desired—the peace of Europe. The European situation at the time was in one respect extremely complicated, but it was also extremely simple; it resembled nothing so much as a child's house of blocks which comes down with a crash the moment a single block is disturbed. France and Russia were allies, not that either had any common bonds of interest; in fact, they had so little in common that it was an unnatural alliance, a *mariage de convenance* between nations, and like all such unions it was merely a case of purchase on one side and sale on the other. France poured her milliards into Russian securities because she believed in Russian professions of affection and thought she

could rely on Russia in case either England or Germany attacked her; Russia, with France as an ally, had less to fear from Germany, and the fear of Germany is ever present in the minds of Russian statesmen; Russia felt herself freer to attempt to checkmate English designs in the Far East and elsewhere so long as she could use France as a diversion should England make any awkward demands, diplomatic or otherwise.

It all seems to be very simple now, which is the way every great problem appears after the solution has been found; but what none of the King's ministers had been able to see the King saw and turned to his own advantage. France was the one block most easily to be removed from the house of blocks, and once detached the house must be rebuilt. The moment France and England were no longer enemies the whole situation changed. France no longer stood in fear of Germany, because Germany stood in fear of the military and naval strength of England; Russia still remained the ally of France, but now the influence of France was exerted to bring about the same good understanding between England and Russia as existed between France and England. Austria and Italy were allied by treaty with Germany, an alliance not quite so unnatural as that between Russia and France but which was actuated by scarcely more sentiment. The late Premier Crispi, who, rather than Prince Bismarck, was the real creator of the *Dreibund*, frankly admitted that he simply regarded it as a policy of insurance taken out to cover certain contingencies; and on the part of Austria it was a safeguard in case Russia became too active in the Balkans. What Germany gained was obvious, and yet Bismarck, with that astounding cynical disregard of moral obligations that made him what he was, still further fortified his position and nullified the treaty so far as Austria was concerned by concluding a secret treaty with Russia; the existence of which treaty, it is perhaps quite unnecessary to observe, Russia did not consider it necessary to communicate to her French ally. This is European diplomacy.

Italy being the ally of Germany, and France being the object against which the alliance was directed, the relations between Italy and France were for many years unsatisfactory, as was shown by vexatious tariff regulations and other things calculated to restrict trade between the two countries, Italy looking to Germany to make up what she lost by antagonizing France. The natural commercial relations between Italy and France are much closer than between Italy and Germany, and while there is very little in common between the Italians and the Germans, there is much in common between the Italians and the

The
League of
Peace

French. A long and traditional friendship has existed between England and Italy, and when England and France forgot past differences it was not a difficult matter for English influence, which means the King's, to bring France and Italy closer together. Between the reigning houses of Austria and England there has always existed a very close bond, and no one mourned more sincerely than the venerable Austrian Emperor the death of the late Queen of England, with whom he corresponded freely and whose advice he was always ready to accept. Austria remained the ally of Germany, but that alliance was not a menace to England.

Summed up, the result of King Edward's diplomacy of the last few years is seen to be as follows: England and France have settled all the questions that formerly kept them apart, and are now working in perfect concord to keep the peace of Europe; England and Russia have reached a working arrangement, and a clash between the two powers either in the Far or Near East is no longer feared; between England and Italy and England and Austria there is complete sympathy; an English princess sits on the throne of Spain, which is of importance politically because of the interest England has in the Mediterranean; an English princess sits on the throne of Norway, which is of lesser importance but not without its political value. England, therefore, can command the support of every European power with the sole exception of Germany, whose Emperor rages with impotent fury as he watches the success of his uncle's diplomacy. But so long as Germany is isolated—and she is practically isolated to-day, because, for the reasons given, the Italian and Austrian alliance does not mean much—the world has little to fear that its peace will be broken by Germany. Great as are the military resources of Germany they are not great enough to defy the world. There are German military writers who have asserted that Germany should provoke France to war; that she should smash France, that the campaign should simply be a repetition of that of thirty-six years ago, when the sight of Moltke's *pickelhaubes* threw Frenchmen into panic and mothers stilled their crying babies by telling them that the Red Prince and his uhlans would catch them. These German writers do not overlook the fact that England would in all probability come to the assistance of France, but what of that, they say. England could not at the outside send an army of more than a hundred thousand men; and while, of course, the British fleet would smash the German fleet into splinters and do a great deal of damage to German ports, and drive the German merchant marine off the seas, Germany could not be invaded, the bombardment of German cities would not stay the victorious march of the German army to Paris, and for all the damage done to German ports and German ships

France would be made to pay; she would pay an indemnity of five francs for every mark destroyed; the very life-blood of France would be drained, so that there would be no nation so feeble as to fear her, no nation so insignificant as to court her friendship.

Possibly some of these writers believe what they write, but it is not probable. But the Kaiser does not. He is entirely too cold and calculating for that, despite the reputation he has for impetuosity. A reputation for being impetuous, the world has suddenly discovered, is one of the most priceless assets of a ruler or a statesman. It is like a pretty woman's ignorance of a language; it enables her to say things, in all her childish innocence, which one must excuse because she is a foreigner. The impetuous statesman is excused because he is impetuous. Impetuosity like charity covers a multitude of sins, and an even greater number of vices. The late Lord Salisbury was noted for his "blazing indiscretions," which enabled him to say many things that were indiscreet but salutary. But the impetuous statesman can say anything without the slightest risk to himself and establish a reputation for frankness and honesty, while with studied disingenuousness and frigid dishonesty he plans his own selfish schemes. Impetuosity has been raised to a fine art.

Just as men of limited imagination and intelligence have to use slang as a medium of expression, because it is stereotyped expression and requires no exertion, so does the world find it easier to classify its great and accept without question the correctness of the classification. The world has been told often enough that the German Emperor is a rash and impetuous man, a sayer of foolish things and a doer of ill-advised actions, but he is neither rash enough, nor impetuous enough, nor foolish enough to draw his sword in the face of all Europe. To fight France is one thing, to fight France and England combined is quite another; to fight France and England and lose the moral support of Austria, Italy and Russia would be the act of a madman, and William is not mad. Thus the diplomacy of King Edward has surrounded Germany with a league of peace, and Germany is forced to keep the peace, because she dare not risk turning the league of peace into a coalition bent on her destruction.

What the European political world calls a new triple alliance has been called into being by the Anglo-French-Spanish agreements for the maintenance of the *status quo* in certain parts of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. It is, of course, fantastic to call this an alliance; but, as the London *Morning Post* points out, "an agreement for the maintenance of the *status quo* is a mild form of defensive combination. It can hardly by any stretch of the imagination be construed into an offensive sign."

These agreements, which take the form of notes exchanged between the British and Spanish governments and the French and Spanish governments, and are identical, *mutatis mutandis* recite that

**A New
Triple
Alliance**

the respective powers, animated by the desire to contribute in every possible way to the maintenance of peace, and convinced that the preservation of the territorial *status quo* in the Mediterranean and that part of the Atlantic Ocean which washes the shores of Europe and Africa must materially serve this end, and is moreover to the mutual advantage of nations bound to each other by the closest ties of ancient friendship and of community of interests, make the following declaration of policy. Sir Edward Grey in his note to the Spanish ambassador in London thus continues:

"The general policy of the Government of his Britannic Majesty in the regions above defined is directed to the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*, and in pursuance of this policy they are firmly resolved to preserve intact the rights of the British Crown over its insular and maritime possessions in these regions.

"Should circumstances arise which, in the opinion of the Government of his Britannic Majesty, would alter, or tend to alter, the existing territorial *status quo* in the said regions they will communicate with the Government of his Catholic Majesty in order to afford them the opportunity to concert, if desired, by mutual agreement the course of action which the two powers shall adopt in common."

The German press naturally see in these agreements another design against their country. They think the understanding cloaks an attempt to obtain control over Morocco, and the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* says: "Spain hopes one day to receive compensation of a territorial nature in Morocco for her definite renunciation of rights on Gibraltar. . . . This new triple alliance is, in fact, symptomatic of a policy which is not friendly toward us. It will only contribute toward making Germany more watchful and more mistrustful." But the London *Morning Post* answers this by saying: "Governments do not put their heads together to consolidate the peace unless they feel that there is a possibility of its disturbance. . . . The fact that Spain has come to an understanding with France and England on the subject of the preservation of the *status quo* in regions where all the three powers have interests proves that there was a feeling that the international atmosphere was not as calm and settled as it might be. . . . Yet the agreements cannot on any theory be construed as a menace to any German right or interest. They

might, indeed, be read as creating a barrier against German designs, if such designs existed, for subverting the *status quo* to the detriment of Great Britain, France, or Spain. If no such design is cherished, then the agreements have no point against Germany. If they are disagreeable to Germany there must be some German intentions which they tend to thwart. But in that case not only are the agreements necessary, but they ought to be supplemented by such armaments, especially in Great Britain, as would give material weight to the guarantee which they contain. . . .

"We note in one of these German articles the expression: 'A paper ring around Germany.' The expression conveys at once an insinuation that any British attempt at friendship with another power is an unfriendly act toward Germany, and that it is of no avail. But has the writer put to his readers the questions whether the German Government has ever during the last few years made any proposal whatever for an understanding with Great Britain, and whether any such proposal has been rejected by a British Government?"

The real meaning of these agreements is this: France and England guarantee to Spain her coast and her possessions; Spain recognizes that Gibraltar is English, and no longer Spanish "in temporary occupation of the English," which has been its official designation to salve Spanish pride ever since its capture; England and Spain recognize the right of France in Algeria and Tunis; France again admits that England is legitimately in occupation of Egypt. A sort of international Monroe Doctrine has been created to prevent a disturbance of the present equilibrium, and the only power likely to disturb that equilibrium is Germany; but as one writer very correctly puts it, "the policy of Europe is not directed against Germany, but without her." Germany is simply being left out of the political game. She is not invited to play, and she can only stand by and watch the other powers carry out their policies while she is quietly ignored.

France has also concluded an important agreement with Japan, which is still further recognition of the dominant position held by Japan in the affairs of the Far East.

Japan
Quiets
French
Fears

"The governments of France and Japan," the agreement runs, "agreeing to respect the independence integrity of China, as well as the principle of equality of treatment in that country for the commerce and subjects of all nations, and having a special interest in seeing order and a pacific state of affairs guaranteed, particularly in the regions of the Chinese

Empire adjacent to the territories where they have rights of sovereignty, protection and occupation, bind themselves mutually to support one another in order to assure the peace and security of those regions, with a view to the maintenance of the respective positions and territorial rights of the two contracting parties on the Asiatic continent."

The agreement is really of more importance to France than it is to Japan, although vastly flattering to Japanese pride as showing that all the world recognizes there can be no discussion of the continent of Asia without the voice of Japan being listened to with respect. There was some foundationless talk in the European press a few months ago that Japan might pointedly intimate to France that she held Indo-China without a shadow of right and that Japan would refuse to recognize her title. France could not have defended her Asiatic territory against Japan—Japan is on her own ground and France is too far from her military base; and the agreement now insures France that she will not be disturbed. On the part of France it is an acceptance of the changed conditions that resulted from the Peace of Portsmouth. Japan, so far as France is concerned, is given a free hand in Korea, in Formosa, in that part of Manchuria which she gained by right of conquest. The agreement is also of importance as again placing on record the determination of two great powers to preserve the independence and integrity of China and maintain the principle of equality of treatment to which all the nations pledged themselves at the instigation of the late Secretary Hay.

<p>Russia and Japan Agree</p>	<p>There are fashions in diplomacy as there are in everything else, and the latest style in diplomacy is the agreement. To keep up with the times Russia has made a convention with Japan, which ought still further to insure the peace of the Far East if both parties are as sincere as their words would indicate. The convention, which was signed at St. Petersburg on the 30th of last July, is as follows:</p>
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The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, animated by a desire to strengthen the peaceful, friendly, and neighborly relations which have happily been restored between Russia and Japan, and to remove the possibility of future misunderstandings between the two empires, have entered into the following agreements:

"Article I: Each of the two high contracting parties undertakes to respect the present territorial integrity of the other, as well as all rights accruing to one or the other of the high contracting parties from existing realties, agreements, or conventions now in force between the high contracting parties and China, copies of which have been exchanged by the contracting powers, so far as these

rights are not incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity enunciated in the treaty signed at Portsmouth on September 5, 1905, and in the special convention concluded between Japan and Russia.

"Article II: Both high contracting parties recognize the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China, as well as the principle of equal opportunity in commerce and industry for all nations in the said Empire. They also pledge themselves to uphold the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect of this principle with all peaceable means at their disposal."

When the Peace of Portsmouth was signed, it was the general impression that it was not a peace but merely an armed truce; that the ambitions of Russia and Japan were irreconcilable, and that the contest for supremacy was bound to be renewed as soon as one or the other felt itself strong enough to engage in a decisive war. Agreements between nations are often like the amenities of polite society that mean nothing and are simply a matter of form, but at least fill up a gap that otherwise might be embarrassing. For the present Russia and Japan have officially determined to forget the past, and there is evidence that the statesmen of both countries have shifted, if not altered, their point of view. This is more marked in the case of Russia than in that of Japan. Russian statesmen appear at least to have become convinced of the folly of the policy of aggression and territorial expansion that for so many years made Russia the object of suspicion on the part of other nations. And doubtless the views of Russian statesmen have been modified by recent events both at home and abroad. The policy of Russia until quite recently was, to every intelligent person not blinded by Russian passion, as short-sighted and destructive as could be conceived. With an enormous empire rich in potential resources but undeveloped, with a population capable of being trained to a high degree of industrial skill, the statesmen of Russia, instead of creating wealth and raising the general level of intelligence and comfort, went into adventures that commercially were of no value and politically were always a menace and a drain on the resources of the empire. If only a tithe of the money wasted on the trans-Siberian railroad had been judiciously and economically spent on productive works in Russia itself, spent honestly and not diverted into the pockets of grand dukes and favored personages about the country, Russia would have something to show for the expenditure. Public sentiment in Russia is slowly having its effect. There is as yet little real opportunity for the voice of the people to manifest itself, but a man even so blind and so deaf as the Czar must dimly comprehend that there is a new spirit in his people. Had Russia crushed Japan, had the fiction of the valor and invincibility of the Russian Army been sustained

Portsmouth
and
After

—a grandmother's tale that for half a century has frightened more than one timorous European statesman—had the army returned to be acclaimed as conquering heroes, had the battle of Tsushima been the Japanese Lissa, had these things happened, the cause of progress would have been stayed and Russia would have been buried a century deeper under the crushing weight of absolutism. Autocracy would have been vindicated, the system would have justified itself, the fear of the army would have made resistance impossible. We may talk as we please of the Yellow Peril, of the danger to the world of Japan dominating the Far East, of the menace to come from the spirit of Japan being infused into China and China taking her place among the nations, but all these dangers, if dangers they really are, are not to be compared with the danger that confronted the world's advancing tide of civilization from the triumph of a system of government that deprived the people of all voice in their own affairs and made them simply the creatures of an autocracy.

If an agreement has not already been concluded between England and Russia it is in fair way to being consummated, according to the latest and most reliable information obtainable. It will not be in any sense an alliance—the time has not yet come when the English people would sanction a formal alliance with Russia—but it will amount to a frank recognition by each power of the rights of the other, and a virtual pledge on the part of Russia not to try to disturb the *status quo* in either the Near or Far East. Russian activity in the Persian Gulf, the fear that Russia was attempting to bring Persia under her influence, the constant suspicion of Russia entertained by the Government of India that the massing of troops on the Indian frontier and the construction of strategical railways were all part of a general plan to undermine English authority in Asia, made it impossible for any real friendship to exist between the two countries. If now a frank understanding has been reached, it furnishes another powerful guarantee for the maintenance of peace; that is, so long as a fear of big battalions exists in the minds of statesmen. One need not be a cynic not to take too seriously the profession of enduring and everlasting peace between nations; but one must be very foolish, and have read history to very little account and understand even less the passions and follies of even the wisest of men, to be deluded into Utopian dreams and wander in the maze of the universal brotherhood of man. That time has not come, and until it comes the surest guarantee of peace is to keep the sword ready at hand with sharpened edge.

But for the moment at least—assuming that England and Russia have agreed or will shortly agree on a *modus vivendi*—it is worth noting what a

marvellous change has been effected in a few short months. Only yesterday Asia was the world's storm centre, and the world waited with dire forebodings for the crash of the thunder and the forked sheets of flame that were to rive a continent and herald Armageddon. But the thunder, though terrifying, was harmless, and the lightning merely cleared the air. To-day it is the summer's calm after the storm. England, Russia, Japan, and France are joined together to avert any disturbances which might arise from the clash of conflicting ambitions and interests. "In place of the sense of instability, uncertainty, and anxiety regarding the future which has necessarily existed hitherto," says the *London Morning Post*, "there should now be a feeling of security and confidence that will encourage and stimulate peaceful development in every direction." It is well said.

So clearly has it been pointed out that Germany is completely isolated and in all Europe can count on no ally if she attempts an aggressive policy that would hazard peace, that it would seem absurd to talk about Germany escaping from her isolation; and yet in statesmanship the impossible is frequently the obvious. The genesis of Germany's isolation is to be found in the war of 1870, which drove France into the arms of Russia; the aggressive policy of Bismarck and the Kaiser, which, primarily directed against France, developed into a menace against England; the reversal of the traditional policy of England, who gloried in her "splendid isolation" and had all of a strong man's contempt for the man unable to think or act for himself, which led to the series of alliances and *ententes* to which reference has already been made; the sudden pricking of the Russian military balloon, and the dramatic rise of a great power in the Far East. As France held the key to the situation by which England was enabled to escape from her isolation, so again France offers the means by which Germany can enter the concert of Europe. If Germany can reach an understanding with France, and if France can feel that she need no longer sleep with one eye watching the Rhine, England will only too gladly extend the right hand of fellowship to Germany. Is such a thing possible?

The answer can be found in the character of the Kaiser. A man of tremendous ability and keen vision is the German Emperor, despite certain qualities that dim his ability and lessen his influence. His great ambition is to hand down to his successor a Germany that is politically and commercially great; to complete the work that Bismarck began when he welded provinces into an empire and made Germany

Will
Germany and
France
Embrace?

one of the arbiters of the world's destiny; to win from the world the title of "William the Great." He has consistently pursued a line of policy that cannot be termed ill-considered, even though it has not brought him the end he desired. He has made Germany feared and respected even if he has made her disliked; he has made the world listen to the voice of Germany, even if the world has considered it a raucous voice and affected to pretend that it got on her nerves; he has played a great rôle in *Weltpolitik*, and he has kept the peace. But his policy has failed; and since he has ability—in some respects the appellation of genius would not be an exaggeration—what more natural than that he should modify his policy to gain what he covets?

There are signs that the Kaiser is at least giving serious consideration to the profit to be gained from an *entente* with France. During the summer he has paid marked, one might almost say ostentatious, courtesies to French yachtsmen visiting Kiel; M. Etienne, who formerly held the portfolios of Minister of War and Minister of the Interior, was received by the Kaiser in private audience and afterward had an interview with the Imperial Chancellor; there have been numerous interviews between Prince Bülow and M. Cambon, the French ambassador; and, perhaps more significant than all, for the first time since the Franco-Prussian War, a few weeks ago, a French singing society, with the approval of the German Government, participated in musical fêtes in Alsace.

Germany will not surrender Alsace and Lorraine, and no serious-minded Frenchman considers that as a possibility, but there are concessions that can be made on both sides that would bring about accord. France believes in her mission in Africa (one has never been quite able to understand the attraction it has for her), and would give much to be permitted a free hand in Morocco; and that she can obtain only by consent of the Kaiser. On the other hand, the Kaiser has long desired a free hand in Asia Minor, and with the death of Francis Joseph, of Austria, new problems may confront Germany that can only be solved with the acquiescence of the European powers. Taking all these things into consideration, there are abundant reasons why the Kaiser may see the wisdom of restoring good relations with France; and there is nothing to be gained by holding France at arm's length and thereby isolating himself from the world's councils.

On the 18th of August Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, celebrated his seventy-seventh birthday. It is commonplace to talk of the tragedy of a man's life; but there are few men who have lived such

a tragedy as the Nestor of royalty, who can see no gleam of hope to comfort his remaining years. Not one of the things that can compensate a man has been vouchsafed to him. He has tasted of the bitterness that comes from the death of his beloved—his only son ended his life under circumstances so mysterious and so horrible that even now the world does not know the real story of Meyerling; his wife fell under the knife of an assassin, and never was there a more wanton murder; his brother died in the foolish attempt to found an empire in Mexico. As a king Francis Joseph has suffered no less than as a man. He was called to the throne a lad of eighteen, and the unaccustomed crown still pressed heavy on his youthful head when he was forced to crush rebellion in Hungary, only to see himself defeated and compelled pitifully to appeal to Russia to save his heritage. Solferino and Sadowa are bitter memories to a proud man. And now as the end draws near he sees Hungary again rebellious, this time not in arms, but politically defying his power and threatening the security of the empire; he knows that after his death, in all probability, the map of Europe will have to be remade. He will die with his heart empty and his ambitions ungratified. In all Europe there is no more pathetic and lonely figure than this King, who has deserved better things of fate.

For although Francis Joseph cannot be classed as one of the world's intellectually great, he is a man far above the average; and placed in a most delicate position, he has displayed extraordinary tact and a wonderful faculty for doing the right thing at the right time. Age brought its responsibilities and with them a fuller understanding of their meaning, and the lesson of experience has not been wasted on him. Europe has long respected his judgment and his moderation; without spectacular display he has contributed to keeping the peace. His influence among his own subjects has been far greater than that of any of his ministers. His sorrows have unconsciously brought him nearer to the hearts of his people, who have been touched by the pathos of his life, and who listen to him with a respect they accord no other man. It is his influence alone that has kept his turbulent dominions in a state of even semi-peace, that has kept the never-ending conflict between Magyar and German from breaking out into open warfare. He has done his work well; but bitterness must come with the knowledge that it is all so futile, that he has built his house on sand. He has held his empire together with the slender threads of his personal influence, but with his death those threads will be broken, and then, perhaps, will come chaos.

A. Maurice Low.

FINANCE

THE FALL IN THE WORLD'S MARKETS

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

WE left the financial markets, at the conclusion of the review in the last number of *THE FORUM*, in a state of uncertainty and apprehension, in connection with which there had been a heavy break on the Stock Exchange and partial derangement of credit. We saw what apprehensions were then entertained in the financial community regarding the immediate and the longer future. These apprehensions naturally converged into a feeling of great doubt as to what might happen in the autumn.

As all readers of these pages know, it is the early autumn, when the harvest movement is in progress and when the reserves of city banks are accordingly drawn upon, which applies the genuinely severe test to a financial situation. On more than one occasion it has been reserved for September and the succeeding months, in a year of disturbed credit, to bring to the surface the seriously weak spots of the financial situation. This was the case in such years of formidable financial panic as 1873 and 1890, in the first of which the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, occurring early in September, at a time when the markets had begun to hope that the worst was over, threw the entire American financial community into chaos, and forced the suspension of business on the Stock Exchange during a period of more than two weeks. It was in 1890 that the gathering storm which followed the rash expansion of credit of the spring and early summer broke over the markets during November in connection with the Baring Brothers' failure.

On each of these occasions, there could be no doubt that, so far as the American market was concerned, the peremptory demand for Eastern money by the harvest communities brought the crisis to a head. Bank reserves, in New York and in the East generally, were depleted at the very moment when need for a solid foundation for the top-heavy mass of credits was most urgent. That the pressure of the harvest demand is peculiarly serious in the United States, hardly needs to be pointed out; I have had occasion to refer to this phenomenon many times before. Looking ahead some months ago, that factor in the situation seemed more full of unpleasant possibilities this

year than usual, from the fact that these very Western communities had been lending in the East during the Stock Exchange speculation of last year a sum of capital estimated at no less than \$500,000,000, and that their own needs at the present time, in connection with an unprecedentedly heavy trade and a speculative situation not unlike that in the East, were likely to be such as to demand the return of Eastern balances in quantity.

That a good part of these balances had been already returned before the present autumn approached, every one agreed. The question was, how far such repayment had been made effective, and how much would remain in our Eastern banks, to be sent West during the present harvest season. If the demand from the inland communities was even as heavy as last year's, it apparently foreshadowed a net loss by New York institutions, early in the autumn, of upward of \$30,000,000 actual cash. In previous years it had been the custom, as this season of Westward remittances approached, for international bankers in New York to draw on Europe's reserve of capital sufficiently to make good the loss. They discounted, so to speak, the payments normally coming to them from the European markets when the crops, to harvest which the East was sending its money West, should move out in quantity to Europe. Acting quite automatically, the result of this arrangement was that Europe, knowing in August and September that it would have to pay certain sums in October, November and December for the grain and cotton purchased from America, paid for it in advance, exacting the regular rate of interest for the accommodation.

Nothing could be more regular and proper than this process, and nothing in the average year could work better for the financial situation, home and foreign. But the striking fact in the calculations and misgivings with which the financial markets approached the present autumn was the unwillingness ascribed to Europe to allow these anticipated drafts on its supplies of capital. It was repeatedly the tenor of dispatches from London to the American financial press and to the New York bankers that these foreign markets could not afford to provide for New York on the scale of previous years. For this state of mind there were two reasons. One was the highly uncertain condition of Europe's own finances. Its bank reserves were low; its liabilities immensely inflated by trade requirements of unprecedented volume, and by issues of new securities which the public had not taken and which, therefore, in Europe as in America, were carried on the basis of bank loans.

Had this been the only reason for hesitation on the part of Europe,

it might indeed have resulted in a discreet curtailment of the remittances in the early autumn to America, but could hardly have led even to a threat of complete refusal to accept American bills. Most unfortunately, however, the situation was complicated this present year by unpleasant recollections of what took place last autumn. Whatever may be said of the policy of London banks, in providing the sinews for the extravagant Wall Street speculation of last winter, the fact remains that Lombard Street made advances to our immensely wealthy speculators on a scale quite apart from what had been fixed by the prudent tradition of other years. Not only so, but Europe learned in the later chapters of that episode that America was borrowing for the purpose of extorting gold. In spite of the plain intimation that Europe could not spare its reserve money in such quantities, the American banks, with the assistance of the Secretary of the Treasury, drew in such volume on their foreign credits that exchange on London broke violently, and before the year was over New York had taken from Europe no less than \$40,000,000 gold, of which \$32,000,000 came from England. The result of this experiment—the commotion on all foreign markets, the rise of the Bank of England rate to 6 per cent., and the hostile attitude adopted by all other European markets—should be sufficiently fresh in the reader's memory. The point to notice now is that London, in a chastened spirit, approached the present season with the feeling that at all hazards a repetition of such an episode must be prevented, and this feeling was transmuted with no great difficulty into the feeling that New York could not have even the accommodation, through advance of capital before the crop export movement, to which it had been accustomed in normal years.

We shall see, before this review is over, precisely what was the outcome of this remarkable state of mind. First, however, it will be neces-

**The
Midsummer
Recovery**

sary to review in brief the events which have occurred since the last number of this magazine was issued. The month of July apparently reflected relief from a long-continued strain; toward the close, indeed, a substantial advance occurred on the Stock Exchange, which led the

unthinking to infer that the "boom" of the previous year was to be renewed, and which elicited from more experienced minds the comment that speculation for the rise at such a juncture was most premature and imprudent. It is possible that this rise during July was an immediate factor in the events which followed during the month of August. In nine cases out of ten, that month is a period of quiet markets and gen-

erally unruffled finance in the United States. So true is it that the great underlying forces of the market are apt to postpone their full effect until the ensuing month that August has repeatedly—as was the case last year—been of such a character in the financial markets as completely to mislead the ordinary observer regarding the probabilities of the immediate future.

August of 1906, for instance, witnessed the climax of the Union Pacific boom and apparently foreshadowed advancing markets and ready advances of capital by Europe throughout the autumn. August of 1905 started a similar movement based on the Russo-Japanese peace. August of 1902 witnessed strong markets from start to finish, which gave no clue whatever to the extreme financial disorder through which the autumn markets were destined to pass. Contrasting absolutely, both with the months when August appeared to foreshadow prosperity and confidence, and the months when it was nearly a period of idleness, the month this year was marked by demoralization so extreme as to threaten at times something not far short of panic. During two weeks in the middle of the month, forced liquidation on the Stock Exchange reached to such volume as to threaten financial disaster. Not only were the advances of July cancelled by the movement of the succeeding month, but new low prices for the entire present period of finance were reached. It will now be in order to examine the incidents of this remarkable movement and to see exactly what bearing each had on the situation. We shall then be able not only to ascertain the real basis of the disorder but to look forward with some confidence into the future.

The really sensational decline in the August stock market occurred immediately after the conviction and sentence of the Standard Oil Company on August 3d for illegal acceptance of rebates from the Alton Railroad. For this reason the entire weakness in stocks was long ascribed by the market and is still ascribed by many financiers to the administration's activity in enforcing the law against corporations which have violated it. To what extent the break in prices was actually a result of the Standard Oil incident may perhaps be better judged after we have reviewed that incident itself.

The Government's suit against the Standard Oil Company, for violation of the so-called Elkins law, prohibiting under heavy money penalties the reduction of freight rates to favored shippers through the subterfuge of "rebates," was plainly announced by President Roosevelt long beforehand. The suit was entered in November, 1906; the jury rendered

**Standard Oil
Case and the
Markets**

its verdict in the last week of July this year, and on Saturday, August 3d, Judge Landis in the United States District Court of Indiana imposed on the company a fine of \$29,240,000. Now it is not improbable that the magnitude of this fine startled many people in the investment community who might otherwise have gone serenely about their business. A possible inference was this—that if the court could impose such a sentence on one company which was financially able to pay it, there was nothing to hinder its imposing a similar fine on other companies which would be bankrupted by it. Furthermore, since no shareholder could positively know that the officers of his own railroad had not secretly granted rebates to favored shippers, and since the penalty on the railroad is the same in such case as on the shipper, he could not be sure that a sudden announcement similar to that of the Standard Oil might not be made of a confiscatory fine upon his company.

This, I say, was a possible line of reasoning, and it was undoubtedly adopted by certain investors in the market. The fine in the case of the Standard Oil was computed in this way. The Elkins law makes the provision regarding punishment:

Every person or corporation who shall offer, grant, or give, or solicit, accept, or receive any such rebates, concession, or discrimination shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$20,000.

Now it will be observed that while this paragraph names the maximum and minimum amount which may be imposed for a given offence, it does not clearly state what would constitute one offence. In the course of the legal contest, counsel for the company submitted to the court three possible bases of interpretation — either that the alleged rebating between September 1, 1903, and March 1, 1905, constituted under the indictment one infraction of the law; or that since the fixing of the rate between the railway and the Standard Oil occurred once in a year and remained in force for the twelve ensuing months, that the alleged infractions of the law were three in number; or, finally, that since thirty-six separate bills were introduced in testimony as having been rendered by the railway at the illegal rate, the penalties incurred were thirty-six. Here, it may readily be seen, was a nice question of interpretation. Judge Landis discarded all of these three theories, ruled that each carload of merchandise shipped by the company over the railroad at the illegal rate constituted a separate violation of the law, concluding that since the record of such carload shipments footed up 1,462, and since the maximum fine allowed by the State was \$20,000 for each

offence, imposition of that maximum fine would foot up a total penalty of \$29,240,000.

It will be seen that a good deal of ground existed here for legal difference of opinion, and argument on this point will undoubtedly be heard before the higher courts. This part of the decision has evoked very widespread criticism. The Standard Oil Company has the right to two appeals from Judge Landis's decision—first to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and thence to the Supreme Court. Apparently, this would involve, in case the next higher court decides against the company, a delay of nearly or quite two years before the case is finally adjudicated. It has been pointed out that although the celebrated Northern Securities case was by special arrangement advanced to the Circuit Court of Appeals as the court of original jurisdiction, nevertheless a full year had to elapse—between April 9, 1903, and March 14, 1904—before the Supreme Court had finally passed upon the case. The importance of these points is—first, that the Standard Oil decision cannot for some time to come be again a distinct disturbing influence in the market, and, second, that if the jury and judge in the recent case erred through prejudice or passion, there will be ample opportunity for the court to reverse their findings on points of law and procedure.

I have said that the first feeling of bewilderment over the magnitude of the fine led to real apprehension should the courts adopt a similar policy toward other corporations. The admitted existence of this apprehension gave legitimate ground for the appeal on the part of the financial community as a whole to President Roosevelt for some statement which should clear up this part of the situation, and at least show the average shareholder where he stood as regarded possibilities of the future. At this point something exceedingly unfortunate occurred. Attorney-General Bonaparte, under whose general auspices the Standard Oil suit had been carried to completion, allowed himself to be drawn into two or three highly injudicious and unguarded interviews. It has been alleged in excuse for Mr. Bonaparte's mistake that he made the statements in question privately and without being aware that they were destined for publication. How far this excuse is sufficient must be left to the average reader.

The most unpleasant interviews in the group were those in which, first, when questioned as to what would be done under certain circumstances to a corporation which neglected or was unable to accede to the order of the court, the Attorney-General intimated that a federal re-

ceiver could always operate the road. Quite inevitably, this interview led to the inference on the part of the more timid investors that the practice of putting court officers in charge of railways might be adopted as a policy. This would have been a plain misunderstanding of Mr. Bonaparte's assertion. Of his second interview, little can be said except that it was exceedingly untimely and ill advised. It contained this remarkable statement of his department's position:

There was a big covey of game, and it would be a very poor marksman indeed who could not land enough to make a fine mess.

Now, people familiar with the real nature of the investment situation have not been greatly disposed to ascribe the whole resulting trouble in the markets to these interviews; but even with those who have frankly admitted that quite other influences lay at the bottom of the situation, it has been frankly conceded that the result of these statements from an official source was exceedingly unfortunate. Many instances in our political and financial history have been recalled where even the injudicious wording of a sufficiently proper announcement by a high officer of Government has resulted in needless and most unfortunate disturbance of the financial situation. The famous case in point was that of President Cleveland in December, 1895, when his Venezuela message, announcing the American Government's purpose of objecting to England's policy in its relations with that country, concluded with the words: "In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibilities incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." It will not have been forgotten that publication of this interview resulted in an instantaneous panic on the stock exchanges both of London and New York. Both markets at once began to talk war.

Yet it has been properly contended, then and since then, that the financial situation of the day was bad; that, in part, the artificial attempt to protect the United States Treasury from the loss of gold brought on by our treasury note inflation was breaking down, and that so rotten a position had resulted that a crash sooner or later was inevitable under any circumstances. This is altogether true, but it will not escape the experienced observer's mind that the very knowledge of the existence of so precarious a situation ought to have led to discreet and judicious language in so weighty a public document. Precisely the same may be said of the Attorney-General's interviews, and it was this which gave legitimate force to the pressure which now converged on the President, to say something publicly which should offset the public effects of these statements by his law officer. On August 20th, accordingly, in the

course of the speech at Provincetown, Mass., which, by the way, had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with finance, the President took occasion to make two striking statements. One was as follows:

I desire no less emphatically to have it understood that we have undertaken and will undertake no action of a vindictive type, and, above all, no action which shall inflict great or unmerited suffering upon the innocent stockholders and upon the public as a whole. Our purpose is to act with the minimum of harshness compatible with obtaining our ends.

It will be noticed that Mr. Roosevelt promised nothing definite in this paragraph; in fact, he coupled it with the further statement:

Once for all, let me say that as far as I am concerned, and for the eighteen months of my administration that remain there will be no change in the policy we have steadily pursued, no let-up in the effort to secure the honest observance of the law.

Nevertheless, the President's statement regarding the Government's unwillingness to take such action as should inflict injury upon innocent stockholders touched on the very psychological point where something of the sort was needed. The speech, which had been anticipated with mingled feelings and with great perplexity, had the striking result of reversing instantly the action of prices on the Stock Exchange, and causing a moderately sharp recovery in place of the preceding violent collapse.

One other statement in the President's speech was received with somewhat different feeling. It was this:

It may well be that the determination of the Government, in which, gentlemen, it will not waver, to punish certain malefactors of great wealth, has been responsible for something of the troubles, at least to the extent of having caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as they possibly can in order to discredit the policy of the Government.

As to this, the market's comment was that the President made a blunder in attempting to speak, at a juncture of this sort, of matters regarding which he could not possibly have personal knowledge. The attitude on the market of the so-called Standard Oil group of capitalists, to whom the President was very obviously referring in this paragraph, has been a mystery all along to the best informed financiers of Wall Street; it is hardly, therefore, to be supposed that the President, who is quite unacquainted with the details of finance, could have been any better informed. As to the actual facts regarding the attitude of the group to whom Mr. Roosevelt referred as "wealthy malefactors," this much has been pretty generally agreed on by the more thoughtful and well-posted element in Wall Street, that the very large capitalists en-

gaged in the extravagant speculation for the rise last autumn had been left by the collapse of that speculation in a position where they had enormous burdens of their own to carry. It is capitalists of this and similar groups who have had to take up or underwrite the very numerous issues of railway notes and other securities to the amount within the year of nearly \$1,000,000,000, and whose actual payments on that account are far from ended. Not all of this enormous mass of new securities has gone into the hands of groups of inside capitalists; but that a very great part of the issues has thus of necessity been provided for, is not only probable but certain. One of these underwritings—that of the Union Pacific's \$75,000,000 bond issue—involved the payment by the underwriting syndicate itself of \$40,000,000 in a lump on one day of this September. It may reasonably be asked whether a group of financiers in this position would be likely to lend its deliberate help to the further demoralization of the security and money markets. Their personal interests lay in the opposite direction. Such was at all events the conclusion of the markets. People interested in the foreign view of American finance may, however, take some interest in the following comment on this very passage of the President's speech, by so cautious and discreet an observer as the London *Economist*:

The troubles which have developed in Wall Street are not the result of governmental action, though there is little doubt that, in order to discredit the Government, the rich "malefactors" who have manipulated corporate wealth in their own interests have resorted to combined action which has had the result of accentuating the disturbances in the stock markets. It is hardly likely that these tactics will deceive anybody, and the fact is being more and more appreciated that there will be no permanent stability in the American stock markets until either the law or public opinion renders impossible the practices which have brought discredit on American finance and inflicted grave injury on the commerce and industry of the United States.

Possibly the surest way to ascertain how far the attitude of the administration toward corporations was a fundamental influence in the declines of last summer's stock market will be to carry the retrospect of this season a little further, and see what other influences were manifestly at work. On Thursday, August 15th, the Bank of England suddenly announced an advance in its official discount rate to 4½ per cent. In itself, this rate was not exorbitantly high; it was, for instance, considerably below the charge made even then for discounting three months' paper in New York. But the Bank of England's attitude must be judged on a different basis. In the first place, it was at once observed that the 4½ per cent. rate fixed

High
Money at
London

last August compared with a rate of only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at the same date a year before, and that the autumn of 1906, though opening at that lower money market level, was marked by the acute strain on the English money market which resulted, early in October, in the sensational rise of the Bank of England's rate to 6 per cent., followed by threats of a 7 per cent. rate later on—a policy which was probably averted only through the release of its capital by Paris.

This was only one element in the comparison; but furthermore, a glance at the records showed at once that the Bank of England had never fixed its rate as high as $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the middle of August during any year since 1890, and that with that exception no parallel could be found short of 1870. The 1890 comparison was necessarily unpleasant; it reminded people whose memories are longer than a decade of the fact that London's own situation was at that time so extremely precarious that protective measures had to be adopted perforce in August in order to guard the bank and the London money market against the strain which they then foresaw impending and which, when it came in November, resulted in the failure of Baring Brothers, and in the formidable London panic of that year.

In other words, the Bank of England seemed on the surface of things to have given warning last August that a situation graver than any witnessed in the past decade and a half was threatened on Europe's own market. For a few days the only evident result of this action by the Bank of England was a rise in the foreign exchange on London, so sharp that both at New York and Berlin, sterling touched a figure which ordinarily would have made gold exports from those markets to London profitable. On Saturday, August 17th, the real sequel to the bank's vigorous action was witnessed in a sensational situation which suddenly arose on the London market. Dispatches from Lombard Street to New York that day reported a state of disorder and apprehension on the credit market so serious that the description recalled no period so definitely as the well-remembered Saturday which preceded the failure of the house of Baring. During a few days there was undoubted apprehension, on all the important markets of the world, that something in the nature of a credit panic was about to break out in London.

The strain, however, was relaxed as suddenly as it had begun, and little by little the facts of the case leaked out. They were highly interesting. As readers of these articles will recall, the private banks of London had during all the autumn of 1906 insisted on increasing their loans to Wall Street, notwithstanding the protest of the Bank of England, and notwithstanding also the fact that the capital thus raised was being used

to draw gold in quantity from the Bank of England to sustain New York bank reserves and support the extravagant Wall Street stock speculation. Only through the extreme measures taken by the Bank of England with its discount rate, and through personal pressure applied by the governors of the bank to directors of the London joint-stock institutions, was the wholesale granting of credit, by Lombard Street to Wall Street, eventually checked.

The case appears to be that, as 1907 drew on and the other side of the New York speculation became too manifest to be ignored, the very banks which a year before had insisted on feeding fuel to the speculative blaze in Wall Street went to the other extreme and by degrees fell into a spasm of terror over the New York situation. So far did they allow this ill-judged timidity to carry them that in the week when the Bank of England rate went up, they adopted an almost unanimous action of rejecting certain drafts, offered in large quantities by a large London banking house identified with the American stock speculation of the preceding winter. This firm by all accounts was absolutely solvent; at ordinary times no criticism would have been passed on its applications for credit. But these were not ordinary times, and the sudden and hysterical outbreak by the private banks created for twenty-four hours a situation which, if not managed with judgment and discretion, might very easily have involved the failure not of one but of several important houses.

Happily, the Bank of England, which had kept its head during the speculative debauch of the New York bankers and the London speculators a year ago, retained the same cool and decided policy, judgment, and discretion as characterized its action last August—announcing, to begin with, that all of the drafts thus thrown out by the private banks would be taken at the regular market rate by the Bank of England; a policy which, in a single week, expanded that institution's loans \$20,000,000. The bank next applied the most vigorous sort of pressure to the frightened private bankers. It stated plainly what its own policy would be, and practically required of the London institutions that they should act in accordance with it. In so doing the Bank of England maintained the best traditions of its history, notably that which has to do with the famous occasion of the 1890 panic, when, with Lombard Street paralyzed in fright, and with the Chancellor of the Exchequer offering the option of suspension of gold payments at the bank, its governor, Mr. Lidderdale, rejected the Government's suggestion, called to its parlors the London private bankers, read them a lecture on the necessity of meeting panic with courage, and demanded that they should

unite with it in guaranteeing the doubtful assets of the house of Baring. He had his way, as resolute men at such times are apt to have it, and thereby saved the situation from a collapse of credit which otherwise would undoubtedly have reached to the remotest quarters of the world where England maintained credit relations.

In this year's episode the outcome was more fortunate even than in that of 1890; the London banks resumed their ordinary lending operations; and before ten days were over every one, not only in London but in all other markets with which London had to do, was looking at his neighbor in a sort of perplexed surprise to ask what, after all, had happened. The indirect result of these remedial measures was that the strain relaxed, first on the London money market—the rate for private discounts falling in a week from $4\frac{7}{8}$ to $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. — then in such falling of the foreign exchanges that our own rate on London, which was fairly typical, dropped from 4.88, the normal gold export point, to $4.85\frac{1}{2}$ in the middle of September, which was decidedly in favor of this country.

Along with this recovery of confidence came plain intimations that all normal and reasonable drafts on the London market made by first-class houses in anticipation of the harvest movement would be duly honored. The importance of this knowledge lay in the fact that the New York bank reserves had already reached a position where, with relief from London through the taking over of New York credits refused to it, a deficit in reserves must have been encountered before the close of August. As a result, instead of the loan expansion which was normally to have been expected in the absence of such advances by Lombard Street, loans of the Associated Banks, between August 3d and August 31st, decreased \$38,000,000, and in two of the later weeks of August surplus reserves, instead of falling rapidly, as they almost invariably had done at that time of year, increased successively, reaching a figure more than \$2,500,000 above the showing at the opening of August.

It should be carefully observed that this crisis in London and the end of that peculiar strain were closely identical in time with the extreme decline and subsequent recovery on the New York Stock Exchange. It is not improbable that, as the season's market comes to be looked upon in longer retrospect, this London situation will be allotted the more important share in the movement of the season. While, however, this more or less critical situation was developing on the foreign markets Wall Street began to learn of industrial corporations which were in trouble in the credit market. On August 14th the failure of the Pope

**Beginning of
Trade
Embarrassment**

Manufacturing Company, a \$21,000,000 trade combination for the manufacture of bicycles and automobiles, was announced. It was followed by one or two minor suspensions of the sort.

Naturally, this embarrassment of a concern with so much capital led to instant misgivings as to how far the impairment of credit facilities would go. When, however, this particular episode was studied more carefully in the light of well-known facts, it was found that the case was by no means fairly typical. The company in question, whose standing in the field of manufacture was unquestionably high, fell a victim to exceedingly unsound finance. Organized in 1903 out of a combination of other concerns, which themselves had already found it difficult to meet the requirements of their heavy capitalization, the Pope Company capitalized itself with \$21,000,000 stock, of which \$2,390,000 had the claim to "cumulative dividends" at the rate of 6 per cent., and \$8,633,000 to cumulative dividends of 5 per cent. A slight calculation will serve to show that in order to pay even these two dividends, giving nothing on the common stock, \$574,000 annually would be required. But in its very first year of operation, the company's net earnings in excess of manufacturing expenses and interest payments were no more than \$50,993. Not only so, but provision of working capital at the organization of the company had been so completely inadequate that the surplus on the balance sheet in 1906 amounted to only \$23,860. These facts will make it easy for the reader to see exactly how far the failure of this company marked a generally dangerous situation in the field of credit.

As a matter of fact, other disasters of this sort, rumored in August as a sequel to this one insolvency, failed to materialize at the time. To what extent continuance during the present autumn of the present partial blockade of credit will result in further impairment of companies in a vulnerable financial position is perhaps an open question. No such catastrophe of any consequence occurred in the month following the Pope Company episode. A few weeks later, however, the credit situation made itself felt in another direction, which served to cause serious apprehension in quite a different quarter of the market. On August 23d the Southern Railway, which since 1902 had been paying 5 per cent. annual dividends on its preferred stock, voted to reduce those dividends from a 5 per cent. annual rate to one of 3. Five days later, on August 28th, the Erie Railroad, which had been paying 4 per cent. annual dividends on its \$47,000,000 first preferred stock since 1903, and 4 per cent. on its \$16,000,000 second preferred stock since 1905, an-

**Reduction of
Railway
Dividends**

nounced that it would pay no cash dividend this time on either, but would issue, to the amount of the usual 4 per cent. dividend, what it called dividend warrants, which were practically notes at 4 per cent., redeemable in cash in 1917.

It was natural that this action regarding dividends should have awakened much uneasiness, for the sufficiently strong reason that many railways had increased dividend rates last autumn at a time when, though earnings were increasing, prudent finance should have dictated in the existing money market careful husbanding of resources. To predict a similar cutting of dividends by other railway companies would, however, be as unwarranted at this time as prediction of general trouble among manufacturing concerns as a sequel to the Pope Manufacturing failure. The case both of the Southern Railway and the Erie was peculiar. Each had been classed among the financially weaker railways of the country. Both were reorganized from absolute railway wrecks, and in each the new scheme of capitalization was proposed to the markets at a time when recovery from the depression of 1893 had not made such progress as it had achieved when the greater companies, like the Union Pacific, were reorganized. The natural result was that, with both these railways, provisions of working capital and adjustment of liabilities to the possible needs of an active industrial future were inadequately made.

Whether the directors of these companies were justified in paying during the past three years the dividends on which they took their retroactive steps during August is a much-debated question. My personal belief is, that the fixing of such dividends was extremely injudicious. But whatever is to be said regarding that policy in general, there can be no doubt that had dividend payments been postponed for several years beyond the time when they were decided on, the position of the companies at this time would have been vastly different in the credit markets from what it is to-day. As regards their actual situation, this was the state of things: The Southern Railway found itself this past year in a position where, although actual earnings were increasing, expenses were increasing in an even greater ratio, and where, furthermore, the company's poor credit in such a money market as has existed during the present year made necessary unusually large appropriations of cash from income to the improvement of the road. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, the company's gross earnings increased \$3,016,000, but operating expenses increased \$4,926,000, of which increase no less than \$3,441,000 lay in the item known as "cost of conducting transportation," where it recorded in the main necessarily increased wages for its em-

ployees. In addition, fixed charges in the way of interest on its debt had increased \$1,269,000 from the previous year, the result being that the 5 per cent. dividend on the preferred stock had not been earned by \$710,000.

Under such circumstances there was no reasonable recourse for the company except to reduce its dividend. Erie's case was somewhat different. So far as the company's surplus earnings were concerned, it might have paid the 4 per cent. dividend on its two classes of preferred stock, have charged off the usual amount from income for improvements, and still have shown a surplus of \$1,705,000 applicable to dividends. Such a surplus would have been abundantly sufficient to pay the dividend; but, on the other hand, the fact remained that need for improvements on the property was urgent, and that the Erie was unable to borrow in the open money market the necessary capital. Under these conditions the directors adopted the "warrant" or "scrip dividend" expedient, as already described. In the main, this action amounted to paying dividends to preferred shareholders and then exacting from them a forced loan of the same amount at a rate considerably below the market.

There is doubtless something to say on both sides when the propriety of this operation is discussed. Preferred shareholders have very generally contended that this granting to them of a future right to a dividend temporarily surrendered was entirely proper, since under any other circumstances the interests of common shareholders were subserved at the expense of the preferred. In reply to this, it has been contended that, since the Erie's difficulties largely arose from the fact that its credit was not good enough to provide the needed funds in a market such as this, an expedient whereby the company was put still further into debt had little to justify it. As a matter of history, the expedient of scrip dividends has resulted almost invariably in creation of permanent debt. Whatever may be said of this consideration, the conclusion may at all events be fairly made that the case of the Southern and the Erie was peculiar, and that the dividend reductions which were forced on them do not necessarily mean a similar policy by other and stronger corporations.

Of this question of trade reaction I shall speak more at length in a moment; a word must first be said of two other incidents which had much to do with the unsettled market in August, and which played an essential part in the recovery of September. The first of these was the New York City loan. I have heretofore reviewed the experience of New York City early in the year, in its efforts to place loans at the 4 per cent.

rate established in November, 1905, after it was found impracticable to float any more loans at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. under the standing restriction of a minimum price of par. The situation during the

**New
York
City's
Bonds**

present year may be briefly reviewed. When, in the \$30,000,000 offer of city 4 per cents. on February 1st, \$2,489,000 bonds failed to be taken, the New York City Finance Department went to the State legislature, asking that the existing law, which permitted no higher rate than 4 per cent., be altered so as to admit of the naming a higher interest rate. This authority was granted, but it was not at once utilized by the city. The comptroller, reasoning that holders of the older 4 per cents. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. would be injured through the depreciation in their investments which would follow the naming of a higher rate at once for the city bonds, made another effort to place a block of bonds at 4 per cent.

On June 28th, \$29,000,000 fours were offered, of which in the end only \$2,121,840 were taken, the bids for this small part of the loan averaging only an insignificant fraction over par. On August 12th another offer of \$15,000,000 bonds was made—still at the 4 per cent. rate—but of this only \$2,713,485 were applied for, and those bids were only par. In the light of subsequent events, there can be little doubt that the comptroller's office made a mistake in holding so long to the 4 per cent. rate; it will be seen from the sequel that a good deal of trouble and financial misgiving would have been averted had the plunge been taken at the start, as soon as authority was granted by the legislature. However this may be, the city was now confronted with a situation in which an immense number of expensive contracts were falling due for payment against which it had no money on hand to make payment. During the summer a highly injudicious recourse was adopted by the city, which was to sell bonds, as the expression is, "over the counter"—that is to say, to offer them either to small bidders or to contractors flat in payment of their claims.

It appeared that something like \$8,000,000 were taken on such terms as this; but in the meantime the price of outstanding New York City 4 per cents. had fallen to 95, or five points under the price paid at the time of their issue in August and June; so that the proposition to contractors at any rate, who had to use the proceeds to pay debts, virtually amounted to asking them to accept a 5 per cent. discount on the money disbursed to them. It was hardly to be expected that business firms would accept such a proposition with enthusiasm. By the end of August, quiet conferences between the city and the bankers led to the taking of a more resolute position, and on August 26th the announcement was suddenly

made that no less than \$40,000,000 bonds would be offered by the city, bearing the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The reception given to this announcement by the market was different in all respects from what might have been anticipated. Instead of showing alarm and bewilderment over the news that on September 10th so large an amount of new securities would be placed on the market, the news was welcomed as putting an end to a highly disturbing condition. The result of the offering was to dispel all foolish doubts regarding either the city's credit or the money market's inability to provide at a price all the capital needed by sound and deserving borrowers. Bids amounting in number to 960, and in total amount to \$207,000,000, were received on September 10th for the \$40,000,000 offer, and what was still more interesting was the evidence, from the names on the applications, that European capital had played practically no part. On the other hand, the price received did not vary greatly from 102, and although a fortnight later the same bonds sold on the stock exchange at $107\frac{3}{4}$ this had to be considered in the light of the facts that as lately as February, 1906, 4 per cent. bonds were placed by the city in a \$20,000,000 lot at 108, and that in February, 1902, a loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. brought an average price of $107\frac{1}{2}$.

The second matter to which reference is necessary in order that the pending situation may be understood has to do with the crops of 1907. It will be recalled in what precarious situation the American grain crops were left at the time the last article in these pages was concluded. All that seemed certain then was that the American grain crop would be far below the yield of 1906, and that it might be so deficient that even with the expected shortage in the crops of Europe our farmers would not be able to spare sufficient wheat for export to create any very respectable balance on the international market. To sum up briefly what has happened since, it may be said that the utterly abnormal springtime weather, which threatened the growing crops from the middle of April up to the opening of June, was followed, during the three succeeding months, by almost perfect growing weather—as a result of which, the outcome of the harvest is favorable in a degree which four months ago would have seemed inconceivable. While our own crop has so far recovered its lost ground as to promise a yield of wheat not far below the crop of 1903, and very much above the yield of 1904, though still 100,000,000 bushels under the great harvest of 1906, the bad condition of harvests on the European continent be-

The
Crops

came increasingly evident. Estimates published at the close of August showed that in Austria-Hungary the yield would fall 80,000,000 bushels below last year; that Germany's shortage below the yield of 1906 would be 40,000,000 bushels; that of the Danube states nearly 90,000,000 bushels and even England's 10,000,000 bushels. France and Germany alone of the European states were scheduled as producing more in 1907 than in 1906. The total indicated yield of Europe falls off 181,000,000 bushels from the crop of 1906 and falls very much below the yield of any year since 1901. How serious was this shortage in Europe, as compared with the shortage in the United States, may be judged from the following table compiled by the *Liverpool Corn Trade News*. The estimates for the United States in this vary considerably from those current in America, but make much the same comparison with previous years:

	U. S. A. Bushels.	Europe. Bushels.	Whole World. Bushels.
1907.....	584,000,000	1,656,320,000	3,024,320,000
1906.....	664,000,000	1,837,920,000	3,286,720,000
1905.....	608,000,000	1,820,000,000	3,208,560,000
1904.....	496,000,000	1,711,008,000	2,931,328,000
1903.....	568,000,000	1,870,824,000	3,235,864,000

When it is asked exactly how this situation should have affected either prices or export trade reference should be had to another extremely interesting table drawn up at the same time by the *Corn Trade News*, and giving the estimated requirements of importing countries from the wheat crop of this year compared with 1906, and the estimated supplies of exporting countries. The table was as follows, in quarters of eight bushels each:

	REQUIREMENTS.	1907. Quarters.	1906. Quarters.
United Kingdom		27,000,000	26,200,000
France.....		1,800,000	1,800,000
Germany.....		11,000,000	9,000,000
Belgium and Holland.....		8,500,000	8,800,000
Italy.....		5,000,000	5,500,000
Spain and Portugal.....		2,000,000	1,000,000
Scandinavia		2,000,000	2,000,000
Switzerland.....		2,300,000	2,300,000
Greece.....		600,000	600,000
Austria-Hungary.....		1,500,000	.....
Total Continent.....		34,700,000	31,000,000
Total Europe.....		61,700,000	57,200,000
Ex-European countries.....		10,000,000	10,300,000
Grand total.....		71,700,000	67,500,000

SUPPLIES

	1907. Quarters.	1906. Quarters.
United States.....	15,000,000	18,600,000
Canada.....	4,000,000	5,100,000
Russia.....	15,000,000	11,600,000
Balkan States.....	5,000,000	9,600,000
Argentina.....	14,000,000	13,650,000
Australasia.....	4,500,000	3,700,000
India.....	4,000,000	3,700,000
Austria-Hungary.....	.....	700,000
Minor countries.....	1,000,000	1,030,000
Total.....	62,500,000	67,680,000

What will most forcibly strike the readers of these figures is that available supplies on the international market are figured out as falling 9,200,000 quarters, or 73,600,000 bushels, short of the actual needs of importing States. The table above, in its estimate of requirements and supplies for 1906, shows how radical is the difference in the state of things this year as compared with a year ago. The *Corn Trade News* itself remarked on this exhibit that "we cannot trace any former exhibit at all comparable to it." In fact, the world's wheat crop of 1903 showed, by the final estimate, a surplus of 67,000,000 quarters at a time when requirements were only 60,000,000. In some degree, this latter state of things as compared with 1906 has already been reflected in the price of wheat, whose advance in the later summer, after the natural relapse from the exciting springtime speculation, brought our market to a figure 25 cents a bushel above the price of a year ago. The situation, then, at the present moment is apparently that Europe, when the genuine grain-importing period arrives, must bid heavily for the American supplies of wheat, and must pay the American price. That this country would be able, with an apparent hundred-million-bushel decrease from the yield of 1906, to match the export trade of the twelve months following last year's harvest is not to be supposed. But allowance must be very largely made, first, for the difference in total values due to the 25 per cent. increase in the average price, and, second, for the fact, already mentioned in *THE FORUM*, that on March 1st this year supplies of wheat left over in American farmers' hands exceeded all records in our history, reaching the figure of 206,644,000 bushels as compared with 158,403,000 on March 1, 1906, and 111,055,000 at the same date in 1905.

That this changed outlook for the cereal export trade has materially influenced London's attitude on the lending of capital to New York in August and September, in advance of the actual export of the crops,

no doubt whatever can exist. At the same time, estimates on the cotton crop, which at first in the days of the disheartening springtime weather had been thought to promise something much like a harvest failure, worked out to indicate a crop between 12,500,000 and 13,000,000 bales. This would at least approximately cover the spinning world's requirements of American cotton; it would fall far short either of the 13,565,000 bale crop of 1904 or of last year's crop, which, after all the absurd underestimates of the trade and the Government, which named 12,500,000 bales, was finally proved at the end of August to have amounted to 13,500,000. But with cotton, as with wheat, a higher price does much to make up in total values on the export trade. At the opening of September cotton sold at New York for export at $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, when the highest September price was $9\frac{7}{8}$ in 1906 and $11\frac{1}{8}$ in 1905.

To what extent this singular situation in the crops will affect financial developments such as were feared a few months earlier, is as yet a matter of conjecture; the consideration which still, after all the vicissitudes of the Stock Exchange are allowed for, stands first in the calculations of Wall Street and of the financial public generally, is the question of trade reaction. Throughout the past three months it has been insisted by practically all experts in the financial markets, both of this country and of Europe, that nothing short of decided relaxation in the demands of trade on capital could bring a solution of the strained situation. Reaction in trade was not only predicted in such quarters during the summer, but was watched for anxiously. Even people who feared the result of such a backward movement on ambitious traders and over-capitalized corporations nevertheless expressed the hope that the reactive movement would come soon.

To an extent it has come. Prices of commodities, notably in the metal trade, have relaxed perceptibly. At the opening of September the price of iron was \$5.50 per ton lower than at the earlier high level of the year, a decline of 21 per cent.; tin had declined in almost equal measure, and copper, on which for various reasons special attention had been converged, had experienced something like a collapse of price. Earlier in the year, the great copper producing companies of America had fixed a price of 26 cents per pound and were holding out for it. How extravagantly high this price was as compared with other years may be judged from the fact that the "pegged price" fixed by the Amalgamated Copper in 1901, as a result of which occurred the celebrated "crash" in the copper market of that autumn, was only 17 cents.

As to
Trade
Reaction

Yet 17 cents was at that time pronounced exorbitant and unreasonable by the consuming community and by all competent critics. During the strain on the markets in the first half of this year the price of copper on the London market broke with considerable violence and quotations on the New York Metal Exchange were also substantially below the 26 cent level of the producers. Nevertheless, no change in the producers' policy was made, and, in fact, the official heads of the large producing companies answered all protests or queries by reference to the fact that supplies in the hands of consumers were small, trade requirements unquestionably large, and actual demand sufficient to ensure the retention of the price. Most of them echoed the public statement made in July by Mr. H. H. Rogers, president of the Amalgamated Copper Company, that "I don't know why the price of copper should change—certainly not for lower values."

What all these experts overlooked was the fact that demand and supply are relative, and that trade requirements, which are imperative at a time of easy money and abundant supply of capital, may be postponed or cancelled entirely, sometimes of necessity, when such a situation changes. The situation had already changed, and hardly a day after Mr. Rogers's interview the large producing companies had to bow to the inevitable, reducing their price at one stroke to 20 cents a pound. A few more weeks proved this reduction to be inadequate, and in the first week of September a further cut to 18 cents was made, followed by successive cuts which brought the price, in the last weeks of September, down to the neighborhood of 15 cents. Even this cut failed to attract the buyers; at the present writing demand has hardly been stimulated at the lower level, one of the largest producing companies has already reduced its quarterly dividend, and some of the largest producers are planning a 50 per cent. reduction of output. If from these surveys of individual prices one glances at the general movement in values of commodities, an interesting survey is given by the London *Economist* monthly index number of commercial prices heretofore quoted in these articles. This is a monthly record for the present year to date, showing infallibly when the turn came in the general range of prices and in the cost of living:

September 1.....	2,519	April 1.....	2,516
August 1.....	2,571	March 1.....	2,521
July 1.....	2,594	February 1.....	2,494
June 1.....	2,601	January 1.....	2,499
May 1.....	2,549	December 1, 1906.....	2,501

How much further this shrinkage is to go, depends on the general

movement of trade, and on the extent to which the accruing increment of capital will overtake demand. Certainly it must be admitted that, when capital is hard for borrowers to obtain, consumers in all great industries will be more cautious in making plans, and producers more reluctant in holding back supplies from market. Pursuit of either policy must involve the men adopting it in large applications to the money market which they would naturally avoid at times like this; yet if each course of action were to be abandoned—if producers were to sell freely and consumers to buy sparingly—prices of course must suffer. As to the broader aspects of this question of supply and demand in the feeling for investment capital, I have already stated in a previous number the principles controlling it. This article may properly be closed by citing a very notable review of this phase of the situation published in July, from the pen of the eminent French economist, M. Leroy-Beaulieu. Reckoning that the United States is planning to spend in a year for its financial and industrial undertakings \$2,000,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000, to be raised from the general markets, he continues:

Probably the annually accruing capital of the United States does not reach one-third of this sum. It was therefore necessary to find the remainder—seven to eight thousand million francs—on foreign markets. But the outside world itself is far from having any such sum of ready capital to dispose of.

Not only so, but almost all the nations are finding need at home for the full amount of their annual savings. Germany absorbs all its own capital, and runs short at that; the same is true of Austria, Russia, Italy, and Spain. So also of the Scandinavian states. Only four countries, the oldest reservoirs of capital in the modern world, are to-day in a position to export it—England, France, Belgium, and Holland. And even of these, England's capacity for providing surplus capital has been greatly reduced since the South African War, and what still can be spared goes largely to the British colonies.

In short, the growing industrial states, particularly the new countries, are at this moment demanding more capital than the whole world has accumulated recently, or is accumulating to-day. From this fact follow two consequences: first, that the users of this capital have to pay more for it, in the shape of a higher interest rate; second, that they will be compelled to postpone or extend for several years many enterprises on which they had decided and for which they had already made preparations.

Under these conditions there has been inevitably some check to the marvellous expansion of industry which has been going on for two years past. Markets, industrial and financial, must in a measure reduce their scale of prices, and in some proportion the price of raw material must come down.

But he concludes with a note of optimism:

The existing situation in the financial markets offers to capitalists and investors generally the opportunity—of which they have been deprived for nearly twenty years—of obtaining a suitable return on their invested capital.

Alexander D. Noyes.

APPLIED SCIENCE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POWER AS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT

BY HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE

IN endeavoring to find some wholly characteristic difference between man and the lower animals, various features have been considered.

**Power not
Produced
by the
Lower
Animals**

Among these a recent writer has emphasized the point that man alone has achieved the feat of the artificial production of power. It is an admitted fact that certain of the higher apes have been known to apply the lever, in the form of the branch of a tree or the trunk of a sapling, to the impression of a force greater than was possible by unaided muscular effort, but the nearest approach which an animal appears to have made to the control of a source of power in Nature seems to be that of the beaver in the building of a dam to raise the level of the water in a stream, and thus form a sort of mill-pond. Here, however, the beaver stops short, and with the obtaining of an artificial head of water he makes no attempt to utilize it except as a place by which to build his huts.

Doubtless the first attempts of man to accomplish tasks too great for individual effort were directed to the combination of the strength of

**Animal Power
First
Employed by
Man**

assembled numbers of men, and the inscriptions of past undertakings, so far as they have been preserved, show the great extent to which human labor was thus applied in Assyria, Egypt, India and elsewhere. To-day in China such methods are still used, and ingenious devices for equalizing the distribution of effort show themselves to be the outcome of long experience with the management of great numbers of laborers and slaves.

Following closely upon the employment of men as machines, comes the more or less scientific use of animal power, principally for transportation and for traction, or sometimes, as in the case of the use of the elephant in India, for the handling of materials. The closeness which still exists between the general notion of power and of animal effort appears in the fact that until very recently the term "horse-power"

was about the only one generally understood as a unit of power measurement, and it is yet the expression most generally used, even for such anomalous applications as the evaporative capacity of a steam boiler or the motive power of a dirigible balloon. With all the development of artificial sources of energy, animal power continues to hold its own for certain purposes, especially where low cost is essential. In spite of the perfection of mechanical appliances for canal traction, there has not yet been produced an appliance which can compete with animal haulage on the inland waterway, so far as cheapness is concerned.

Probably next to animal power the energy of the wind was first systematically controlled by man, its obvious use for the propulsion of vessels naturally following upon the earliest beginnings of navigation. From the sail on a boat to the sail on a windmill seems a brief step, although, like many obvious things, it was long years in being perceived. Again, because of its cheapness and simplicity the windmill is still employed in a limited way, but remains principally a survival in a world of new methods of power manufacture.

Wind,
Water, and
Steam
Power

The development of artificial power from the energy contained in flowing and falling water seems to have taken a course almost the reverse of that which might have been supposed. For long centuries the use of manual labor, animal labor, wind power had been directed to the elevation of water. The *shadoof* on the Nile, the chain of gourds or buckets used in China to-day, as it was in earliest times, these and all the following devices for lifting water from streams, wells and springs were known long before any attempt was made to reverse the process and obtain artificial power from falling water.

The lack of methods of power transmission limited the use of water power to sources conveniently situated with respect to the work to be done, and until the last few years this prevented some of the most extensive natural falls of water from being developed. In the meantime, however, one of the greatest transformations in the relations of man to his surroundings occurring within historical periods took place, the development of the manufacture of power by the means of heat.

It is difficult, in the light of our modern surroundings, to realize the conditions of life in which practically all the power available was that obtainable from the muscular effort of men and of animals, and yet such was the actual state of affairs for by far the greater portion of mankind a little more than one hundred years ago. The enormous difference between those days and the present is realized to a far lesser degree than

would be the case could we be transferred back a hundred years, or could an educated man of a hundred years ago be placed in our midst to-day. Even in comparatively unimportant matters it is exceedingly difficult for a man to consider a subject in the light of the knowledge and surroundings of twenty-five or thirty years ago, and it is almost impossible to grasp clearly at the present moment the actual conditions of a life in which little or no artificial power was available.

Lack of transportation facilities rendered communities isolated and provincial in manners, occupations and habits of thought. Lack of power caused manufacturing to be in fact what the etymology of the word indicates, the making of practically everything by hand. The windmill and the water wheel were used, it is true, to grind the wheat which manual effort could hardly prepare; and in low countries, as to-day, the power of the wind pumped water from the drainage sumps of meadows by the sea. Beyond this, however, all work was done by the main strength of horse and ox and man. Transport was by coach, wagon, or canal, and even this latter method was limited and infrequent. Iron was made only from the richest ores, in the most primitive manner, by hand labor and in small quantities, while steel was produced only as a special product of much value for edge tools and similar purposes.

When, after much difficulty, the expansive action of steam under the influence of heat was controlled by Newcomen, Smeaton, and Watt, the first purpose to which the newly invented "fire-engine" was applied was the drainage of mines by direct connection to the pumps, and a number of years elapsed before the steam engine was arranged to produce rotative motion, adapted to the driving of machinery.

In fact, until such a source of motive power was made available there was little machinery to drive, but soon the devices for performing work began to multiply in the face of means for their operation.

Power-Driven Machinery

The commercial supremacy of Great Britain dates practically from the development within her borders of the art of manufacturing power from the coal deposits with which she was so richly endowed, and it has only been by following in her paths that the industries of Germany, Belgium and the United States have reached their present magnitude.

Although the manufacture of power from the combustion of coal has really been in active operation for little more than a century, the limitations of this source of power-production are already beginning to be seen. There is no new coal being produced; and in spite of the economies which have been effected in its conversion from potential into actual

energy, the store which Nature has provided is being consumed at a continually increasing rate. Other natural fuels are being exploited at a like rate. Petroleum and its derivatives can be used only with the certainty that the continually decreasing supply will mean a continually increasing cost. Natural gas has already passed the days of plenteousness which led to reckless extravagance. The natural accumulations of the past cannot last more than a few centuries, and must be replaced by other sources of power.

**Consumption of
Natural
Stores of
Energy**

It has been observed by many scientists that all sources of energy on the earth may be ultimately referred to the action of the sun. To the sun, then, we must look for the supply of power for the future. As the coal supply of the present represents vegetable growths of the past, it is not impossible that new fuel may be grown, and indeed this is already becoming practicable. The recent development of methods for manufacturing and utilizing alcohol from a variety of vegetable wastes must lead to the use of this form of liquid fuel, and while the extent to which this may be found applicable is yet problematical, at least it involves the sound principle of the development of a fuel supply which is renewable yearly and is not abstracted from an ancient and continually diminishing store.

**Renewable
Sources of
Power**

Water power has always been a source of energy derived from present and continuous transformations, and the elevation of water from lower levels to higher by the daily processes of evaporation and precipitation represents the conversion of enormous quantities of active solar energy into available mechanical power.

During the past decade an enormous impetus has been given to the development of natural sources of hydraulic power by the application of electric transmission systems to their utilization. The ability to deliver electrical energy over wide areas for utilization in manufacturing industries has caused a revival in the development of the power of falling water to an extent not otherwise possible. With the first successful utilization of Niagara power, and its delivery to many tributary industrial centres, there has grown up a department for the manufacture of power which takes the water supply wherever found and delivers its energy where it can be utilized.

**Hydro-Electric
Power
Development**

The great waterfalls naturally occur first to the mind when such methods of development are considered, and the exploitation of Niagara

is followed by plans for the utilization of such cataracts as the falls of the Zambesi, in South Africa, and of Iguazu, in Brazil. There are hundreds of minor falls, however, in all parts of the world capable of development, in addition to those already partially utilized. It is estimated that there is now developed by hydro-electric stations in the United States energy equal to three-quarters of a million horse-power, while in Canada there is one-third of a million and in Switzerland one-quarter of a million horse-power already utilized. France has also harnessed as much as Switzerland, while Great Britain has thus far utilized only about 15,000 horse-power.

These figures, however, represent for the most part the development of natural waterfalls. The actual manufacture of hydraulic power is proceeding on an altogether broader plan in many places. Instead of depending upon the formation of natural cataracts, or of convenient locations where marked differences of level are not far separated, the whole question of the regulation and conservation of water flow is included in the power problem. One of the essentials of a satisfactory water power is that it shall be as free as possible from marked fluctuations. This consideration, however, is also greatly to be desired for other reasons. The conversion of a torrential stream into a well-regulated watercourse prevents the scouring away of the bed and the erosion of fertile soil; it benefits agriculture, and it aids and reacts upon the efforts which are made for forest protection.

The construction of storage reservoirs for power development, therefore, enters into the development of the natural resources of a country in more ways than one, and, unlike methods for the manufacture of power from the combustion of coal and the destruction of a store of past energy, represents the conservation of the present supply of power.

In Germany much excellent work has been done in this direction as a consequence of efforts of the late Professor Intze, whose talents in the judicious regulation and control of watersheds amounted to genius. The works planned by him and executed under his direction in Westphalia and in the Rhine provinces are represented by 16 large reservoirs, available both for water supply and for stream regulation. Of these, the Urft Valley reservoir enables the development of 5,000 horse-power, while the Möhne Valley station represents 2,000 horse-power. These represent what is being accomplished in many parts of Europe, not by the harnessing of important existing waterfalls, but by the scientific development of regulating works on moderate watersheds, in which the

control of the flow is in itself a valuable improvement apart from the power development.

A more notable example of the development of hydro-electric power as an adjunct to a broader problem of water control appears in the plant already forming a portion of the Chicago Drainage Canal. In diverting the flow of the Chicago River from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi there has been developed an effective fall of 34 feet, with a sufficient volume of water to permit the production of about 40,000 horse-power. One-half of this is already converted into electrical energy, and made available for delivery from Lockport, the site of the power station, to Chicago, and the full amount of power will ultimately be utilized. Here the manufacture of power is associated not with the destruction of stored energy of past ages, but with the utilization of a continually renewed source of power, in connection with its diversion to the still wider use of the drainage of the sanitary district.

By far the greater portion of the power manufactured at the present time is developed from the combustion of coal, and of this, again, the greatest part is produced from steam engines and boilers. It is estimated that at the present time there is nearly 15,000,000 horse-power developed in the United States, of which more than 10,000,000 horse-power is produced by the burning of coal, about 100,000,000 tons being consumed in the operation.

Combustion Motors

About 300,000 horse-power, it is estimated, is derived from gas engines, or, as they are better termed, internal-combustion engines, and yet there is no doubt whatever that the internal-combustion engine, burning the gaseous fuel directly in the power cylinder, requires but one-half as much coal per horse-power as the steam engine.

There is at the present time a rapidly growing interest in the development of the combustion engine, and it is probable that in many power plants to be erected in the near future the steam boiler and engine will be replaced by the gas producer and combustion engine. This is the more probable since the structural and operative difficulties encountered in the early attempts to make large gas engines have been practically overcome, and gas engines in units as large as 3,000 horse-power are successfully built and operated. Apart from the fact that the gas engine uses the heat twice as efficiently as the steam engine in the conversion of the latent energy of the fuel into useful work, it has also the still greater advantage of offering the possibility of utilizing fuels of low grade unsuited for use in the boiler furnace.

Thus there are numerous coals containing such a large proportion of ash that they cannot be burned to advantage under a steam boiler and yet are well adapted to the manufacture of fuel gas in the gas producer, and thus well adapted for power generation with the gas engine. In like manner the so-called lignites or brown coals, of which large deposits exist in the western part of the United States and in Germany, become available for the manufacture of power. It is also found that peat, notwithstanding the large proportion of moisture which it contains, makes an excellent fuel for the gas producer.

**Gas Power
from
Low-Grade
Fuels**

Until comparatively recently it was assumed very generally that the gas engine was a small, rather noisy machine, suited for small workshops, printing offices and the like, but that it could become a rival to the steam engine was not for a moment considered.

**The Large
Gas
Engine**

At the Paris Exposition of 1900 there was shown a gas engine of 1,000 horse-power, built by the famous Cockerill Works at Liège, and arranged for driving a blast-furnace blowing engine. Before the close of the exposition that engine bore a placard stating that it had been sold nearly one hundred times over. Since then the large gas engine has made rapid development, as to-day single units as large as 3,000 horse-power are regularly built, and in Germany, especially, the large gas engine has become an important industrial product.

An important element in the development of the large gas engine is found in the discovery, originally due to Mr. B. H. Thwaite, that the waste gases emitted from the ordinary blast furnace in the course of the manufacture of pig iron formed an excellent fuel for the gas engine. All that is necessary is to pass the gas through some form of cleaning apparatus, such as a spray of water, or a tower filled with wetted coke or pumice, to remove the fine dust with which it is charged, and the gas may be delivered directly to the cylinders of the gas engine and there converted into power. It has been shown that for every ton of pig iron produced in a modern blast furnace there is generated sufficient gas to develop 700 horse-power-hours, and that a furnace producing 10 tons per hour, or 240 tons per day, is also capable of furnishing 7,000 horse-power after the necessary gas to heat the blast has been deducted.

**Power from
Waste
Furnace
Gases**

As this is more than double the amount of power required for the operation of the blowing engines and other machinery used in connection with the furnace, there is here a source for a large supply of power for other uses, and by the aid of electric transmission it becomes possible to make all large iron-producing plants centres from which power may be distributed.

The development of this method for the manufacture of power has been retarded for reasons which, although not directly mechanical, may be mentioned here because they bear directly upon all plans for the development of power as a by-product of other industrial operations. The distribution and sale of power forms an important and peculiar business by itself. In some respects it resembles the supply of water or of illuminating gas, and it is for such reasons that it has been sometimes considered as especially adapted for municipal control or ownership. It involves dealings with many customers of different kinds, and when once started on the service must be maintained without interruption and with a minimum of irregularity.

The Commercial Exploitation of Power

Under such conditions the power supply becomes a rather onerous department of a business primarily devoted to some other purpose, and few iron manufacturers are willing to enter into the utilization of a by-product of their main business when they realize that it involves them in the undertaking of a new and intricate business from which it may be difficult to escape should it prove undesirable. The solution of this part of the problem appears to lie in the adoption of methods which have been found successful in connection with the development of great hydro-electric power centres; that is, to place the distribution and sale of the power in the hands of an auxiliary organization devoted entirely to the purpose. There is little difficulty in maintaining a sufficient supply of gas of an approximately uniform quality from blast furnaces when there are a number of furnaces in operation, since the discharge from the various furnaces may be mixed and cleaned and controlled in such a manner that no serious interruption to the operation of the engines using the supply need be feared. The true method of developing this important source of power appears to lie, then, in the organization of a power company, independently of the iron works, this company taking all the waste gases from the iron works and assuming itself the responsibility of the power house with its gas engines, dynamos and electric distribution system, and handling the sale of the power on its own account.

Another source of gas power which as yet has not been developed, but is awaiting exploitation, appears in the enormous quantities of waste slack coal and culm which have accumulated about the coal mines. Much of this material is suitable for the manufacture of power gas adapted for use in gas engines, but it cannot be placed upon the market at a price which warrants its use. The great difficulty in all the plans which have been proposed to convert this material into a marketable fuel has been the question of transportation, or rather of transportation costs. Artificial fuels made from coal dust are generally more friable than the original coal lumps, and the cost of transportation in any case becomes the controlling element in the cost of power made directly from such fuel. I referred, however, in the last issue of THE FORUM to a method for the utilization of such low-grade fuels by their conversion into fuel-gas at the mines, the gas itself being delivered through pipe lines by pumping to the manufacturing centres where it can be utilized for power manufacture. That gas can be so pumped over long distances at a moderate cost has already been demonstrated by the successful operation of pipe lines for the transportation of natural gas. A similar system can undoubtedly be applied to the delivery of produced gas from the mines to the cities, and by a simple arrangement of relay pumping stations, the pumps being operated by gas engines taking their supply from the mains, the pressure in the pipe line need not be high.

There is then an ample supply of fuel gas at the present time available for the manufacturing centres of the United States, England and Germany, only awaiting proper organization and equipment to make it ready for service. Experience has shown, however, that there are certain features about the development of gas power which demand especial attention in order that the full advantages of the method may be realized.

When the gas engine was first introduced it was in small units and very often for work of an intermittent nature. As such engines were nearly always operated with the illuminating gas of the regular city supply, the cost of the fuel was high, and the real thermal efficiency of the machine did not enable it to be offered as a cheap source of power. One of the principal advantages which it afforded was the production of power without requiring the attendance of a skilled engineer, and with-

out the expense of a boiler and a fireman. With the development of the large gas engine conditions have changed somewhat. The high thermal efficiency of the machine is its chief claim to consideration, and in order to obtain the very best results it is essential that the engine should be designed for the work which it is to perform, and that it be placed in the hands of skilled operators, thoroughly familiar with its peculiar requirements.

The steam engine has been in use long enough to have acquired a reputation for extreme reliability, and there is no doubt that it is this feature of assured confidence in its reliable operation which has enabled the steam engine to hold its own commercially so well against the gas engine. When reliability is once assured there is little doubt that the fuel economy of the gas engine, representing at least one-half the consumption of coal over that required by the steam engine for the same power development, will cause gas power to assume its proper position.

This element of reliability can doubtless be best secured by devoting especial care to the design and construction of the gas engine in large units, such engines being installed in central power houses where they can receive continual supervision by skilled attendants, the power thus developed being distributed electrically to the various manufacturing establishments where it is to be applied. Under such conditions, using gas derived either from the cheapest forms of fuel, gasified at the mines and piped to the power house, or as a by-product from metallurgical furnaces, coke ovens or the like, the full economy of the internal-combustion engine may be secured with as high a degree of reliability as is possible with the best modern steam engines consuming twice the amount of fuel.

Although reference has been made to the construction of large power plants, both steam and hydraulic, it is of interest to note that with very few exceptions the largest power plants in active operation to-day are to be found not ashore, but afloat, in the holds of the great transatlantic liners. With the exception of the great hydraulic plants at Niagara Falls, on the American and the Canadian sides, there are few stationary plants which equal those on such vessels as the later German and British steamers. Thus the *Lusitania*, already in service, and the sister ship, the *Mauretania*, contain power plants which, at the full speed of 25 knots, will develop about 70,000 horse-power, and this not at the "peak" of a load, but continuously for several days, twenty-four hours a day. This is the latest example, but ocean steamers containing from 20,000 to 40,000 horse-power of steam engines and boilers are now suffi-

Marine Power

ciently common to attract less attention than a plant of similar capacity in a stationary power house.

In such plants both economy and reliability are essential. The early predictions, when transatlantic steam navigation was first attempted, that it would be commercially unprofitable because of the large proportion of the capacity of the vessel required for coal storage, were based on the coal consumption of the steam engines of that day. Since then the consumption of fuel has been reduced from 6 or 7 pounds per horsepower per hour to 2 pounds or less, and there is little doubt that much of the improvement in the performance of the modern steam engine is due to the efforts to reduce the coal consumption of steamships. Such a reduction was absolutely necessary to permit of the increased powering required to attain the high sea speeds demanded at the present time. It must be remembered that, all other conditions being equal, the power required to drive a ship through the water increases with the *cube* of the speed. This means that to double the speed of a vessel the power must be increased eight-fold, while to multiply the velocity three times would take twenty-seven times the power. Under such conditions the immense importance of fuel economy at sea will be understood, and even with the present high efficiency of marine engines there is little room left for cargo after machinery, coal bunkers and passengers have been provided for.

In view of what has been said about the necessity for fuel economy on shipboard, it will readily be seen that any wholly satisfactory application of the internal-combustion engine to marine service should be most acceptable. A machine which would cut the coal consumption in two, or double the steaming radius for the same coal supply would enable either higher speeds or more profitable voyages to be undertaken, and as a matter of fact, plans have already been made to adapt the gas producer and the gas engine to marine service.

So far as the fuel economy goes the gas engine has already demonstrated its desirability, but there are other points to be considered. At the present time the speed control of the gas engine lacks the flexibility required in the management of a ship, and in the important requirement of prompt reversal in case of emergency the gas engine is lacking. This last defect is also shared by the steam turbine, and it has only been by the introduction of special reversing turbines that the steam turbine itself has been made available for sea service.

Among the attempts to apply the gas engine to the especial requirements of marine service may be mentioned the interposition of electric

**Gas
Engines on
Shipboard**

transmission between the engines and the propellers. In such a plan the gas engine runs continuously in one direction, at a uniform speed, driving an electric generator, exactly as in a stationary power house. The electric current is then used to drive electric motors, one motor being attached to each propeller shaft, these motors being capable of speed control, reversal and prompt management, by the use of the well-known devices of the electric controller and switchboard. Since the controlling apparatus may be placed at any distant point from the engines or motors, such a system has the immense advantage of bringing the actual handling of the vessel directly to the bridge without requiring any intermediate responsibility. Unfortunately the losses involved in the double transformation between engine, dynamo, motor and propeller are such as to subtract very materially from the high thermal efficiency of the gas-power plant, and hence this plan is not an entire solution of the question.

In the course of the development of the manufacture of power it has become apparent that in this direction some profound modifications of the social order may have their origin. It was seen that in the control of the forces of nature to his personal service there appears one of the most marked differences between man and the lower animals. In like manner as the manufacture of power is extended in scope and in degree it will differentiate between the higher and the lower elements in mankind. Already some of the most laborious operations ever undertaken by man or animals, in the lifting of great weights, in the pumping of water, in the digging of the earth and the like, have almost totally disappeared, to be replaced by the work of power-driven machinery. The whole tendency of the development of power is toward the elevation of the human race, toward the distribution of the necessities and even the luxuries of life, and toward the diminution of poverty and misery.

It is told that when George III. visited the steam-engine works of Boulton and Watt, at Soho, the king was received and greeted by Boulton with the remark: "Your Majesty, we produce here what all monarchs desire to have: Power!"

Boulton realized, in part at least, that the power which the newly developed steam engine was able to produce represented the power which was capable of transforming the social and industrial order of Great Britain, and which we now see is destined to bring about still greater changes in all parts of the world.

Henry Harrison Suplee.

**Social
Influences of the
Manufacture of
Power**

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

HOW TEACHERS SPEND THE SUMMER AND THE REWARDS THEY RECEIVE

BY OSSIAN H. LANG

"Short Hours"

AN argument constantly drawn into requisition to help defeat efforts to place the pay of teachers on a more equitable basis is that the work-day is short, and that teachers have free Saturdays and a long summer vacation. It is well to have in mind that the schools are maintained for the education of the young, and not to keep a half million people busy at teaching. The young folks go to school for certain purposes. After a specified number of hours, representing the maximum of time and strength deemed advisable for them to give to these purposes each day, they return to their homes. The teacher's work-day is thus measured by the needs of the pupils. The frugal taxpayer may now ask himself if the teacher to whom he pays a salary ought not to give to the performance of other necessary work in the community enough of his out-of-school hours to make the work-day as long as that of the street-cleaner who gets about the same pay. Of course, he must consider whether the teacher will be able to give the necessary amount of strength to schoolroom duties if additional tasks are imposed upon him. In other words, the basal question from which to proceed is, What demands does the school make upon the time and the strength of the teacher?

The Scope of Teaching

Teaching includes instructing, governing, and a great many other things. The work differs from that of an expert foreman in that the teacher has to deal wholly with learners of varying degrees of capacity, and is expected to accomplish certain definite minimum results with every one of them. He deals with thirty, forty, fifty, and more apprentices at a time. Among them is always a considerable percentage which sees no relation between present tasks and future happiness, and is accordingly reluctant to do the work at hand, fairly assured that upon the teacher will fall the blame for whatever remains undone. The teacher is also an executive, but he differs from business executives

in that his sympathy is constantly drawn upon. He must look after the health and comfort of his pupils. He must keep moral influences in control, he must instruct, and he must satisfy his various superiors, of whom there are many.

Teaching is a constant giving of vitality. The strain of it is comparable only to that of an actor or a singer before a critical audience.

Exact- ing Duties

To be sure, there may be actors and singers who perform for eight hours a day, from Monday to Saturday inclusive, but they are not the kind that the public cares to hear. Just so there are teachers who take up evening-school, Sunday-school and vacation-school duties, in addition to their regular work. This is the pace that kills the efficient ones. They exhaust their reserve fund of vitality in order to raise their regular pay to a living basis by the addition of these extra earnings. There are some, of course, upon whom the daily tasks weigh so lightly that they can turn them off without more expenditure of nerve force than is required in any mechanical labor. They are the drudges whose presence testifies to the inadequacy of the remuneration of teachers. If the rewards were what they should be these would not be needed to help fill vacancies. There would be really competent people enough to take their places.

Teaching is exhaustive work. The comparison with the actor is *à propos*, only we have to think of an actor with a repertoire of about two hundred plays, which plays are constantly being readjusted and improved. Thoughtful people and those who have tried their hand at amateur theatricals know full well that the stage appearance is not the sum total of the actor's work, though it is the most trying ordeal of the day. The teacher has his daily preparation to make, he must take stock of each day's results, he must by reflection and visits improve his understanding of his individual pupils, he must rest to replenish his stores of vitality, and must do many things besides to keep himself efficient, not to speak of chores imposed by the less exalted considerations of keeping solid with the powers that control the job. The latter point is by no means a minor one. It places the teacher on a level with the average clergyman, whose labors for the kingdom of God must be circumscribed by thoughts of the good-will of the trustees. He shares with the clergyman, too, the uncertainty of valuation which his critics, official and otherwise, may place upon his work. Not even the simple methods elaborated by Dr. J. M. Rice for estimating results in the measurable portions of the teacher's labors are as widely applied as their reasonable-

ness might suggest. The opinions of the school principal, the superintendent, the trustees, of the parents, yes, and of the children, form the usual standard of estimate. The only thing for the teacher to do under the circumstances is to be guided by the light of the best professional experience, and to cultivate tact in his dealings with everybody. This adds to the list of out-of-school duties the reading of professional periodicals and books, as well as visits to other schools, conferences with other teachers, participation in educational meetings.

But there is the long summer vacation. That vacation has brought upon the teachers the envy of many. If these but knew the real meaning of it! Summer is the time of educational conventions and of schools where teachers resort, to come in contact with the leaders of their profession, and with the new ideas and new inspirations that are to sustain them through the year ahead. Others travel, and the broadening of view, the better understanding of the world and the people in it and other gains all redound to the benefit of the schools. That is what the teachers believe the vacation is for—to do the things that will advance them. Unfortunately they cannot all devote themselves to this laudable object. The great majority have no money to spend in the summer time, and many must take up other pursuits to bridge over the two months between pay days.

The Vacation

I made inquiry this year to find how teachers spend the long vacation, and this is what I learned: Comparatively few of the thousands who are paid only while school keeps have any money to invest in recreation and self-improvement. The penniless ones either live with their folks or try to earn their way by labor of various kinds. A very large number teach, that being the thing they can do best. Summer schools, vacation colonies, and similar institutions must have teachers. Then there are those who want to prepare for high school or college-entrance examinations, or who require coaching for other objects, and this gives other thousands something to earn. Those with mercantile instincts may find occupation in shops or go out as canvassers for bluing, stereoscopes, or “Mother, Home, and Heaven.”

“Vacation” Labors

The men, of whom there are few, occasionally act as agents for school-book companies. For this work, however, only the influential ones are suitable, or those who have other special qualifications. Not a few in the poorer sections of the country become farm laborers, or act as street-

car conductors, motor-men, overseers, teamsters, barbers, clerks, or migratory photographers. In fact, the list includes almost every kind of service for which a demand exists or can be created in summer time.

The women also do not hesitate to do whatever their hands find to do. Many of those who want to have the benefits of the seaside or the mountains find employment in hotels or restaurants. Not a few of the Frank Harvey dining-room waitresses have a good school-teaching record behind them. Among the stewards on river, lake and ocean steamers are to be found teachers. About the only way in which the miserably paid teachers can ever get to Europe, or wherever else people of culture may want to go some time, is by hiring out as traveling-companion, tutor, maid, or feeder on board of a cattleship. An analysis of these peculiar facts cannot be very complimentary to the people who fix the salaries of teachers. The men and women to whom is intrusted the transmission of culture and other of the highest achievements of humanity from one age to another must eke out a precarious livelihood by adding to their official income other earnings from sources more or less remote from the things that tend to increase their professional efficiency!

The great majority of people who teach do so because they love the work. In spite of the smallness of pay and the thousand and one humiliations and annoyances incident to this particular kind of public service, they would rather teach than do anything else. The missionary spirit, the teaching instinct, the love of children, the desire to help others, the faith that through the education of the young they are helping to make the world brighter and sweeter—these are the real stimuli that supply our schools with good teachers. The “short hours” and “long vacations,” like the pictorial posters with which the federal Government advertises the attractions of the army and navy service, have sore disappointment in store for the poor recruits; they are not what they are painted.

And the pay? Teachers, as a rule, do not say much about it. There is not much to be said about it. The rank and file are miserably paid. The main reason for this discreditable state of affairs is that the people are not informed concerning the facts in the case. They do not realize, in other words, what demands are made upon teachers of the present day. Most teachers have not only themselves to take care of, but contribute also to the support of dependent relatives. Under our changed economic conditions men are excluded from wage-earning pursuits at an earlier

age than formerly. The number of dependent parents has grown to large proportions. The care of them has fallen largely upon the children. To what extent the burden has fallen to the lot of the daughters I am not prepared to state. But I do know that there are few women teachers who are free from family responsibilities which consume a portion of their earnings. Two or three typical examples will make the point clear.

Financial Demands

One of the best salaried women is the principal of an Eastern training school for teachers. She receives something like \$2,500 a year. In the fifteen years I have known her there never was a time when she did not carry on some university work for self-improvement and to keep abreast of the times in pedagogical sociology and psychology. She subscribes to the most helpful periodicals and spends a portion of every vacation at a summer school. She dresses well, as becomes her office, and pays the ordinary taxes which social life exacts of cultured women. She has supported her widowed mother almost from the day when she began to teach and has borne the expense of the education of her younger sisters. In her school are many poor pupils who have received substantial aid from her. And this is the type of the noble woman teacher, of whom there are thousands in the common school service.

A young woman of twenty-two became supervisor of music in a Western city at a salary of \$900. She had drawn only one monthly check when her father lost his position, and, in spite of every endeavor, could find no permanent employment because of aged appearance and feeble health. The daughter reduced her personal expenses to the lowest possible point and contributed the balance of her money to the support of the family. She felt compelled to look for a better salaried place in the East, near the home of her parents. The \$1,100 she was paid shrank considerably under the increased demands the new office made upon her purse. She undertook evening-school and vacation-school work to supply her family with the necessities of life. The strain proved too much for her young life. She, too, is a type.

A teacher in a city school receives \$400 a year. A widowed mother and two small sisters are dependent upon her for support. After school hours she has private pupils. The intelligence, energy, pluck, and resourcefulness of this teacher would bring her \$20 a week in a commercial line. But she wants to teach. And so she tries to earn enough by outside work to enable her to stay in the common school service. The city that pays her \$400 gives the janitor of the school \$1,200. But he has a wife and two children to support.

Now consider that there are not a few who receive only \$300 or less a year, and these, too, have calls for financial aid. Yet the teacher who is worried about the daily bread cannot possibly give the best strength to the work. In no other occupation is the drain upon the vital forces so constant. Irritability has serious effects upon the developing characters of the pupils. An atmosphere of cheerful serenity is the most favorable condition for the education of the young, and that is naturally dependent upon the personality of the teacher. Worry is conducive neither to cheerfulness nor serenity. The communities that keep their teachers poor are depriving their own children of a most valuable part of education. The children pay for the worry.

**Who Pays
for the
Worry?**

It costs money to keep in touch with the progress of the world. A person of cultivation has many necessary expenses that others manage to do without. The very office of the teacher makes certain special demands that involve expense which are not required of either the bricklayer or the paper-hanger. Attendance at educational conventions is most desirable for efficiency, and that necessitates further expense. School communities do not seem to have these considerations in mind when fixing the salaries of teachers.

Teachers, as a rule, come from homes of people in moderate circumstances. This is no doubt the reason why they usually have members of their families more or less dependent upon them. The fact is very strikingly brought out by the returns from the various normal schools of the State of Massachusetts, which mention in each case the occupation of the father of the student. We may safely assume that the average represented by the normal school students is higher than that of people who take up teaching without special preparation. Mechanics, farmers, and small dealers furnish an astonishingly large majority over all other occupations. As the more well-to-do among these prefer to keep their daughters at home, and as the girls are practically the only ones entering into our calculations, we can readily see why so many women teachers must help at home. My compilation of the returns shows that only forty out of something like eight hundred and seventy-five students are the daughters of professional men. Those in government or other political offices do not incline markedly toward teaching. Their personal experience probably is not conducive to preference for positions in the public service. One army officer, one custom-house official, thirteen city officials, one postal clerk, one letter-carrier, six

**Antecedents of
Teachers**

policemen, and two firemen complete the list. The children of literary people and artists, too, seem to fight shy of school teaching. There are in the list only three clergymen, one librarian, one musician, one editor, one superintendent of schools, and three teachers. The last two items furnish most eloquent testimony to the utter inefficacy of the "short hours" and "long vacations" to draw those who know the stern realities of teaching.

The influence of the schools upon civilization is a very real one. It would be futile to discuss whether upward tendencies are resultant from the effects of school education or whether the objects of the schools represent wholly the demands of the times; that is the ancient problem of the priority of chick or egg. We may at least assume that education is shaped in each generation by the best thought and the hopes of the most intelligent friends of humanity. In other words, the schools seek to perpetuate the highest achievements and to realize the most worthy ambitions of the time. The educative influences of the schools are thus exerted to insure the survival and development of the greatest good believed in by the greatest number. The best of which a generation is capable is not always attained by that generation because of arrested development and other retarding factors, but the achievement of this best becomes a definite object in the bringing up of those who are to carry on the work of the world afterward. The good of a civilization is emphasized in its schools.

From this standpoint the significance of educational conventions assumes an aspect of peculiar sociological importance. The predominant thought of each convention worthy of the name educational is apt to suggest the problem uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the people. This problem may be variously defined, and its subdivisions may be more or less preëminent. Just now, for instance, opinion may be divided between the comparative supremacy of the movement for international peace, the bringing about of better relations between capital and labor, the child labor question, and the care of the sub-normally endowed and the economically or otherwise incapacitated. The underlying greater problem is, of course, the more perfect adjustment of the welfare of individuals and of organized forces. The organized force may be the State, economic society, the "trust," a labor union, or a military alliance of nations. The individual may be the single being, the family, the

**The Best
Passed on to
Posterity**

**Educational
Conventions**

community, or some other organic unit. Assuming this problem with its fundamental subdivisions to be uppermost in the reflections of the serious philanthropists, it may interest the reader to note the attitude toward them of representative educational conventions recently held.

The American Institute of Instruction, which is our oldest educational association, and represents chiefly the teachers of New England, held its seventy-seventh annual convention at Montreal in July, under the leadership of State Commissioner Walter E. Ranger, of Rhode Island. The keynote was peace among the nations. Mrs. Mead spoke on "The New Internationalism," Professor Dutton on "Educational Efforts for International Peace," Mrs. Andrews on "The Teacher's Part in the Peace Movement," Dr. Mowry on "Some New Demands Which the Progress of Mankind Makes upon Education." All these addresses dealt with the same great idea. Child labor conditions were presented by Mr. Lovejoy. The enlarged scope of public education was discussed in a paper on common school extension. Industrial education, the relations of home and school, and the special treatment of juvenile delinquents occupied attention in the department meetings. There were, besides, a few purely sociable speeches, three or four papers descriptive of methods of teaching and administration, and an equal number on plainly obsolete topics. The convention pictured both the alert and the complacent educator of the East with a touch of the neither-awake-nor-asleep pedagogism of the province of Quebec.

The utter indifference with which the public of Montreal permitted the convention of the American Institute to wind off its programme unmolested was quite a contrast to the general educational enthusiasm prevailing in the city of Los Angeles during the session of the National Education Association. Numbers had, of course, much to do with the difference. The something like five hundred teachers who went to Montreal would naturally not attract the attention that the twelve or fifteen thousand stirred up by their presence in Los Angeles. That, however, does not explain everything. The meetings at Montreal were all poorly attended. Not even the teachers of the province betrayed any appreciable interest in them. The public cared not at all, the newspapers took little note of the proceedings. Some of the teachers who had come ostensibly for the convention never went near the assembly hall, and about ninety of the New Englanders proceeded to Quebec before the convention was half through, among them one of the principal officers of the institute. The fault was not with the programme.

The Los Angeles convention was one of the most enjoyable of my sixteen years of N. E. A. experience. The city took genuine pride in the affair. The meeting-places, the parks and the principal streets of the business section were beautifully decorated and illuminated. Every detail for the general comfort appeared to have been carefully attended to.

The
N. E. A.

The uncertainty of the Inter-State Commerce Commission in knowing its own mind, together with an ungenerous attitude on the part of some Eastern railroads, combined to keep the attendance below the maximum mark. Nevertheless the enrolment proved to be one of the largest in the history of the association.

The convention made no particular contributions to education. N. E. A. conventions seldom do. But business of exceeding importance was transacted, affecting the future of the association. Unanimity reigned supreme. The act of incorporation passed by Congress and the by-laws proposed at the Asbury Park meeting two years ago were adopted without a dissenting vote. This places the N. E. A. on a secure foundation and gives proper dignity to its purposes and organization. To the eighteen departments already in existence three new ones were added, one of Technical Education, one of Industrial and Rural Education, and one of Educational Committees of Women's Clubs. The formation of the latter department represents, next to the adoption of the charter, the most significant business accomplished at Los Angeles. It gives representation in the N. E. A. and thus secures the coöperation of these most influential national organizations of women; The General Federation of Women's Clubs; The National Congress of Mothers; The Association of Collegiate Alumnae; The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union; The National Council of Jewish Women; The Southern Association of College Women. It is understood that other national organizations interested in education may, upon application, secure representation in the new department. The special object will be the promotion of a better understanding and closer coöperation between home and school. Among the special purposes it has set itself are the extension of educational opportunities, the establishment and enforcement of compulsory education laws, the restriction of child labor, better school buildings, normal schools in every State, minimum salary laws, expert supervision of all schools, the extension of manual training and of the teaching of civics and ethics.

The Board of Directors authorized the appointment of seven com-

mittees of investigation and allowed \$500 to each for expenses: On the Culture Element in Education; on a System of Teaching Morals in the Common Schools; on Causes of the Growing Shortage of Teachers; on Provisions for the Education of Exceptional Children at Public Expense; on Industrial Education in Rural Schools; on Courses of Manual Training in Elementary Schools; and on a National University at the Federal Capital. These appropriations are in themselves significant of the things which the teachers consider of sufficient importance to invest their communal funds in.

**Educational
Investigations**

The "culture element" proposition I can tell nothing about. Others seemed to suffer from similar incomprehension. But we agreed that it was a good thing and worth spending \$500 on. When the money is spent the mystery will probably be cleared up. The working out of a system of teaching morals in the common schools looks like a very desirable undertaking, providing the scope for theorization is restricted. The investigations of manual training in elementary schools and of industrial education in rural schools will be fully worth the \$1,000, if the result shall be a report setting forth real facts and supplying a sensible analysis of them. What we need now is a knowledge of the best practice: there is theory to burn. The national university scheme will be kept going till something definite is done. The various scientific institutions carried on at the federal Government's expense, with headquarters at Washington, can be made to serve the student who desires to make special investigations, if some wise organization is effected worthy of the name of National University. The appropriation for the study of the provisions made in common schools for exceptional children deserves hearty commendation. Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, who has done splendid pioneer work in the training of defectives, has been given deserved recognition, and his associates on the committee are all in hearty sympathy with the idea. As to the investigation of the causes of the shortage of teachers, that, too, is a timely enterprise. The shortage is certainly a real one in spite of "short hours" and the "long vacation."

Superintendent E. G. Cooley was unanimously chosen president of the association for the ensuing year. His election was received with enthusiasm as an indorsement of his courageous manliness in the establishment of right principles in the administration of the Chicago school system. Originally the understanding had prevailed that the honor ought to go to President Thompson, of Ohio University, and that Super-

intendent Cooley should be made a trustee, this being in responsibility a more important position than the presidency. With the uninformed public, however, the latter carried the greater glory.

Elections

The matter was decided by Dr. Thompson's withdrawal of his own name. "To be sure," he said to his friends, "the presidency would be a compliment which I should value highly. But to Mr. Cooley it will mean a well-deserved indorsement of his stand in the great fight he has been waging single handed for the good of the schools the country over. I am for Cooley for president." That settled the presidency.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler was reëlected trustee, and Superintendent Pearse, of Milwaukee, and President Brown, of Valparaiso University (Ind.), were the new members added to the board. President Swain, of Swarthmore College, was made president of the National Council. Cleveland was selected as the place for the convention of 1908.

Simple Spelling

A peculiar controversy over the reform spelling question was precipitated by the action of the Board of Directors to return to the so-called standard spelling in the official publications of the association. The N. E. A. has for several years stood for spelling reform, in spite of the protestations of an influential minority. The action of the Board of Directors was inconsiderate. Afterward the convention declared itself emphatically in favor of simplified spelling. As the question of printing the official documents of the N. E. A. is a purely administrative one, the contention that only the Board of Directors had power to act is no doubt justifiable. At the same time the emphatic declaration of the convention will act as a restraining influence. Meanwhile the executive committee will probably rule that the spelling used by the association at the present time shall continue through the year, especially as part of the volume of proceedings was already printed when the Directors decided to return to the ways of the fathers.

Art and Industry

An attempt to consolidate the Department of Art Education with that of Manual Training failed of realization. The two sections must of necessity aim at different results, though they may share in many objects. The one strives to meet some very definite industrial demands, while the other must keep its endeavors pointed to idealistic ends. Industry may gain much from its association with art. On the other hand, art may lose much by identifying its objects with those of industry.

There is no doubt that there should be consolidation of some departments and elimination of others, but art and "manual training," so-called, go different ways.

The "Declaration of Principles" has come to be regarded in recent years as a sort of culmination of the points brought out in the principal educational discussions. The committee on resolutions presented a lengthy paper on Education in the United States and Elsewhere: What is, what ain't, and what awter be. The committee suffered from too many opinions on too many things. To put out these poorly expressed notions as "principles and aims" was an obvious misuse of terms.

"Principles and Aims"

Principle 1 urges Congress to give increased financial support to the United States Bureau of Education.

Principle 2 indorses the growing insistence upon the special preparation of teachers, and regrets that salaries are so low. The patient reader of this two-hundred-words-long principle will be rewarded by running across the sentence: "We wish heartily to indorse the action of those legislatures that have fixed a minimum salary at a living wage."

Principle 3 approves the spread of township or rural high schools.

Principle 4 states that "the time is rapidly approaching when both industrial and commercial education should be introduced into all schools and made to harmonize with the occupations of the community." The paragraph concludes that "wherever conditions justify their establishment, trade schools should be maintained at public expense."

Principle 5 reveals utter ignorance as to the democratic ideas underlying the movement for common school extension. Free evening schools and lectures are approved "for adults and for children who have been obliged to leave the day school prematurely," and the use of school grounds and buildings is commended "for the relief of the poor of the crowded districts in the summer." What a myopic view of a great idea!

Principle 6 commends the harmonization of child labor and truancy laws, so "that the education of the child, not its labor, be made the desideratum."

Principle 7 "specially directs" the federal Government to provide for the education of American children on naval reservations.

Principle 8 emphasizes a point that may well be presented each year, providing the form of statement is striking enough to arrest the attention of the newspaper-reading public:

The association regrets the revival in some quarters of the idea that the

common school is a place for teaching nothing but reading, spelling, writing, and ciphering; and takes this occasion to declare that the ultimate object of popular education is to teach children how to live righteously, healthfully, and happily, and that to accomplish this object it is essential that every school inculcate the love of truth, justice, purity, and beauty through the study also of biography, history, ethics, natural history, music, drawing, and manual arts.

Principle 9 is an ex-cathedra setting of "*O tempora, O mores!*"

The National Education Association wishes to record its approval of the increasing appreciation among educators of the fact that the building of character is the real aim of the schools and the ultimate reason for the expenditure of millions for their maintenance. There are in the minds of the children and youth of to-day a tendency toward a disregard for constituted authority, a lack of respect for age and superior wisdom, a weak appreciation of the demands of duty, a disposition to follow pleasure and interest rather than obligation and order. This condition demands the earliest thought and action of our leaders of opinion and places important obligations upon school authorities.

Principle 10 declares that "inter-school games should be played for sportsmanship and not merely for victory."

Principle 11 approves "the tendency of cities and towns to replace large school committees or boards, which have exercised through sub-committees executive functions, by small boards, which determine general policies, but intrust all executive functions to salaried experts."

Principle 12: "Local taxation, supplemented by State taxation, presents the best means for the support of the public schools, and for securing that deep interest in them which is necessary to their greatest efficiency. State aid should be granted only as supplementary to local taxation, and not as a substitute for it."

Principle 13 reiterates the need of "close, intelligent, judicious supervision for all grades."

Principle 14 created some trouble because of the part beginning at "and directs that":

The National Education Association approves the efforts of the Simplified Spelling Board and other bodies to promote the simplification of English spelling by the judicious omission of useless silent letters and the substitution of more regular and intelligible spelling in place of forms that are grossly irregular or anomalous, such amendments to be made according to the existing rules and analogies of English spelling, with a due regard to the standards accepted by scholars; and the association hereby approves the simpler forms contained in the list of three hundred words now spelled in two or more ways, published by the Simplified Spelling Board, and containing the twelve simplified forms now used by this association, and directs that these simpler forms be used in the publications of the association in accordance with the rule now in force, that if the writer of any paper published by this association expressly so desires, his paper shall be printed in the old spelling.

Principle 15 is a timely statement of a real need:

Without seeking to determine the merits of coeducation versus separation of the sexes in higher institutions, the association recognizes that at present the demand for separate higher instruction for women is greater than existing colleges for women can supply. Moreover, the great colleges for women are almost all grouped in one section of the country. We urge upon the attention of friends of higher education for women the needs of the Western and Southern States for this kind of educational institutions.

Principle 16 urges the abolition of secret societies, fraternities, and sororities "in all secondary and elementary schools."

Principle 17 approves "a merit system of promoting teachers and filling vacancies."

Principle 18 states a serious fact very mildly:

The association regrets the purely theoretical work which still characterizes much of our so-called training of teachers, especially in colleges and universities, and urges the establishment everywhere of training and practice facilities for the better preparation of teachers.

Principle 19, in so many words—quite many—indorses the ideas represented by the Hague Conference and the Peace Associations.

Principle 20 is of the nature of a challenge to the agitators for trades unions of teachers:

The association pledges itself anew to that time-honored conception of the teacher's office which makes it one of unselfish service in a great human cause—education—and it calls upon teachers everywhere to remember that the conception must remain fundamental in the establishment and conduct of their professional associations.

This last statement is heartily subscribed to by all teachers who believe in the humanitarian value of their work, and they are, after all, the great majority. They labor for the betterment of mankind. The thought that sustains them amidst their many trials and heart-burnings is that the future of the world is represented by the children that are now under their tuition. It would be a sad day for American schools if this faith were permitted to decline. It is this faith which has drawn some of the world's best minds and hearts into the service of education. It is this which makes the personality of the teacher the power that it is. It is this which makes religious the atmosphere of the unsectarian common school. If the people of our country would recognize some of the reasonableness of this faith and give expression to it in a practical manner, there would be no need of the present fears regarding the growing scarcity of teachers.

Ossian H. Lang.

THE DRAMA

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THEATRE AUDIENCES

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

I

THE drama is the only art, excepting oratory and certain forms of music, that is designed to appeal to a crowd instead of to an individual.

**The Drama
and the
Crowd**

The lyric poet writes for himself, and for such selected persons here and there throughout the world as may be wisely sympathetic enough to understand his musings. The essayist and the novelist write for a reader sitting alone in his library: whether ten such readers or a hundred thousand ultimately read a book, the writer speaks to each of them apart from all the others. It is the same with painting and with sculpture. Though a picture or a statue may be seen by a limitless succession of observers, its appeal is made always to the individual mind. But it is different with a play. A drama is, in essence, a story devised to be presented by actors on a stage before an audience. It is, therefore, designed to appeal at once to a multitude of people. We have to be alone in order to appreciate the *Venus of Melos* or the *Sistine Madonna* or the *Ode to a Nightingale* or the *Egoist* or the *Religio Medici*; but who could sit alone in a wide theatre and see *Cyrano de Bergerac* performed? The sympathetic presence of a multitude of people would be as necessary to our appreciation of the play as solitude in all the other cases. And because the drama must be written for a crowd, it must be fashioned differently from the other, and less popular, forms of art.

No writer is really a dramatist unless he recognizes this distinction of appeal; and if an author is not accustomed to writing for the crowd, he can hardly hope to make a worthy play. Tennyson, the perfect poet; Browning, the master of the human mind; Stevenson, the teller of delightful tales:—each of them failed when he tried to make a drama, because the conditions of his proper art had schooled him long in writing for the individual instead of for the crowd. A literary artist who writes for the individual may produce a great work of literature that is cast in the dramatic form; but the work will not be, in the practical sense, a play. *Samson Agonistes*, *Faust*, *Pippa Passes*, *Peer Gynt*, and the dream-

dramas of Maurice Maeterlinck, are something else than plays. They are not devised to be presented by actors on a stage before an audience. As a work of literature, *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* is immeasurably greater than *The Two Orphans*; but as a play, it is immeasurably less. For even though, in this particular piece, Browning did try to write for the theatre (at the suggestion of Macready), he employed in making it the same intricately intelligent method of character-analysis that made many of his poems the most solitude-compelling of modern literary works. Properly to appreciate his piece, you must be alone, just as you must be alone to read *A Woman's Last Word*. It is not written for a crowd: *The Two Orphans*, with less wisdom, is. The second is a play.

The mightiest masters of the drama—Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Molière—have recognized the popular character of its appeal and written frankly for the multitude. The crowd, therefore, has exercised a potent influence upon the dramatist in every era of the theatre. One person the lyric poet has to please—himself; to a single person only, or a limitless succession of single persons, does the novelist address himself, and he may choose the sort of person he will write for; but the dramatist must please the many, and is therefore at the mercy of the mob. His themes, his thoughts, his emotions, are circumscribed by the limits of popular appreciation. He writes less freely than any other author; for he cannot pick his auditors. Mr. Henry James may, if he choose, write novels for the super-civilized; but a crowd is never super-civilized, and therefore characters like those of Mr. James could never be successfully presented in the theatre. *Treasure Island* is a book for boys, both old and young; but a theatre crowd is composed largely of women, and the theme of such a story could scarcely be successful on the stage.

In order, therefore, to understand the limitations of the drama as an art, and clearly to define its scope, it is necessary to inquire into the psychology of theatre audiences. This psychology presents two phases to the student. First, a theatre audience exhibits certain psychological traits that are common to all crowds, of whatever kind—a political convention, the spectators at a ball-game, or a church congregation, for example. Second, it exhibits certain other traits which distinguish it from other kinds of crowds. These, in turn, will be considered in the present essay.

II

By the word *crowd*, as it is used in the present essay, is meant a multitude of people whose ideas and feelings have taken a set in a certain single direction, and who, because of this, have lost their individual

self-consciousness in the general self-consciousness of the multitude. Any gathering of people for a specific purpose — whether of action or of worship or of amusement — becomes, because of this purpose, a *crowd*, in the scientific sense. Now, a crowd has a mind of its own, apart from that of any of its individual members. The psychology of the crowd was little understood until late in the nineteenth century, when a great deal of attention was turned to it by a group of French philosophers. The subject has been most fully studied by M. Gustave Le Bon, who devoted some two hundred pages to his *Psychologie des Foules*. According to M. Le Bon, a man, by the mere fact that he forms a factor of a crowd, loses consciousness of those mental qualities in which he differs from his fellows, and becomes more keenly conscious than before of those other mental qualities in which he is at one with them. The mental qualities in which men differ from one another are the acquired qualities of intellect and character; but the qualities in which they are at one are the innate basic passions of the race. A crowd, therefore, is less intellectual and more emotional than the individuals that compose it. It is less reasonable, less judicious, less disinterested, more credulous, more primitive, more partisan; and hence, as M. Le Bon cleverly puts it, a man, by the mere fact that he forms a part of an organized crowd, descends several rungs on the ladder of civilization. Even the most cultured and intellectual of men, when he forms an atom of a crowd, loses consciousness of his acquired mental qualities and harks back to his primal nakedness of mind.

The dramatist, therefore, because he writes for a crowd, writes for an uncivilized and uncultivated mind, a mind richly human, vehement in approbation, violent in disapproval, easily credulous, eagerly enthusiastic, boyishly heroic, and carelessly unthinking. Now, it has been found in practice that the only thing that will keenly interest a crowd is a struggle of some sort or other. Speaking empirically, the late Ferdinand Brunetière, in 1893, stated that the drama has dealt always with a struggle between human wills; and his statement, formulated in the catch-phrase, "No struggle, no drama," has since become a commonplace of dramatic criticism. But, so far as I know, no one has yet realized the reason for this, which is, simply, that characters are interesting to a crowd only in those crises of emotion that bring them to the grapple. A single individual, like the reader of an essay or a novel, may be interested intellectually in those gentle influences beneath whose fostering a

character unfolds itself as mildly as a blowing rose; but to that savage child, the crowd, a character does not appeal except in moments of contention. There never yet has been a time when the theatre could compete successfully with the amphitheatre. Plautus and Terence complained that the Roman public preferred a gladiatorial combat to their plays; a bear-baiting or a cock-fight used to empty Shakespeare's theatre on the Bankside; and there is not a matinée in town to-day that can hold its own against a foot-ball game. Forty thousand people gather annually from all quarters of the East to see Yale and Harvard meet upon the field, while such a crowd could not be aggregated from New York alone to see the greatest play the world has yet produced. For the crowd demands a fight; and where the actual exists, it will not be contented with the semblance.

Hence the drama, to interest at all, must cater to this longing for contention, which is one of the primordial instincts of the crowd. It must present its characters in some struggle of the wills, whether it be flippant, as in the case of Benedick and Beatrice, or lovely, as in that of Viola and Orsino, or terrible, with Macbeth, or piteous, with Lear. Now the crowd is more violently partisan than the individual; and therefore, in following this struggle of the drama, it insists always on taking sides. There is no fun in seeing a foot-ball game unless you care about who wins; and there is very little fun in seeing a play unless the dramatist allows you to throw your sympathies on one side or the other of the struggle. Hence, although in actual life both parties to a conflict are often partly right and partly wrong, and it is hard to choose between them, the dramatist must simplify the struggle in his plays by throwing the balance of right strongly on one side. Hence, from the ethical standpoint, the simplicity of theatre characters. Desdemona is all innocence, Iago all deviltry. Hence also the conventional heroes and villains of melodrama—these to be hissed and those to be applauded. Since the crowd is lacking in the judicial faculty and cannot look upon a play from a detached and disinterested point of view, it is either all for or all against a character; and in either case its judgment is frequently in defiance of the rules of reason. It will hear no word against Camille, though an individual would judge her to be wrong; and has no sympathy with Père Duval. It idolizes Raffles, who is a liar and a thief; it shuts its ears to Marion Allardyce, the defender of virtue in *Letty*. It wants its sympathetic characters, to love; its antipathetic characters, to hate; and it hates and loves them as unreasonably as a savage or a child. The trouble with *Hedda Gabler* as a play is that it con-

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Crowd's
Partisanship

tains not a single personage that the audience can love. The crowd demands those so-called "sympathetic" parts that every actor, for this reason, longs to represent. And since the crowd is violently partisan, it wants its favored characters to win. Hence the convention of the "happy ending," insisted on by managers who feel the pulse of the public. One of the wisest of actor-managers, Molière, usually contrived to let a long-lost uncle turn up in the last act of a play, to endow the hero and the heroine and say, "Bless you, my children." Even the wicked Oliver, in *As You Like It*, must turn over a new leaf and marry a pretty girl. The blind Louise, in *The Two Orphans*, will get her sight back, never fear. In the last moments of most successful plays the bad man either dies miserably or reforms, and the good man either dies nobly or embraces the girl. The bad man in *Letty* reforms; but most of us are sorry that he didn't die before the mawkish epilogue. Since Sherlock Holmes is the sort of hero that even his author seems unable to kill, he can't very well die in the last act, even nobly: so he embraces the girl instead. An individual observer would tell you that Holmes should have had more sense than to marry such a non-existent entity as Alice Faulkner; but the crowd is pleased.

Next to this prime instinct of partisanship in watching a contention, one of the most important traits in the psychology of crowds is their extreme credulity. A crowd will believe anything that it sees and almost anything that it is told. An audience composed entirely of individuals who have no belief in ghosts will yet accept the Ghost in *Hamlet* as a fact. Bless you, they have *seen* him! The crowd accepts the disguise of Rosalind, and never wonders why Orlando does not recognize his love. To this extreme credulity of the crowd is due the long line of plays that are founded on mistaken identity—farces like *The Comedy of Errors* and melodramas like *The Lyons Mail*, for example. The crowd, too, will accept without demur any condition precedent to the story of a play, however impossible it might seem to the mind of the individual. (Edipus King has been married to his mother many years before the play begins; but the Greek crowd forbore to ask why, in so long a period, the enormity had never been discovered. The central situation of *She Stoops to Conquer* seems absurdly impossible to the individual mind, but is eagerly accepted by the crowd. Individual critics find fault with Thomas Heywood's lovely old play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, on the ground that though Frankford's noble forgiveness of his erring wife is beautiful to contemplate, Mrs. Frankford's infidelity is not sufficiently

Its
Credulity

motivated, and the whole story, therefore, is untrue. But Heywood, writing for the crowd, said frankly, "If you will grant that Mrs. Frankford was unfaithful, I can tell you a lovely story about her husband, who was a gentleman worth knowing: otherwise there can't be any story"; and the Elizabethan crowd, longing for the story, was eager to oblige the dramatist with the necessary credulity.

There is this to be said about the credulity of an audience, however, that it will believe what it sees much more readily than what it hears. It would not believe in the ghost of Hamlet's father if the ghost were merely spoken of and did not walk upon the stage. If a dramatist would convince his audience of the generosity or the treachery of one character or another, he should not waste words either praising or blaming the character, but should present him to the eye in the performance of a generous or treacherous action. When Henry Irving, in his youth, played Joseph Surface, he quite upset the play by making the audience like him more than Charles; and all that Sheridan had written could not carry the day against the engaging hypocrisy of the villain. The audience *hears* wise words from Polonius when he gives his parting admonition to his son; but the same audience *sees* him made a fool of by Prince Hamlet, and will not think him wise.

The fact that a crowd's eyes are keenlier receptive than its ears is the psychologic basis for the maxim that in the theatre action speaks louder than words. It also gives the reason why plays of which the audience does not understand a single word are frequently successful. Mme. Sarah Bernhardt's thrilling performance of *La Tosca* has always aroused enthusiasm in London and New York, where the crowd, as a crowd, could not understand the language of the play.

Another primal characteristic of the mind of the crowd is its susceptibility to emotional contagion. A cultivated individual reading *The School for Scandal* at home alone will be intelligently appreciative of its delicious humor; but it is difficult to imagine him laughing over it aloud. Yet the same individual, when lost in a theatre crowd, will laugh heartily over this very play, largely because other people near him are laughing too. Laughter, tears, enthusiasm, all the basic human emotions, thrill and tremble through an audience, because each member of the crowd feels that he is surrounded by other people who are experiencing the same emotion as his own. In the sad part of a play it is hard to keep from weeping if the woman next to you is wiping her eyes; and still harder is it to keep from laughing, even at a

**Its
Emotional
Contagion**

sorry jest, if the man on the other side is roaring in vociferous cachinnation. Successful dramatists play upon the susceptibility of a crowd by serving up raw morsels of crude humor and pathos for the unthinking to wheeze and blubber over, knowing that these members of the audience will excite their more phlegmatic neighbors by contagion. The practical dictum that every laugh in the first act is worth money in the box-office is founded on this psychologic truth. Even puns as bad as Mr. Zangwill's are of value early in a play to set on some quantity of barren spectators and get the house accustomed to a titter. Scenes like the football episodes in *The College Widow* and *Strongheart*, or the battle in *The Round Up*, are always sure to raise the roof; for it is sufficient to set everybody on the stage a-cheering in order to make the audience cheer too by sheer contagion. Another and more classical example was the speechless triumph of Henry V.'s return victorious, in Richard Mansfield's sumptuous production of the play. Here the audience felt that he was every inch a king; for it had caught the fervor of the crowd upon the stage.

This same emotional contagion is, of course, the psychologic basis for the French system of the *claque*, or band of hired applauders seated in the centre of the house. The leader of the *claque* knows his cues as if he were an actor in the piece, and at the psychologic moment the *claqueurs* burst forth with their clatter and start the house applauding. Applause begets applause in the theatre, as laughter begets laughter and tears beget tears.

But not only is the crowd more emotional than the individual; it is also more sensuous. It has the lust of the eye and of the ear—the savage's love of gaudy color, the child's love of soothing sound. It is fond of flaring flags and blaring trumpets. Hence the rich-costumed processions of the Elizabethan stage, many years before the use of scenery; and hence, in our own day, the success of pieces like *The Darling of the Gods* and *The Rose of the Rancho*. Color, light, and music, artistically blended, will hold the crowd better than the most absorbing story. This is the reason for the vogue of musical comedy, with its pretty girls, and gaudy shifts of scenery and lights, and tricksy, tripping melodies and dances.

Both in its sentiments and in its opinions, the crowd is hugely commonplace. It is incapable of original thought and of any but inherited emotion. It has no speculation in its eyes. What it feels was felt be-

fore the flood; and what it thinks, its fathers thought before it. The most effective moments in the theatre are those that appeal to commonplace emotions—love of woman, love of home, love of country, love of right, anger, jealousy, revenge, ambition, lust, and treachery. So great for centuries has been the inherited influence of the Christian religion that any play whose motive is self-sacrifice is almost certain to succeed. Even where the self-sacrifice is unwise and ignoble, as in the first act of *Frou-frou*, the crowd will give it vehement approval. Countless plays have been made upon the man who unselfishly assumes responsibility for another's guilt. The great tragedies have familiar themes—ambition in *Macbeth*, jealousy in *Othello*, filial ingratitude in *Lear*; there is nothing in these motives that the most unthinking audience could fail to understand. Children on the stage never fail to win the house; for every normal woman in the crowd is, or hopes to be, a mother. No crowd can resist the fervor of a patriot who goes down scornful before many spears. Show the audience a flag to die for, or a stalking ghost to be avenged, or a shred of honor to maintain against agonizing odds, and it will thrill with an enthusiasm as ancient as the human race. Few are the plays that can succeed without the moving force of love, the most commonplace of all emotions. These themes do not require that the audience shall think.

But for the speculative, the original, the new, the crowd evinces little favor. If a dramatist holds ideas of religion, or of politics, or of social law, that are in advance of his time, he must keep them to himself or else his plays will fail. Nimble wits, like Mr. Shaw, who scorn tradition, can attain a popular success only through the crowd's inherent love of fads; they cannot long succeed when they run counter to inherited ideas. The great successful dramatists, like Molière and Shakespeare, have always thought with the crowd on all essential questions. Their views of religion, of morality, of politics, of law, have been the views of the populace, nothing more. They never raise questions that cannot quickly be answered by the crowd, through the instinct of inherited experience. No mind was ever more commonplace than that of Shakespeare. He had no new ideas. He was never radical, and seldom even progressive. He was a careful money-making business man, fond of food and drink and out-of-doors and laughter, a patriot, a lover, and a gentleman. Greatly did he know things about people; greatly, also, could he write. But he accepted the religion, the politics, and the social ethics of his time, without ever bothering to wonder if these things might be improved.

The great speculative spirits of the world, those who overturn tradi-

tion and discover new ideas, have had minds far different from this. They have not written plays. It is to these men, the philosopher, the essayist, the novelist, the lyric poet, that each of us turns for what is new in thought. But from the dramatist the crowd desires only the old, old thought. It has no patience for consideration; it will listen only to what it knows already. If, therefore, a great man has a new doctrine to expound, let him set it forth in a book of essays; or, if he needs must sugar-coat it with a story, let him expound it in a novel, whose appeal will be to the individual mind. Not until a doctrine is old enough to have been long-accepted is it ripe for exploitation in the theatre.

The truth of this point seems to me indisputable. I know that the best European playwrights of the present day are striving to use the drama as a vehicle for the expression of advanced ideas, especially in regard to social ethics; but in doing this, I think, they are mistaking the scope of the theatre. They are striving to say in the drama what might be said better in the essay or the novel. As the exposition of a theory, Mr. Shaw's *Man and Superman* is not nearly so effective as the writings of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, from whom the playwright borrowed his ideas. The greatest works of Ibsen can be appreciated only by the cultured individual and not by the uncultured crowd. That is why the breadth of his appeal will never equal that of Shakespeare, in spite of his unfathomable intellect and his perfect mastery of the technique of his art. Only his more commonplace plays—*A Doll's House*, for example—have attained a wide success. And a wide success is a thing to be desired for other than material reasons. Surely it is a good thing for the public that *Hamlet* never fails.

The conservatism of the greatest dramatists asserts itself not only in their thoughts but even in the mere form of their plays. It is the lesser men who invent new tricks of technique and startle the public with innovations. Molière merely perfected the type of Italian comedy that his public long had known. Shakespeare quietly adopted the forms that lesser men had made the crowd familiar with. He imitated Lyly in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Greene in *As You Like It*, Marlowe in *Richard III.*, Kyd in *Hamlet*, and Fletcher in *The Tempest*. He did the old thing better than the other men had done it, that is all.

Yet this is greatly to Shakespeare's credit. He was wise enough to feel that what the crowd wanted, both in matter and in form, was what was needed in the greatest drama. In saying that Shakespeare's mind was commonplace, I tendered him the highest praise. In his common-

placeness lies his sanity. He is so greatly *usual* that he can understand all men and sympathize with them. He is above novelty. His wisdom is greater than the wisdom of the few; he is the heir of all the ages, and draws his wisdom from the general mind of man. And it is largely because of this that he represents ever the ideal of the dramatist. He who would write for the theatre must not despise the crowd.

III

All of the fore-mentioned characteristics of theatre audiences, their instinct for contention and for partisanship, their credulity, their sensuousness, their susceptibility to emotional contagion, their incapacity for original thought, their conservatism, and their love of the commonplace, appear in every sort of crowd, as M. Le Bon has proved with ample illustration. It remains for us to notice certain other traits in which theatre audiences differ from other kinds of crowds.

In the first place, a theatre audience is composed of individuals more heterogeneous than those that make up a political, or social, or sporting, or religious convocation. The crowd at a foot-ball game, at a church, at a social or political convention, is by its very purpose selective of its elements: it is made up entirely of college-folk, or Presbyterians, or Prohibitionists, or Republicans, as the case may be. But a theatre audience is composed of all sorts and conditions of men. The same theatre in New York contains the rich and the poor, the literate and the illiterate, those who are dressed and those who are merely clothed, those who have dined at Sherry's and those who have eaten at Childs', the old and the young, the native and the naturalized. The same play, therefore, must appeal to all of these. It follows that the dramatist must be broader in his appeal than any other artist. He cannot confine his message to any single caste of society. In the same single work of art he must incorporate elements that will interest all classes of the human race.

Those promising dramatic movements that have confined their appeal to a certain single stratum of society have failed ever, because of this, to achieve the highest excellence. The trouble with Roman comedy is that it was written for an audience composed chiefly of freedmen and slaves. The patrician caste of Rome walked wide of the theatres. Only the dregs of society gathered to applaud the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Hence the over-simplicity of their prologues, and their tedious

repetition of the obvious. Hence, also, their vulgarity, their horse-play, their obscenity. Here was fine dramatic genius led astray, because the time was out of joint. Similarly, the trouble with French tragedy, in the classicist period of Corneille and Racine, is that it was written only for the finest caste of society—the patrician coterie of a patrician cardinal. Hence its over-niceness, and its appeal to the ear rather than to the eye. Terence aimed too low and Racine aimed too high. Each of them, therefore, shot wide of the mark; while Molière, who wrote at once for patrician and plebeian, scored a hit.

The really great dramatic movements of the world—that of Spain in the age of Calderon and Lope, that of England in the spacious times of great Elizabeth, that of France from 1830 to the present hour—have broadened their appeal to every class. The queen and the orange-girl joyed together in the healthiness of Rosalind; the king and the gamin laughed together at the rogueries of Scapin. The breadth of Shakespeare's appeal remains the greatest fact in the history of the drama. Tell a filthy-faced urchin of the gutter that you know about a play that shows a ghost that stalks and talks at midnight underneath a castle-tower, and a man that makes believe he is out of his head so that he can get the better of a wicked king, and a girl that goes mad and drowns herself, and a play within the play, and a funeral in a churchyard, and a duel with poisoned swords, and a great scene at the end in which nearly every one gets killed: tell him this, and watch his eyes grow wide! I have been to a thirty-cent performance of *Othello* in a Middle-Western town, and have felt the audience thrill with the headlong hurry of the action. Yet these are the plays that cloistered students study for their wisdom and their style!

And let us not forget in this connection that a similar breadth of appeal is neither necessary nor greatly to be desired in those forms of literature that, unlike the drama, are not written for the crowd. The greatest non-dramatic poet and the greatest novelist in English are appreciated only by the few; but this is not in the least to the discredit of Milton and of Mr. Meredith. One indication of the greatness of Mr. Kipling's story, *They*, is that very few have learned to read it.

Victor Hugo, in his preface to *Ruy Blas*, has discussed this entire principle from a slightly different point of view. He divides the theatre audience into three classes—the thinkers, who demand characterization; the women, who demand passion; and the mob, who demand action—and insists that every great play must appeal to all three classes at once. Cer-

tainly *Ruy Blas* itself fulfils this desideratum, and is great in the breadth of its appeal. Yet although all three of the necessary elements appear in the play, it has more action than passion and more passion than characterization. And this fact leads us to the statement, omitted by Victor Hugo from his preface, that the mob is more important than the women and the women more important than the thinkers, in the average theatre audience. Indeed, a deeper consideration of the subject almost leads us to discard the thinkers as a psychologic force and to obliterate the distinction between the women and the mob. It is to an unthinking and over-feminine mob that the dramatist must first of all appeal; and this leads us to believe that action with passion for its motive is the prime essential for a play.

For, nowadays at least, it is most essential that the drama should appeal to a mob of women. Practically speaking, our matinée audiences are composed entirely of women, and our evening audiences are composed chiefly of women and the men that they have brought with them. Very few men go to the theatre unattached; and these few are not important enough, from the theoretic standpoint, to alter the psychologic aspect of the audience. And it is this that constitutes one of the most important differences between a modern theatre audience and other kinds of crowds.

A Mob of Women

The influence of this fact upon the dramatist is very potent. First of all, as I have said, it forces him to deal chiefly in action with passion for its motive. And this necessity accounts for the preponderance of female characters over male in the large majority of the greatest modern plays. Notice Nora Helmer, Mrs. Alving, Hedda Gabler, Hilda Wangel; notice Magda and Camille; notice Mrs. Tanqueray, Mrs. Ebb-smith, Iris, and Letty—to cite only a few examples. Furthermore, since women are by nature inattentive, the femininity of the modern theatre audience forces the dramatist to employ the elementary technical tricks of repetition and parallelism, in order to keep his play clear though much of it be unattended to. Eugène Scribe, who knew the theatre, used to say that every important statement in the exposition of a play must be made at least three times. Now this, of course, is seldom necessary in a novel, where things may be said once for all.

The prevailing inattentiveness of a theatre audience at the present day is due also to the fact that it is peculiarly conscious of itself, apart from the play that it has come to see. Many people “go to the theatre,”

as the phrase is, without caring much whether they see one play or another; what they want chiefly is to immerse themselves in a theatre audience. This is especially true, in New York, of the large percentage of people from out of town who "go to the theatre" merely as one phase of their metropolitan experience. It is true, also, of the many women in the boxes and the orchestra who go less to see than to be seen. Now it is one of the great difficulties of the dramatist that he must capture and enchain the attention of an audience thus composed. A man doesn't pick up a novel unless he cares to read it; but many people go to the theatre chiefly for the sense of being there. Certainly, therefore, the problem of the dramatist is, in this respect, more difficult than that of the novelist, for he must make his audience lose consciousness of itself in the consciousness of his play.

One of the most essential differences between a theatre audience and other kinds of crowds lies in the purpose for which it is convened. This purpose is always that of recreation. A theatre audience is therefore less serious than a church congregation or a political or social convention. It does not come to be edified or educated; it has no desire to be taught: what it wants is to have its emotions played upon. It seeks amusement—in the widest sense of the word—amusement through laughter, sympathy, terror, and tears. And it is amusement of this sort that the great dramatists have ever given it.

The trouble with most of the dreamers who league themselves for the uplifting of the stage is that they take the theatre too seriously. They base their efforts on the proposition that a theatre audience ought to want to be edified. As a matter of fact, no audience ever does. Molière and Shakespeare, who knew the limits of their art, never said a word about uplifting the stage. They wrote plays to please the crowd; and if, through their inherent greatness, they became teachers as well as mountebanks, they did so without any tall talk about the solemnity of their mission. Their audiences learned largely, but they did so unawares—God being with them when they knew it not. The demand for an endowed theatre in America comes chiefly from those who believe that a great play cannot earn its own living. Yet *Hamlet* has made more money than any other play in English; *The School for Scandal* never fails to draw; and in our own day we have seen *Cyrano de Bergerac* coining money all around the world. There weren't any endowed theatres in Elizabethan London. Give the crowd the sort of plays it wants, and

**The
Audience
Inattentive**

**Recreation
vs.
Edification**

you will not have to seek beneficence to keep your theatre floating. But, on the other hand, no National Art Theatre will ever lure the crowd to listen to the sort of plays it doesn't want. When a Progressive Stage Society is started, it usually damns itself at the beginning by giving a special performance of *The Master Builder*. How can it hope to uplift the crowd with a play that the crowd cannot with any effort understand? There is a wise maxim appended to one of Mr. George Ade's *Fables in Slang*: "In uplifting, get underneath." If the theatre in America is decadent, what it needs is not endowment: it needs great and popular plays. Why should we waste our money and our energy trying to make the crowd come to see *The Master Builder*, or *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, or *The Hour Glass*, or *Pelléas and Mélisande*? It is willing enough to come without urging to see *Othello* and *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*. Give us one great dramatist who understands the crowd, and we shall not have to form societies to propagate his art. Let us cease our prattle of the theatre for the few. Any play that is really great as drama will interest the crowd.

IV

One point remains to be considered. In any theatre audience there are certain individuals who do not belong to the crowd. They are in it, but not of it; for they fail to lose their individual self-consciousness in the general self-consciousness of the multitude. Such are the professional critics, and other confirmed frequenters of the theatre. It is not for them primarily that plays are written; and any one who has grown individualized through the theatre-going habit cannot help looking back regretfully upon those fresher days when he belonged, unthinking, to the crowd. A first-night audience is anomalous, in that it is composed largely of individuals opposed to self-surrender; and for this reason, a first-night judgment of the merits of a play is rarely final. The dramatist has written for a crowd, and he is judged by individuals. Most dramatic critics will tell you that they long to lose themselves in the crowd, and regret the aloofness from the play that comes of their profession. It is because of this aloofness of the critic that most dramatic criticism fails.

Throughout the present essay, I have insisted on the point that the great dramatists have always written primarily for the many. Yet now I must add that when once they have fulfilled this prime necessity, they may also write secondarily for the few. And most of them have done so.

In so far as he was a dramatist, Shakespeare wrote for the crowd; in so far as he was a lyric poet, he wrote for himself; and in so far as he was a sage and a stylist, he wrote for the individual.

**The Appeal
to the
Few**

In making sure of his appeal to the many, he earned the right to appeal to the few. At the thirty-cent performance of *Othello* that I spoke of, I was probably the only individual in the crowd. Shakespeare made a play that could appeal to the rabble of that Middle-Western town; but he wrote it in a verse that none of them could hear:

"Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday."

And no one cared but I!

The greatest dramatist of all, in writing for the crowd, did not neglect the individual.

Clayton Hamilton.

AFTER IBSEN?

BY JAMES HUNEKER

CRITICAL estimates and guesses about a dead genius usually recall the afternoon of a funeral when friends and relatives begin to gossip over the estate and the heirs of a departed rich one. When the apportionments are known there are ejaculations of surprise, incredulous shoulder-shrugs and lifted eyebrows. Things are never quite as they should be. So is it when a great dramatist, painter, composer or poet dies; great in the universal sense, one whose work has gone across the borders of his own land. If he has made a school, terrible is the struggle for his place. Sometimes his genius has been so comprehensive that there is no inheritance to be divided; this was the case with Richard Wagner, who said all he had to say, leaving nothing for his disciples to develop. He closed his epoch, the Romantic in music. His personality was so overwhelming that he crushed all hopes of reasonable imitation. There is another sort of genius that breaks paths, blazes trails, and to him we look for a school, for genuine disciples. Franz Liszt is the most notable example of this class in modern times. He did not perfect a form, he inaugurated a new one, the Symphonic Poem; from him Saint-Saëns, Tschaikowsky, Richard Strauss, the entire Neo-Russian school,

**The Legacy of
Ibsen**

the Belgian, the new French and later German schools date their genesis. Without him modern instrumental music would be inconceivable.

Whether Henrik Ibsen will have a direct successor is of less importance than the question of his ultimate influence, and this influence during his lifetime was profound. It may be noted among the playwrights of all lands, without distinction of genres. We know that Ibsen was a severe formalist, yet it is not his form but his attitude toward life, his specific vision, that has worked upon the minds of his contemporaries, coloring their themes, their dialogues, their dénouements. This influence, none the less powerful because of its silent progress, extends to the lighter and more elastic varieties of plays. It gives to Bernard Shaw's farces and comedies their sub-acid flavor; it forms the somewhat sinister background for many pieces of the ultra-Parisian school:—Mirbeau, Hervieu, François de Curel, Eugène Brieux, Jules Lemaître, Georges de Porto-Riche; even the light-hearted Maurice Donnay has opened some doors through which the breeze blows from the North.

In
Germany

To Germany Ibsen has been a cruel master. He topsy-turveyed the old school of writers, and the new generation, headed by Hauptmann and Sudermann, has held the boards ever since. Wedekind, whose *Erdgeist* has had such an inexplicable success; Max Halbe, whose *Jugend* we saw here and were horrified—nor was *Der Strom* any less Ibsenish; Kalbeck, Johannes Schlaf, Voss (*Eva*), Von Wolzogen, Holz, Paul Lindau—a little old fashioned, as is Heyse—Heinz Tovote, Zabeltitz, Erich Hartleben—since dead—Felix Philippi, Wildenbruch and a host of younger men are all plastered with Ibsen's broad and pessimistic brush.

In
Italy

In Italy, in the country of Goldoni, where gloom is not supposed to have its abode, especially in the theatres, Ibsen has had a depressing influence. The more hardy northerners sup their artistic sorrow with a comfortable spoon. After a black soul-racking drama the German restores the psychical balance by way of his healthy hunger and thirst. He knows that after all it is only a play. A sufferer from *weltschmerz*, Hauptmann nevertheless contrived to give a poetic quality to Ibsen's philosophy of individualism; witness *The Sunken Bell*, in which both Ibsen and Nietzsche struggle through the music of the verse. However, not so in Italy. With the characteristic exaggeration of the southern temperament the ideas of the Norwegian are transformed into

something ferocious. D'Annunzio, who at times is a wonderful literary chameleon, has played with the Ibsen dramatic and ethical counters, dipping them into the glittering dye of his own brilliant poetic speech, but deforming their meanings almost beyond recognition. Nor is Marco Praga very different. The late Sicilian dramatist, Verga, author of *Cavalleria Rusticana*, a man of dramatic ability, did not betray affinities to the northern school, though the realism of *Cavalleria Rusticana*—not the opera—is potent. The piece is a small masterpiece.

Russia has her own national pessimism and does not need to import much. The gay days of Gogol's *Der Revizor* have gone; instead we are given the underground drama of Gorky or the powerful preachments of Tolstoy, whose *Powers of Darkness* is truly a symphony in black—its blackness has the ebon and poignant quality of Tschaikowsky's Pathetic Symphony. Gorky revels in cellars. His folk are generally used-up men and women and hurled upon the dramatic canvas. Vivid characterization, but no development, no plot, no beginning, no ending, is there in these impressionistic sketches. Gorky has read Ibsen and Nietzsche not wisely; his tramps spout philosophy at the most inopportune moments.

In Sweden there is Strindberg; in Holland, Herman Heijermans has the most promising talent. His *Good Hope*, *Kettenlieder* and kindred plays are anarchistic this far — they show the narrow, toilsome lives of fisher folk, of the crushed proletarians in Amsterdam, with little comment from the author. Heijermans has been unquestionably affected by Ibsen. He is an individualist; but he is also a humorist and his comedies with all their bitter tang are fresh and enjoyable. Hungary has first-class dramatic talent, but it has not been translated into other tongues, and it is the world-writers we must now discuss. But there are not many successors to Kisfaludy's *Tartars in Hungary*, *Irene*, and the rest; nor living poets like Alexander Petöfi or Vorösmarty. Francis Herezeg has written plays; yet it would seem that John Arany and Imre Madách still hold their own—the latter's epic, *The Tragedy of Man*, is Goethian in its ideals. Of Poland I can say little, with the exception of Sienkiewicz, because I know little. There is nevertheless a strong modern movement headed by the eccentric, gifted Przybyszewski, whose best plays are in one act—unlike his name. Austria succumbed to Ibsen from the first; that charming talent, Arthur Schnitzler, and the versatile Herman Bahr are among the best known of the younger men; the author of *Eckerman* is also an Ibsen epigone.

In Sweden,
Holland,
Hungary, and
Poland

Spain among the elder men has José Echegaray to show that this Catholic country boasts fierce dissidents. *El Gran Galeoto* — which New York saw in both its German and English garbs—is a strong study of jealousy, as are this Spaniard's recent efforts. Echegaray is realistic to the core and a first night with him is usually attended by demonstrations in the playhouse. England, ever disliking Ibsen—New York has seen more of his plays publicly performed—has been forced to listen to the great man in private, usually at the merciless hands of the enthusiastic amateur. We have been mildly reproached by an English critic for exhibiting enthusiasm over Ibsen—"he is *vieux jeu* for us in London." Precisely is he not an old jest, for he has never been rightfully performed in England. Long before Shaw wrote his brilliant challenge, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, there had been performances of *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts* and other plays in a public New York theatre by competent actors. This, while London was holding its breath at secret performances of the Norwegian by stage societies and deadly propagandists of various kinds. Little wonder the Ibsen cult was called morbid. The morbidity lay in the method of producing him, in the attitude of the public toward him. On the continent there was no such hypocrisy. And Richard Mansfield and New York accepted Bernard Shaw before London. But the Ibsen lesson was speedily apprehended by several English playwrights, though I do not agree with those who read Ibsen into every play of Mr. Pinero.

Whatever else he is, Ibsen is first a poet, and poet-like he has strengthened his work by the artistic use of the symbol. Mr. Pinero is a man of intellect, of first-rate talent, but he is not a poet. Luckily he knows this. There are Ibsen passages in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, in *Iris* and in that rather futile piece, *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith*. But that is all. A general concision in the technique and a selection of subjects in sober middle class life may be set down to Ibsen's permeating influence; for example, Pinero's best comedy, *The Benefit of the Doubt*, is as caustic as Ibsen in its depiction of the bourgeois, in its unveiling of the pettiness of the pretentious. Yet it could be as well ascribed to Henri Becque as to Ibsen. And it is really Pinero's own. Henry Arthur Jones has written plays that are decidedly more Ibsenish than Mr. Pinero's. Mr. Jones admires the moral earnestness of Ibsen, for he is a morally earnest playwright himself. Of Mr. Shaw it is unnecessary to dilate upon in this gallery. He is all for Ibsen, though he

In
Spain and
England

Pinero,
Jones, and
Shaw

has admitted that he likes his own plays better. One may hardly cavil at this—he is certainly more amusing than the grim skald of *Brand*. Nevertheless, Shaw is of the Ibsen breed, plus Hibernian wit. His *Widower's Houses* is Ibsen transposed to another key; and I doubt if Ibsen himself could have handled with such skill and tact the difficult subject of *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. But *Cæsar and Cleopatra* no man but Shaw could have conceived. *Man and Superman* is a blending of Ibsen, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, not forgetting the inevitable Shaw in the dialogue and dénouement.

There are many other writers of plays in England who are Ibsenian. Ireland has escaped him—excepting Shaw. Yeats is a poet of the mysterious; he shows more of Maeterlinck in his plays. The most gifted of living Irish dramatists is J. M. Synge, who is totally Celtic, more Celtic than Yeats, as Celtic as Tolstoy is Russian, or Carducci Italian. From Synge much may come. *The Well of the Saints*, *Riders to the Sea*, and *The Shadow of the Glen* point to a medium wherein the folk-element and a poetic psychology might be artfully and effectively combined. Synge's work is fairly odorous of Irish soil and character.

In America Ibsen in America! Stop! Not the accustomed snakes in Ireland will I draw from the well-worn bag of metaphors, but I must simply evade the question. Americans are optimists at the theatre, pessimists in politics, idealists in love, and realists in business. We worship money more than art, and sentimentalism more than either. Let us be frank.

Ibsen may have affected the younger generation, but that generation has not yet knocked at our door (though probably it is knocking at managerial doors where it will never enter). Latter-day American literature is a series of evasions and compromises; its original drama is as yet non-existent. Therefore to discuss the influence of Ibsen would be as ineffectual as the training of great guns upon an empty, sandy shore. And, yet, I firmly believe that here in America are the greatest potentialities of a new and powerful literature and drama. When we shake off the puritanism that has strangled us mentally, emotionally and spiritually, when that welcome day arrives, may come the great awakening in our arts; but not until then.

And now, having superficially gone over the field of living dramatists, let us draw tauter the line and exclude all but a few representative names. Pinero has enjoyed, and still enjoys, a greater popularity in England and America and the English-speaking colonies than Ibsen ever did, or

doubtless ever will. But Pinero is no successor to Ibsen; he is admired in a general way on the continent, though he never created a big sensation. There is Ibsen's fellow-countrymen, the "genial"

Has Björnson, who is a too copious and versatile writer to
Ibsen a master even the dramatic form as did Ibsen. August
Successor? Strindberg?

I first printed the story that Ibsen in his latter years had Strindberg's photograph on his desk, which he occasionally apostrophized thus: "There is one greater than I." Since Ibsen's death I have been told another side of the story. What Ibsen did say was this: "I like Strindberg's picture; he looks so crazy." Which sounds like Ibsen, even if untrue. No, Strindberg is not crazy. Far from it. He is a man of genius, with a temperament so emotional that at one time he could hardly control its tumultuousness. Ideas and images are created by him in such intoxicating abundance that his helm does not always control the ship. Yet the man who constructed in logical cold blood such plays as *Countess Julie* or *The Father*, *Gläubiger*, the double dramas, the historic plays, the poems, novels and essays is hardly to be called a madman. He is a fierce Ibsen-hater and has written plays to contravert Ibsen. After *Ghosts* I know of few more terrible things than *Countess Julie*. Strindberg has the universal quality in his work, but it is a brave critic who would predict for him a repetition of Ibsen's domination of the drama.

In Germany the two names that come first to the lips are those of Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann. Hauptmann is a philosophic poet who happens to write plays; Sudermann is a dramatist and novelist. He is ultra-modern, a master of technique, and the thesis of his plays always deals with the present, though evolved from an idea rather than a fact; Hauptmann, however, has genius. It was a stroke of genius to have made the mob the hero of *The Weavers*; it was a poetic triumph to have written that exquisite *Sunken Bell*. Both these men are worthy to be leaders of the dramatic movement, yet one feels that Hauptmann is the worthier of the pair to wear the Ibsen mantle. He proved in *Rose Bernd* that he could touch the human heart by old-fashioned methods much more than Ibsen.

France and Belgium remain. Maeterlinck's name is usually associated with Ibsen's, as were Goethe and Schiller's, Schubert and Schumann's, Wagner and Liszt's—all of which conjunctions are indications of fatty degeneration of the brain. Maeterlinck is as unlike Ibsen as Mozart differs from Claude Debussy. With all his symbolism, his "interior,"

Maeterlinck,
and Recent
French
Dramatists

his "static" drama, Maurice Maeterlinck has composed the most poetic drama of the nineteenth century, *Péllèas et Mélisande*. It is as new in its form and speech as *Tristan and Isolde* was new in music. When Maeterlinck is summed up by the critical Button-Moulders after his death, his supreme achievement will be recognized as *Péllèas et Mélisande*. It is the apotheosis of the mystic forces of life set forth in exquisite diction. It charms, it exalts.

The Frenchmen of genuine dramatic force are Octave Mirbeau, Paul Hervieu, François de Curel, Eugène Brieux and a few others. Brieux's play, *Les Avaries*, with its ghastly thesis, is Ibsen in intent, though going far beyond that poet in its frankness and in its conclusions. It has been heartily praised by Mr. Shaw. All Brieux's dramas are built on a thesis: doctors, charity (*Les Bienfaiteurs*), art, universal suffrage. He is a drastic writer. M. de Curel has undoubted psychological powers, though he is careless in the construction of his very striking plays. *La Fille Sauvage*, *The New Idol*, *Les Fossiles*, and *L'Envers d'une Sainte*—this latter is replete with shattering irony and disillusion. Henri Lavedan is known here through *The Duel*. His *Le Prince d'Aurec*, however, is a better play. Mirbeau is a savage and tremendous writer, an anarchist of letters as well as by propaganda of deed. *Business is Business* was not adequately translated or interpreted in America. *Les Mauvais Bergers* gives a fair idea of this revolutionist's quality. He is a true artistic son of Ibsen, a man of gloomy imagination, a "reversed" poet. Paul Hervieu is more polished, though almost as bitter. He is a master of stage-craft, a cruelly logical thinker and in reality owes more to Dumas the younger and Henri Becque than to Ibsen. His new piece, *The Awakening*, is in a more romantic frame than *Les Tenailles*, or *The Labyrinth*.

It is not necessary to consider in detail the men of Antoine's "Théâtre Libre"—Henrique, Camille Fabre, Jullien, Ancey, Donnay, Paul Adam and the rest. Sardou the prestidigitator still lives; Ohnet will never die, his enemies say; Rostand and his bon-bon art hardly counts except at the box-office (a necessary region, by the way); while Catulle Mendès, versatile ever, and his brother-in-law, Emile Bergerat, and Jean Richepin, are invincible Romanticists. Probably the influence of Dumas fils is still stronger in Paris than Ibsen's—but it has produced no replicas of that popular man.

After Ibsen? I am sure I can't say. It would not be a bad idea if we first mastered the meanings and technique of his plays before nominating his successor. So let me pose the case thus: After Ibsen?—Henrik Ibsen—which is begging the question. But can you make a better suggestion?

James Huneker.

LITERATURE

SHAKESPEARE AND SHAKESPEAREANS¹

To a layman the contrast between Professor Raleigh's volume and the writings of Shakespeare scholars generally is very astonishing. These worthy men to whom we owe so much in the matter of textual purification have, as is well known, left us another and most painful legacy. The Shakespeare "finds" seem small beside the Shakespeare rubbish heaps. And as to that broader criticism which Professor Raleigh here essays it depends less on learning than on natural gifts, and Shakespeareans usually have no other gift than pertinacity. Like Coleridge and Hazlitt, Professor Raleigh belongs to the class of men who would have discovered Shakespeare even if they had lived in Shakespeare's time, which would be an absurd thing to say of any other recent author of a "life" or an appreciation. Surely there is no warrant for the view that a Shakespeare scholar necessarily feels any interest in Shakespeare himself. That is the romantic assumption of Shakespeare worshippers, who will have it that all are drawn by the magic of the poet when many are drawn by the magic of his name.

It is just possible [says Professor Raleigh] that the store of facts concerning him may yet be increased. But it is not likely; now that antiquaries and scholars have toiled for generations, with an industry beyond all praise, in the search for lost memorials. These are the diligent workers among the ruins, who when the fabric of our knowledge has crumbled to atoms, still

As for seed of stars, stoop for the sand,
And by incessant labor gather all.

The enthusiasm which keeps them at work has been truly described by one of the chief of them, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. "No journey," he says, "is too long, no trouble too great, if there is a possibility of either resulting in the discovery of the minutest scrap of information respecting the life of our national poet." By these ungrudging labors all that we are entitled to hope for has been achieved.

But both grammarians and antiquaries seem to the layman to have had their reward and he cannot be in the least sentimental about them.

¹*Shakespeare*. By Walter Raleigh. American Series of English Men of Letters. New York: The Macmillan Company.

For "our national poet" is a national institution, paying in honors, and there is no more need of assuming a love of Shakespeare in a Shakespearean than a love of government in a man who cleans the windows of a government building. Call a man King of poets for two centuries and there will be no lack of busy and superserviceable exegetes and annotators with reputations based on proximity and incomes drawn from one another's footnotes — court flunkies and scullions of scholarship, valued, in the outcome, for their small utilities, but bearing no resemblance to real critics, who are men that have some kinship with the King. "The embroidery of Shakespeare," says Professor Raleigh, "has become a national industry, harmless enough so long as it is not mistaken for criticism." But it is mistaken for it, and men are appointed to university chairs on the strength of the mistake, and long, dreary, heartless volumes follow, marked throughout (to the layman's mind) by the strongest proofs of natural antipathy to Shakespeare, but tolerated for the good of the cause. It is incredible to a layman that Shakespearean scholars should not hate the poet that makes them write as they do. The great mass of their irrelevancies bear witness to their personal ennui, showing how the poor wretches had to kill time while serving out their sentences in the great Shakespearean House of Correction.

Professor Raleigh, as a scholar and a sifter of Shakespeareana, has more patience with these busy people than we in our highly prized Shakespearean illiteracy can understand, but there are several passages in his book that group and characterize them shrewdly. In the first place there are the limiting class of critics, never resting till they pin the poet down—

The truth is that Shakespeare, by revealing his whole mind to us, has given us just cause to complain that his mind is not small enough to be comprehended with ease. It is one of man's most settled habits, when he meets with anything that is new and strange, to be unhappy till he has named it, and when he has named it, to be forever at rest. Science is retarded not a little by the false sense of explanation that comes from the use of Greek and Latin names, which, when they are examined, prove to be nothing but laborious descriptions of the facts to be explained. The naming and re-naming of Shakespeare, which has gone on merrily for centuries under the care of sponsors for good and evil, is more mischievous than this: the names given to him are not even fairly descriptive of a difficulty. They are labels impudently affixed to one aspect or another of his many-sided work. Books have been written to prove that he was an atheist; that he was a Roman Catholic; that he was an Anglican; that he was a man deeply imbued with the traditions and sentiments of a Puritanic home—for, to the credit of human intelligence be it recorded, no one has yet said, in so many words, that he was a Puritan. Party government was not invented in his day; but much ink has been spent on the attempt to classify his political convictions, and to reduce them to a type.

Then as to linguistic commentaries—

Here the good progress made in recent times by the science of language is of little avail: most of the masters of that science are men who know all that can be known about language except the uses to which it is put. The methods of science are invaluable, and they will prove fruitful in the study of Shakespeare when they come to be applied by those who understand how poetry is made, and who join the end to the beginning. . . . Much of Shakespeare's language is hot from the mind, and only partially hardened into grammar. It cannot be judged save by those whose ease of apprehension goes some way to meet his ease of expression.

Again there are the moralizers—

But it is also true that in this play [*Measure for Measure*], as in some others, Shakespeare is too wide and strong, too catholic in his sympathies and too generous in his acceptance of facts, for the bulk of his readers. His suburbs are not their suburbs; nor is his morality their morality. . . . This is indeed the everlasting difficulty of Shakespeare criticism, that the critics are so much more moral than Shakespeare and so much less experienced. . . . The ready judgments which are often passed on Shakespeare's most difficult characters and situations are like the talk of children. Childhood is amazingly moral, with a confident, dictatorial, unflinching morality. The work of experience, in those who are capable of experience, is to undermine this early pedantry, and to teach tolerance, or at least suspension of judgment. Nor is this an offence to virtue; rather virtue becomes an empty name, or fades into bare decorum, where sin is treated as a dark and horrible kind of eccentricity. . . . Many men make acquaintance with Christian morality as a branch of codified law, and dutifully adopt it as a guide to action, without the conviction and insight that are the fruit of experience. A few, like Shakespeare, discover it for themselves, as it was first discovered, by an anguish of thought and sympathy.

On the whole Professor Raleigh probably dislikes Shakespeareana as much as we laymen do. "There is no writer," he says, "who has been so laden with the impertinences of prosaic enthusiasm and learned triviality." But he remains tolerant, arguing that "it would be a tedious task to demolish all the foolish piles that have been erected with intent to honor the poet." The wonder is that he is not vindictive since he has actually toiled through those piles.

And after all, is there no excuse for such vindictiveness? Thackeray called a snob a man who meanly admires mean things. Why did he not make room in his definition for a mean way of admiring great things? Are there not snobs of religion, snobs of poetry, snobs of all the arts? Carlyle pardoned Boswell because he had an instinct for merit and gravitated toward the great. But it is the conceded merit and the established greatness that draw the Boswells of the world. If now and then their work has value it does not make them personally less odious. And if

we have profited from a Boswell, or a Theobald, think what we have suffered from a hundred others of the type—what buzzings and borings, and overlaying of poems with caterpillar nests, and staling of great men's memories, and moral medication, and paring down of thoughts to fit the heads of smallest size. Because we get a good reflection of a man in a Boswell puddle, it does not follow that we need bless mud and water generally. Not long ago a Shakespearean burst into thanksgivings that so many men had busied themselves with Shakespeare and pondered and toiled and written interminably, and he found them all filled with the most beautiful devotion, crowding to testify to the glory of their god. But that is not the layman's view. He thinks rather of the skipper in the cheese and the oyster-crab living in by no means disinterested commensalism with the oyster whom he cannot understand. That seems to him the true type of Shakespeare commentators. The method is the same as Pope found it — they still "explain the meaning quite away"; and the motive still as Dr. Johnson defined it — the hope of a borrowed prestige while tucked safely away under a great reputation.

We have quoted the above passages merely to show Professor Raleigh's attitude toward Shakespearean critics, and we would not imply that he spends much time in railing at them, for the tone of the book is indeed in no wise controversial. The antagonism between his work and theirs is none the less irreconcilable. His is in the line of descent of genuine criticism, the books that can be read and not merely consulted. It is full of the life not only of the subject but of the critic—personal, if you will, but real criticism is always personal; there is no way of compiling a genuine response to an appeal to feeling. He is a Shakespearean scholar who has taken to heart the line: "Learning is but an adjunct of ourself." Accordingly, he allows a reasonable scope to intuitions and experience, arriving at much by reading simply which others miss by complicated intellectual manœuvres.

What they fail to remark is that in the very act of rescuing buried meanings, alleged to be all important, they are condemning the work of the playwright. Shakespeare is subtle, fearfully and wonderfully subtle; and he is sometimes obscure, lamentably obscure. But in spite of all this, most of his plays make a distinct and immediate impression, by which, in the main, the play is to be judged. The impression is the play.

But the contrast will not be noted by Shakespeareans, for the "simple truth" is still "miscalled simplicity." If we were a well-informed reviewer, we should, after a compliment to Professor Raleigh's scholarship, remark that he had perhaps not brought Shakespeareana down to date,

omitted, for example, a due emphasis on Shakespeare as a practical playwright (a point of view much valued just now), or had left out the latest turn in the discussion of the Sonnets, or said nothing about the recent vindication of Theobald and retribution of Pope. But this might leave the impression that after all he was in the same class as Dr. Dowden and many another indefatigable person, and the point that, as a layman, we wish to emphasize, is that he can be read with pleasure by those who have tried to read the other books and failed.

Professor Raleigh is a worshipper but without a ritual. What he says of Shakespeare cannot be reduced to propositions and divided from his manner of saying it. The truth is to be found not only in the matter, but in what reviewers call his style. They speak of his style as if it were an embellishment, filigree work pretty in itself, but by no means essential to the grim business of Shakespeare criticism. To describe it as brilliant is to call to mind the gymnastics of Shaw or Chesterton. A brilliant style nowadays always suggests strain of some sort, to the reader or the writer, probably to both. Style, of course, is a kind of personal accuracy, without which a writer cannot tell the truth. He fumbles and misses, guesses at other people's truth, but cannot tell his own. Of Professor Raleigh's style the layman will be delightfully unconscious till he comes to analyze the sources of his pleasure in the book.

Frank Moore Colby.

SHAKESPEARE SEEN WITH COMMON SENSE¹

It is one of the curiosities of criticism that in spite of the unrivalled fame of Shakespeare as a poet, he has not till very recently been appreciated as a playwright. Thousands of volumes, in nearly every modern language, have been devoted to his work; but almost all of these have considered it as written to be read instead of written to be acted in the theatre. The reason is that when at last Shakespeare came to be regarded as the greatest author in the world (at the beginning of the nineteenth century, roughly speaking), his fame was chiefly trumpeted by critics like Coleridge, whose knowledge of literature was very great but whose knowledge of the theatre was very slight indeed. I suppose that the present popularity of the minor Elizabethans as subjects for study in our universities is due originally to the very wonderful appreciative notes which Charles Lamb appended, in 1808, to his "Specimens of English

¹*The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist.* By George Pierce Baker. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Dramatic Poets." Yet Lamb himself, writing "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare," distinctly stated, "It may seem a paradox, but I cannot help being of opinion that the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage than those of almost any other dramatist whatever." "*Less calculated for performance on a stage,*" are the words that Lamb deliberately applied to the plays of a dramatist who was manager and chief shareholder of his theatre and dependent directly for his livelihood on the popular success of the pieces he devised to be presented by his own company of actors! Yet so great was Lamb's genius as an appreciator of poetry that the obvious bosh of such a statement as I have quoted gained currency not only with devoted readers of old plays but with many subsequent critics as well. I have read book after book on Shakespeare, written during the latter half of the nineteenth century, wherein the critic was obviously not aware that the great Elizabethan actor-manager designed his plays primarily to please a particular public when performed in a particular theatre by a particular company of actors, and never seemed to care especially whether, as works of literature, they were read and liked or not. So little attention was paid to the dramaturgic side of Shakespeare's work that it became common to consider him impeccable as a dramatist, just as in his highest moments he is supreme as a poet; and any common-sensible attempt to study the evolution of his theatric art from crude experimentation in his younger years to mastery of dramaturgic means at the summit of his career would have been considered as a sacrilege. His reputation as a dramatist, as well as his reputation as a poet, was lodged with critics who knew next to nothing of the theatre. How little of the theatre was known to Coleridge and Lamb is evident to any one who tries to read the plays that they attempted; and one suspects from the dusty closet-air of many later criticisms that the reverend critics had seldom or never passed an evening of amusement in the play-house.

In America, during the last decade, much has been accomplished toward shifting this mistaken point of view in considering the Elizabethan drama by two professors who know the theatre through and through. Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia, and Professor George Pierce Baker, of Harvard, have both, in their lectures and their published criticisms, repeatedly asserted that a play can be appreciated properly only when considered from the standpoint of the physical conditions of the theatre it was meant to fit, the psychologic nature of the audience it was planned to please, and the sort of acting by which it was to be exploited. In approaching Shakespeare, they have at once admitted his supremacy as a poet and a judge of human life, and have there-

after devoted most of their attention to a study of the dramaturgic side of his work, of the technical means which he devised to gain the greatest possible effect upon his immediate audience by adapting to his uses the resources of the Elizabethan stage.

It is from this point of view that Professor Baker considers the great master of the theatre, in his recent volume on "The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist." Even were his materials less skilfully assembled and his critical opinions less sane and just, his book would still be valuable because of its straightforward attempt to grant to Shakespeare his due meed of critical consideration as a playwright and a playwright merely. In this book we see the dramatist experimenting first with the legacy of his predecessors in the theatre, and gradually developing, always along practical lines, the comparative perfectness of his maturer craftsmanship.

Recognizing the necessary influence upon a dramatist of the audience that he is writing for, Professor Baker begins his book with a chapter on the public of 1590—"a public eager for information as well as amusement, unprovided with information by many of the purveyors of news at the present time, [which] came to the theatre day after day asking little more, if anything more, than to hear a story, new or renewed, interestingly told." Thus he shows at the outset why Shakespeare was of necessity a story-telling dramatist, and why, in complicating his plots, he almost always selected narrative material already current and familiar to his public. The second chapter is devoted to a very careful study of the physical conditions of the Elizabethan stage. Although Professor Baker is forced to leave some points still mooted—the question of stage-signs and of curtains for example—this chapter is the best popular presentation of the essential features of Shakespeare's stage that has yet been published. In studying the development of the dramatist's technique, Professor Baker devotes more attention to the element of plot than to the element of character, because plot was what the patrons of the Globe primarily demanded; but he shows skilfully how Shakespeare, while growing gradually to satisfy more completely this demand for crowded and complicated story, grew also at the same time to satisfy his own innate artistic craving for subtle carefulness of characterization. The most interesting point in Professor Baker's chapter on the great tragedies is his decision that Shakespeare never developed a conscious critical opinion of tragedy as a particular form of drama, but conceived it merely as chronicle history, sensing no formal distinction between *King John* and *King Richard III.* on the one hand and *Hamlet* and *Othello* on the other. The tragedies became tragedies merely be-

cause Shakespeare's maturer craftsmanship gave them subconsciously a greater unity of informing purpose and intensity of design.

There are certain points in Professor Baker's study that one is tempted to disagree with; but on the whole his book is extremely valuable because of the sound common sense of his attitude toward the playwright and his work. Nothing is more uncommon than common sense in the realm of Shakespeareana; and it is good to find it in this volume.

Walter Clayton.

RICHARD WAGNER—BUSINESS MAN¹

SCARCELY any attribute of Wagner's personal life is bruited abroad more widely than the one of his business laxity. Readers of that huge mass of Wagner letters have discovered long before this that Wagner was almost constantly in need of money; he borrowed as often as possible and from whomever possible. Some of these debts and their aftermaths have been construed to prove that Wagner was, personally—not artistically—lacking in all that sentimental readers of music biographies would long to have him be; while others who idolize him have merely put this question to one side with the assertion that Wagner was a genius, was devoid of business instincts, that he had the fine and techy soul of an artist which knew not the worth of *Mark* and *Pfennig*.

Very recently there has appeared a book which sets forth Wagner's business acumen with unmistakable distinctness. It is *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, and its author is Angelo Neumann. The letters from Wagner employed in this volume show very clearly that the master builder of Bayreuth knew how and when to drive a hard business bargain which, in its care for details, would not have cast discredit upon a merchant whose soul the sacred fire of genius had not seared.

Angelo Neumann was a singer who turned impresario and who, managing the travelling "Richard Wagner Theater," did yeoman service in spreading the musical gospel of Wagner in Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Austria and Russia. So it is readily to be understood that his dealings with Wagner were frequently of sheerly businesslike nature. In these "Recollections" Angelo Neumann presents a vivid and interesting picture of his acquaintance and friendship with Wagner. The book has the personal tone throughout, which is its greatest charm, and it

¹*Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*. Von Angelo Neumann. Leipzig: L. Staackmann.

deals with the artistic beginnings of men and women of the opera stage who have become famous figures: Seidl, Nikisch, Reicher-Kindermann, Lilli Lehmann, Mottl and Klafsky, to mention only a few. If at times the narrative grazes the boundaries of what appears to be fiction, the voice of criticism is silenced, for the author does not claim to be writing history, but only recollection; and the haze of perspective frequently mellows unromantic facts and converts them, to the mind's ear, into interesting fiction.

So we may skip the early meetings with Wagner and begin with the time when Neumann was associated with Dr. August Förster in the management of the Leipziger Stadttheater. This was in 1876, the year of the first Bayreuth Festival, and Neumann witnessed the Bayreuth performances, after which he besought Wagner to sell him the rights for producing *The Ring of the Nibelungen* at Leipzig. But Wagner was optimistic in his faith of Bayreuth and refused then to believe entirely in the enormous financial failure of the first festival. When he came to full realization of the deficit and when the future of Bayreuth looked inky he closed a contract with Neumann and his partner, and the letter of contract was deliberate and clear in its business demands. Letters of business detail follow, but Wagner's demands were such that the matter of the *Ring* for Leipzig was dropped for the time. It was renewed again later, and in April, 1878, *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* were performed at Neumann's theatre. To keep an eye on Wagner's artistic interest in these performances the composer had sent Anton Seidl and Hans Richter to Leipzig to witness the rehearsals. This was Neumann's first meeting with Seidl, but soon afterward Wagner asked Neumann to engage Seidl for the post of assistant conductor. A curious feature is found in Wagner's spelling of Seidl's name, for more often than otherwise it is spelled Seidel. So, too, does Wagner make plea for the engagement of Mottl; and when one considers that Arthur Nikisch had already been engaged, it would seem that Neumann had in his staff a collection of remarkable young musicians.

Thumbing this volume at will, one discovers the almost constant question of money and of business details, punctuated occasionally by a protest from Wagner, or from Frau Cosima, that the existing contracts are not enough to his advantage. It would be idle waste of time here to attempt a description of the demands made by Wagner; but it would be far more idle, in the face of them, to pretend that Wagner was lax in his business sense. Naturally enough can this assertion be met with the answer that the royalties received by Wagner for his works and the advance sums paid him for exclusive performance rights were ridiculously

low; but then it should be remembered that Wagner's *Ring* was considered nothing less than a monstrosity of difficulties and that the waiting world was by no means ready to acclaim it wildly at first hearing. The Bayreuth Festival of 1876 was an enormous failure, and a great deal of propaganda for Wagner's music had to be made before the public stood with open ears ready to receive this masterwork.

So we are indebted to the author of this volume for a new phase of Wagner's character: that of the artistic merchant hawking his creations of genius, and forgetting not that they had a commercial value which had to be insisted upon. It shows us a vision of Richard Wagner the business man, artistic but shrewd, who placed his music dramas before the world and drove the best possible bargain for them.

The volume has other merits to recommend it to those who revel in the personal chatter about a great man and his life. Neumann has furnished an abundance of this, and it need trouble the reader but little to know whether he has strained at facts to produce fiction or whether he has invented fiction to clothe the skeleton of facts. Whichever it may be, it is interesting reading, as the following may prove: Therese Vogel, who sang the Brünnhilde in *Götterdämmerung*, used actually to ride the horse Grane off stage at the finale of the work, and the effect was of galloping directly into Siegfried's funeral pyre. For this she used a horse that at one time was the favorite of King Maximilian. At this point in the narrative the author, of course, declares that the horse was possessed of musical sense and knew exactly when its musical cue came. Now, when the Neumann company went to Berlin to present the *Ring* there, royal permission was obtained to take this horse from Munich to Berlin. But the animal died, and the recourse was that of getting an ordinary military horse and having a guardsman, disguised, ride him into the stage pyre. So it was schemed, and Neumann tells us, with much dramatic effect, that something prompted him to visit the stage just before this scene on the night of performance. He was assured that everything was in order, but he accidentally saw the guardsman who was to impersonate Brünnhilde, and found that he was made up as one of the choristers, with full gray straggly beard and long, unkempt hair. The impresario had only time to tear wig and beard from the head and face of the soldier and to wrap his head in a veil, for at that moment the signal for the ride was given!

Another interesting incident is that of the close of the *Ring* cycle in Berlin, when, in the presence of royalty, Neumann made a speech, in the middle of which Richard Wagner left the stage. Wagner declared that he had suffered an attack of heart trouble, but Neumann declares that

Wagner marched off just at the moment when the impresario was expressing his gratitude to the imperial family for the support they had given this venture. The affair created a great deal of gossip and scandal, and it also caused a breach between Wagner and Neumann, which was healed only some time later, when further business dealings brought the two men together again.

In this volume there is clearly voiced a matter that is of particular interest to us, namely, the one of retaining *Parsifal* exclusively for Bayreuth. It appears that Wagner had promised Neumann that the rights for the *Parsifal* production should become Neumann's property in case this work was ever to be given outside of Bayreuth; and to this end Neumann travelled to the Bavarian Mecca in 1882 and heard *Parsifal*. A few days after that memorable first performance Neumann placed before Wagner the contracts covering the rights of the *Ring* and *Parsifal*. The former were quickly signed by Wagner, but then he halted and asked Neumann to delay the matter of *Parsifal*. This Neumann did and Wagner gratefully embraced him for it. Neumann declares that by humoring Wagner he resigned his claim to millions that *Parsifal* would have earned for him. He adds to the narrative of this incident a coda that is touching in its naïveté: After he left Wagner, Neumann told his son that he had waived his rights to *Parsifal*, and the youth replied: "Father, it is worth more than millions to have Richard Wagner express his gratitude to you!"

A final fact revealed by this book is amazing. In a letter dated Venice, September 29, 1882, Wagner writes to Neumann: "Bayreuth will stand and fall with *Parsifal*. I expect Bayreuth to fall at my death, for I do not know any one and cannot imagine a person who can continue this project according to my wishes."

This was penned only six months before Wagner's death, and at that time he had been married to Cosima Wagner for twelve years. Yet, according to this missive, he did not for a moment consider Cosima Wagner capable to supervise the artistic and business affairs of Bayreuth! This will come as something approaching a shock to those who contend that the union of Richard Wagner and Cosima von Bülow was one of mind as well as of heart. It is too well known to reiterate how well Cosima has managed the Bayreuth affairs and still does manage them. She has even been accused of managing them with greater commercial keenness than artistic finesse. But that is quite another story.

Edward Ziegler.

MR. HEWLETT AND HIS WORK¹

It has been questioned whether a critic ever has any rightful concern with the future of those whose work he discusses; but the stern formalists who hold this rigorous view would deprive the reviewer of one of his chief delights. And should a defence of this harmless amusement be required, it might be found in the fact that speculation concerning the future achievements of an author, grave guesses as to what he may or may not do next, are a sign of the vitality of what he is actually doing. Every writer whose product is worthy of attention is a "promising" author, no matter what his age. The moment he ceases to be such the chapter of his real labors is closed. The nature, the limits of his "promise" are legitimate subjects of inquiry, and even though this interrogation of the future lead nowhere, it has served its purpose if it has made clearer the character of what has already been accomplished.

It may therefore be taken as significant of a lively interest in Mr. Maurice Hewlett's books, rather than of any dissatisfaction, that each one has suggested to his readers, as I believe, the query whither he is tending. It is little more than a decade since he declared himself to us, and in that short period he has made himself our creditor in a substantial amount. The list of his books denotes an achievement of such value, it evidences a talent so rich and various and original, as to make him one of the few men to be reckoned with. Yet not one of his admirers will accept one book, or even all the books he has yet written, as the full measure of his possibilities. The variety of theme and treatment he has essayed with success, the originality he has repeatedly shown, are warrant for large expectations. Those of his followers who learned to know him first from that delightful little volume, *Earthwork Out of Tuscany*, were lucky. There they discovered a unique book: penetrating criticism of Tuscan art and the Tuscan mind, charming bits of illuminating description, and certain little interludes of lovely fantasy that pointed out a new writer of fiction. In that perfect tragic idyll of the fifteenth century, *How Sandro Botticelli Saw Simonetta in the Spring*, one discovered a new Pater, with much of that master's intuition of the spirit of the middle age, with something of his wistful sense of beauty, and with much more than Pater's realization of character and evocation of the dramatic note.

The obvious prophecy was not long in fulfilment. In *The Forest Lovers* was discovered another unique book—a page out of Malory, translated into the spiritual idiom of the twentieth century. An intensely

¹*The Stooping Lady*. By Maurice Hewlett. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

modern book it was, and frankly so; there was no aping of the mock-antique so familiar in countless "historical" novels. But again was shown the instinctive sympathy that can re-create a past age. The book has "atmosphere" in the true sense; the picture has depth, the haze of distance is over the background.

To attempt to trace a consistent and uniform development of Mr. Hewlett's fine talent would be futile. I shall not contend that each succeeding book has set him a precise pace forward on the straight line of his destiny. At every step he may have changed front, faced in a new direction; that does not matter. What is significant is that, strongly tinged as all his work is with a definite personality, each book has been something different. There is no danger of confusing *The Forest Lovers* with *Richard Yea-and-Nay*, or *The Queen's Quair* with *The Fool-Errant*, for each is an individual performance. Whether or not his last book is always his best, it at least gives us a new side of its author's mind. To write thus is to serve notice on the world that one is alive, a creator and not a mere imitator, even of one's self.

One outward characteristic, it is true, Mr. Hewlett's books have had in common: that of showing his persistent preoccupation with times that are past. His incorrigible romanticism has seemed to welcome the large sense of space and freedom that the past always gives. Not that he has used this sense of freedom as a cloak for any vagueness of portraiture or inexactitude of setting. For that his imagination is too alert, his concern with real men and women too constant. Undoubtedly his most striking quality has been his power of vivifying and humanizing the past, making his characters stand out as genuine against their rich historical background. I think Mr. Hewlett cannot be taxed with the notorious failing of the better sort of historical novelists; he has not made his background his chief concern. Nevertheless it has always been wrought with sufficient elaboration to challenge attention, and this is unfortunate in so far as it may have distracted the reader from the characters themselves. For in spite of his powerful historical sense, and his obvious predilection for what has been, Mr. Hewlett is that very modern product, the psychological realist. He is insatiably curious of the abnormalities of the soul; he is a searcher after motives, hidden springs of conduct, the entity that lies back of the outward person. Nowhere is this more evident than in the most "historical" of his novels, his largest, finest work, *The Queen's Quair*—a book that must be ranked among the greatest historical novels we have in English. Here is, to be sure, an imposing reconstruction of a historical period, faithful, minute, elaborate; but the book is also a complete realization of the marvellously complex character of the Scottish

queen. The tragic figure of Mary is as real as if she had never existed outside of the author's brain. Bothwell, too, is a huge creation, and the figures of Darnley and Rizzio have a form and substance denied them in the annals of their time. Authentic history the book may or may not be; it is surely an authentic creation of the novelist.

Whether the historical romance, done even as Mr. Hewlett has done it, is a thing thoroughly worth doing at all, is a large question into which I have no intention of entering. Without stirring the embers of controversy it may be remarked that it would be interesting at least to see Mr. Hewlett's gift applied to the making of a wholly modern novel. And it is worthy of note that in his latest book he has taken a long stride nearer to our own time. *The Stooping Lady* carries us back something less than a hundred years, to the days just preceding the regency in England—a period of very special interest, but with much less of the romantic flavor than pertains to Plantagenet and Tudor times. Here the historical background is largely a matter of externals of dress and manner; the spirit is modern enough to require no great backward leap of the imagination. And, probably for this very reason, there emerges in this book for the first time a curious literary affinity of Mr. Hewlett's work. Hitherto he has seemed to stand very much by himself among living English writers; in *The Stooping Lady* he is frankly Meredithian—and Meredith, be it noted, is one of the most thoroughly modern of novelists! With the exception of that fantastic tale, *The Shaving of Shagpat*, he has never ventured far out of touch with his own time and country. His furthest fling into the backward and abysm of history is, if I mistake not, in *The Tale of Chloe*, an exquisite miniature of a period not much earlier than that to which Mr. Hewlett has come in his latest book. And in spirit, too, Meredith is as completely of the nineteenth century as in his choice of themes.

To find Mr. Hewlett, the arch-romanticist, the celebrant of the middle age and the Renaissance, following the path of the realist Meredith, is then somewhat surprising. The resemblance is not to be ignored. It appears in many a turn of phrase, in the swiftly moving, elliptical style; but it goes deeper than that. The persons of whom Mr. Hewlett writes are of the world that one knows in Meredith's books. The Stooping Lady herself, the proud Irish girl, Hermia Mary—Meredithian name!—is the kind of superb feminine creature in whom the elder master delights. With all allowances made for individual peculiarities of temper, she is at least half-sister to Diana and Aminta. David Vernour owns kinship with Beauchamp and with Matey Weyburn. More than all else, the story itself is of a kind that Meredith would delight to tell. Young David, the

butcher, lifting himself above his station and loving a lady, loving her faithfully and winning her, reminds one irresistibly of the tailor's son, Evan Harrington. Even those trivial resemblances that seem so like coincidences and often mean so much are not lacking. Is it mere accident that one of Meredith's happiest names, Carinthia, reappears in this book? I suspect Mr. Hewlett of having been poring over *The Amazing Marriage*.

The suggestion of similarity in the ideas and methods of the two men is not intended to suggest that Mr. Hewlett is to be held up to scorn as an imitator. On the contrary, there is good cause for congratulation in the fact that he has come close enough to one of the greatest minds of our day to show the likeness to it of his own brain-stuff. No fear of his turning crass copyist of another man. There is enough individuality in *The Stooping Lady* to furnish forth dozens of novelists. And this may be conceded frankly, without the implication that the book shows us a greater Hewlett than we have ever known before. It is not his biggest work. He has not yet surpassed the glow and color, the intensity and the breadth of *The Queen's Quair*. *The Stooping Lady* is altogether on a smaller scale. Striking and original as is its idea, it has not the large movement, nor does it involve the tremendous issues, of the Scottish queen's story. And then, the *dénouement* is not fortunate. Tragic the story is, and the note of stern tragedy is sought in the solution. But the taking off of David by a stray bullet, when he had virtually completed his triumph, has too much the appearance of sheer accident. Exasperation, rather than pity and terror, is the concomitant of this tragedy.

It may be that to some readers this final flaw will seem fatal. Let the book be set down, then, as a failure. No great man was ever uniformly successful. If Mr. Hewlett fails, he fails in good company. For if *The Stooping Lady* be not positively a great book, it at least has great qualities. Leaving aside a few careless moments, its style is such as cannot be surpassed, if indeed it can be matched, by more than one or two men of our day. It paints the manners of a period with altogether unusual truth and delicacy. Greatest virtue of all, it gives us knowledge of real men and women, displaying them under the stress of emotions that raise them out of the common and make them typical of humanity. All other gifts of the novelist are of relative importance; this is his positive and supreme merit. By his latest exercise of it Mr. Hewlett has vindicated his claim on our gratitude.

Edward Clark Marsh.

SONNETS

BY ROBERT R. LOGAN

LONGFELLOW

POET of twilight and the children's hour!
Whose thoughts were gentle as the evening breeze
That whispers low the ancient mysteries
Of the far mountains to the listening flower;
Thou dost translate the elemental power
Into such rhythmic blooms and harmonies
As half conceal with their green tapestries
The world's embattled, mediæval tower.
Not thine to pierce into the vast Unknown,
Which lies beyond the boundaries of the mind,
Where speed the meteors and the comets thrown
By the wild hand of Chaos, but to find
Those tender thoughts and simple truths alone
Which have the power to subdue mankind.

GENIUS

DIMMED is the forest, vanished is the plain,
Mute are the birds, their heads beneath their wings;
The listless night-wind scarce a perfume brings
From the closed flowers and the nodding grain.
Now comes the priestess of the morn again
And on the hills her giant censer swings,
And lo! the forest all its matins sings
And bright-robed blossoms weave their fairy chain.
So lies the world of beauty silently,
Dormant, half-felt and wholly undescried,
Till some bright spirit of our mortal sky,
Flinging the shadows of the night aside,
Reveals it to the mind's bewildered eye
Transmuted and transfused and glorified.

WILD SWANS

WE are Convention's nurselings; with clipt wings
We float upon its basin tranquilly,
Or move demurely and with languid eye,
Unconscious of the joy that freedom brings,
Toward the light crumbs that the world's bounty flings.
But when the autumn comes and o'er us high
The great wild swans in whirring legions fly,
We start at the strange note the leader sings.
Then through our souls there rushes like a tide
The recollection of our liberty,
The long, bright rivers and the marshes wide
And dreamy sunshine of the Southern sky,
As, gazing upward with despair and pride,
We echo back in vain the ancient cry.

THE EMPTY SHELL

THIS body that we love, this cherished clay,
Through which for seventy years we gather pain
And call it life, how cold it doth remain
When the ethereal fire burns away
And leaves it like the clouds at close of day
When the red sun descends behind the chain
Of distant mountains and his purple train
Of vapors suddenly grows chill and gray!
That form a moment since instinct with power,
With beauty's smile and youth's impassioned glow,
Now withered lies like a November flower,
While we with pompous step sedate and slow
Escort it to the grave and grudge the hour
We spare for it from the world's gaudy show.

Robert R. Logan.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

A SOCIAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE

BY GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

Adjunct Professor of English, Columbia University

LANGUAGE is a necessary accompaniment of all human social development. As the medium of self-expression and communication, the means by which traditions are received and are passed on to succeeding generations, it is a more essential element in the life of a social body than are any of its organized political institutions. Without a national speech there can be no nation. Like the laws of the democratic state, the rules and uses of every language have arisen, more or less unconsciously, from the experience and from the sense of need of those who speak the language. As is true also of the state, there have been from time to time conscious attempts to codify the laws of language; but these attempts, in neither state nor language, have ever been completely successful and comprehensive. One cannot live by the constitution alone, nor can one speak the language by following the rules of the grammar. Both constitution and grammar represent respectively the effort of the most intelligent and thoughtful part of the community to reduce to formal expression the more obvious results of their experience and reflection. As we descend in the scale of intelligence, however, in the state, on the one hand, we reach the absolutely unthinking, partisan voter; and among the users of language, on the other, the blind imitator and follower of personal whim and prejudice. The duty of instruction, of inculcating active and right principles, would seem to be equally plain in both cases. The ideal toward which the democratic state must strive is a condition in which each member of the state is capable and desirous of thinking over questions of public interest for himself, of coming to an intelligent conclusion, and finally, of course, of recording his opinion by voting or otherwise. In the same way the ideal language would be the language of a community in which each member of the community, parent, teacher, author or scholar, assumed and carried out reasonable principles of responsibility toward the language. By this it is not meant that the use of every word or phrase should always be conscious and deliberate. Such a use of language would be far from the ideal; and, in fact, the instances in which such deliberate acts of judgment are neces-

sary, in politics or in language, are comparatively infrequent. We live the greater part of our lives by habit, increasingly so as we grow older, and only occasionally are we compelled to make up our minds. The necessity, however, of having these habits based on good principles in the first place, and the advantage of having good principles at hand when the necessity of a new decision arises, whether for ourselves or for another, is sufficiently obvious. This theory of the development of the perfect language is confessedly contrary to the belief that good will come without taking thought, that in some mysterious and subconscious way the people, if not interfered with, will bring forth that which is right and excellent and, in every way, best. This the extreme of optimistic democracy is justified neither by the probabilities of the case nor by experience. If good comes, it comes through the intelligent direction and effort of individuals, and the greatest good will come when we have the greatest intelligence of the greatest number. There is need, therefore, of instruction, of conscious, directive effort, in language, in politics, and in all those matters which concern the social life and welfare of the race. It is from this moral and didactic point of view that we may profitably discuss for a moment the various attitudes which the individual may assume with respect to the laws and conventions of the social institution of language.

The attitude toward language first to be considered is one which we might call the anarchistic. Its distinctive mark is not so much ignorance of the proprieties and accepted uses of the language as deliberate and wanton violation of them. The linguistic anarchist may do violence not only to the simple rules of grammar of the language—this would be the crudest kind of anarchy—but in subtler ways may wrong the spirit of the language. Fortunately he is rarely met with in ordinary, colloquial intercourse, striking departures from normal use in familiar speech being too obvious and too soon growing wearisome to be long tolerated. Yet we do occasionally meet with persons of a sort of diseased linguistic sense—the little George Ades and Wallace Irwins not known to fame—whose one linguistic obsession seems to be to express things shockingly and surprisingly—not necessarily, you will observe, shocking and surprising things, but ordinary ideas dressed up in a wilfully perverse and inappropriate garb. The unspeakable weariness of conversation with such speakers we need not attempt to describe.

It is in the literary language, however, that the linguistic anarchist is most frequently met with, and there he is a clearly defined type. Failing to arrest attention by the quality of his thought or the charm of his expression, he forces himself upon our notice by shocking our sense of

that which is becoming and normal in language. He depends upon a dull linguistic moral sense in his readers for the acceptance of whatever is novel and striking in language as permissible or even artistic. And unfortunately his faith is only too often justified by the result. That which at first seems a wanton piece of revolting violence, comes to be endured, then accepted, and even, in the end, regarded as admirable. As Bagehot remarks in his study of the poetry of Robert Browning, when "we put down a healthy, instinctive aversion, nature avenges herself by creating an unhealthy, insane attraction."

This healthy, instinctive aversion every sensitive reader must frequently feel toward the language in which Browning's poetry is written, toward those peculiarly Browningsque features of style which have contributed so much to the growth of the Browning cult. Our objection is not that this poetry has style, that it is individual. Its fault is that it has too much style, that it is too individual, and that it does not sufficiently take into account the persons to whom it is addressed. The author lays violent hands upon the language for no other reason than that he has some private purpose to accomplish. This appears in wilfully obscure syntax, in the unusual value and collocation of words, sometimes humorous but not always appropriately so. But above all it appears in rhyme, for here, besides the usual feeling for language, there is a special language convention that may be violated, the convention of rhyming. These grotesque rhymes, as they have been called, are sometimes appropriate to the subject matter of the poems in which they occur; but that their use is not dependent upon any such consideration is evidenced by such poems as "Count Gismond," "The Grammarian's Funeral," and many others, where they are altogether out of place. They are cheap sensational tricks, linguistic contortions, gone through with to make the dull reader gape and admire. Only one who had lost or who had never had any sensitiveness to the order and the fitness of language could ever become enamoured of such vicious creations.

Another obvious instance of the literary linguistic anarchy is to be found in Whitman, in whom disregard of the traditions of language is sometimes taken as merely part of a general disregard of all law and tradition. This, however, is too extreme a statement of the case. It has been shown with a fair degree of certainty that Whitman was not willfully inconsiderate of law and order, that he thought he had before him the vision of a larger law than has been revealed to most men, a constructive philosophy of life which the diligent and the sympathetic may read in his verse. But granting this, in his choice of a means whereby to voice forth this philosophy of life, Whitman has fallen into a serious economic

error. He has made the mistake of centering attention upon his form, much to the detriment of his matter. For besides the strangeness of the thought, even the sympathetic reader is confronted by an added and a considerable impediment in the outlandishness of the expression; only after the shock of surprise has passed away, after the linguistic misdemeanors have been forgiven and forgotten, can the thought receive full justice. Numerous examples of these stumbling blocks will come readily to mind. We cannot quote illustrations of his monstrous sentence structure, but in vocabulary we have such creations as *literatuses* (plural of *literatus*), *civilizee*, *discorrupt*, *cool-freshing breeze*, *me melted-word with sweat*. Whitman also frequently uses French and Spanish words, whether in correct or incorrect forms matters not to him, and he does this not because the French words are elegant, or are necessary to express a subtle meaning, nor even, as is sometimes said, because he holds the theory that the American population is heterogeneous and therefore American authors should use a polyglot vocabulary, French, Spanish, Polish, and all other outlandish words without restriction; he does it merely because the use of these foreign words is striking and unexpected. If we add to our list such horrid Latinisms and Gallicisms as: *O me imperturbe, I have not the delicatessen of a diplomat*, and others of their kind, we certainly justify the statement that Whitman had little respect for the language in which he wrote. His style is not the result of the scholar's care, or of the nice discrimination of the literary artist. He is merely gunning for attention with a big gun. We say the phrases or words are in bad taste; but they are worse than that, they are intentionally obtrusive and offensive. The author doesn't respect the language and your right and my right in the language. He says virtually, "Your attention or the life of the language." And whether you want to hear him or not, he takes the life of the language.

The second group to which I wish to direct attention is made up of those whom we may call the aristocratic users of language. This group consists of those speakers and writers who set up for themselves arbitrary standards of distinction in language. They do not aim to extend their uses over the whole linguistic body, because obviously as soon as that takes place their tests of distinction cease to have any value. On the other hand, they are not entirely individualistic; they aim rather to restrict their special usages to the limited number included within their own particular class or group. The satirical comedy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries offers numerous historical examples of class vocabulary and language of the kind that has been described. The affected use of French words and phrases as marks of elegance will im-

mediately come to mind. A less familiar illustration is the fashionable pronunciation of the vowel *o*, the faddist pronunciation of which in the time of Vanbrugh was *a*, the elegant Foppington regularly using such forms as *Lard* for *Lord*, *Tam* for *Tom*, *pasitively* for *positively*, besides his favorite exclamation, *Stap my vitals!* Swift, also, in his *Guide to Polite Conversation*, has recorded a number of the elegant affectations of his day. I need mention only one, the custom of abbreviating polysyllabic words by giving only their first syllables, as *pos* for *positively*, *hyps* for *hypochondriacs*, *rep* for *reputation*, *phiz* for *physiognomy*, and the puristical Dean's pet aversion, *mob* for *mobile*.

In contemporary English, the tendency is not lacking. Formerly, more than at present, the broad pronunciation of the vowel *a* was cultivated as a mark of social distinction. Richard Grant White tells us that "the full, free, unconscious utterance of the broad *ah* sound of *a* is the surest indication, in speech, of social culture which begins at the cradle." Absurd as it is, echoes of this opinion are still reverberating throughout the land. The affected pronunciation of *either* and *neither* as *eyther* and *neyther* may be mentioned as a further illustration. I do not mean to say that *eyther* and *neyther* are not natural and traditional pronunciations with some individuals, or in some communities. What I mean is that they are often affected by speakers to whom they are not natural because of notions of greater exclusiveness and elegance. A clergyman once confessed that he said *eyther* and *neyther* from the pulpit, although his native idiom was *either* and *neither*, because he thought that the language of the pulpit should be more choice and elegant than that of everyday speech. In the literary language, as well as in the spoken, this setting-up of standards of fine use is met with, the tendency toward preciousness and the use of inkhorn terms in general being a manifestation of it. In poetry especially, with its *eftsoons*, its *rathes* and its *erstwhiles*, the attempt to attain poetic quality through the use of mere class vocabulary is often pathetically obvious. Language need not, of course, be always commonplace or colorless. True distinction and elevation of thought and feeling naturally clothe themselves in exceptional language, the exceptional language being for them the fitting language. Of true poetic diction we are not speaking, but are directing our criticism against that sort of philistinism and insincerity which strives to hide native poverty of thought, and even to gain positive credit, by a display of conventional linguistic manners and tricks of expression.

The third group of the users of the language is perhaps the largest and most influential of all. We may class them under the general head of oligarchs, though by their other name they are known as purists. They

consist of those who set up a standard of choice, rules of propriety, which they would impose upon others. Their theory of the linguistic body politic is that it should be governed by the few who know. They differ from the aristocrats in that they would make their legislation of universal application; but there is usually a tinge of aristocracy in the oligarch, an assumption of superiority over the ordinary person. Their platform is well expressed by one of them, the late Mr. Godkin, in the statement that to have and to keep an effective language, somebody must take care of it, must pass upon and regulate all changes in the language and all additions to it.

To the general proposition that the language must be cared for we offer no objection, and if, instead of somebody, Mr. Godkin had said that everybody must take care of it, we should heartily approve of the statement. But the weakness of the oligarch is that he assumes the responsibility for the language to himself and expects obedience to his paternal regulations from the common citizen. He removes the right and the duty of individual choice and places the power of direction in the hands of a few legislators, who are not even elected but are self-chosen. The reason why these self-chosen legislators feel called upon to assume the control of the language is always that they have one or more preconceived opinions as to the way in which language should be regulated. We have thus oligarchs or purists of various kinds. We have, for example, the literary oligarch. He accepts as correct only what he finds in "good authors," the good authors being naturally a more or less arbitrary selection of his own. He is, moreover, quite arbitrary in the use which he makes of his "good authors." He will accept the testimony of Addison in support of one use, but will refuse to accept it in another—say the construction *you was*—for which Addison is equally good authority. The logical result of literary purism carried to its conclusion would be Ciceronianism, that iron-bound system according to which every word, nay, every phrase and cadence, must have the authority of a precedent use in some "classic" author before it shall be enabled to pass the tribunal of the judges of good style. The English language and literature, however, happily show no tendency to submit to this sort of ossification.

A second class are those whom we may call the historical oligarchs. They observe the past history of constructions or words, and argue from this their present propriety or impropriety. They decree, for example, that *aggravating* cannot mean *annoying*, because it comes from Latin *ad* and *gravis*, in the face of the obvious fact that to the person who uses the word in the sense of annoying, and to the one who understands it in that sense, it means just that and nothing else. Indeed, the most ele-

mentary study of the history of language shows the slight value of historical knowledge or fact in determining present use. A word means the idea which it calls up in the mind of the person to whom it is addressed. The study of etymology will often sharpen the outline of the idea, and is in that way helpful. But one who should use words or constructions in syntax in their historical senses would be landed in all sorts of absurdities.

In matters of pronunciation we have a third group of purists, whom we may call the orthographic oligarchs. Their principle of legislation is based on the spelling of the language, and their golden rule is "Speak as you write." The old-maidish pronunciation *at all* for *a-tall*, *good deal* for *good 'eal*, are familiar illustrations of this sort of purism. One person of my acquaintance, otherwise normal, uses and defends the pronunciation *sug-gest* for *su(g)gest* (perhaps thinking of the learned word *suc-cinct*), and it would be easy to find speakers who think they distinguish clearly between the combination *mpt* in *empty* and the combination *mt* in *warmth*, or between the second syllables of words like *nation* and *session*. But an elementary study of phonetics is enough to show the absurdity of most of the contentions of the orthographic oligarchs, and the history of English spelling easily proves that both "Speak as you write" and "Write as you speak" have been dead-letter laws for at least several centuries.

One other group is constituted by those whom we may call the consistency oligarchs. Their argument is speciously plausible, since analogical levelling as a result of the principle of consistency is constant in all living language. Yet when the principle is applied as a regulating one *de jure*, it again leads to manifest absurdity. We need not say *been* (like *bean*) because we say *green* and *seen*, nor *suggest* (*suggest*) because we say *succinct* (*suksinkt*); neither need we make the spelling of *off* and *cough*, of *height* and *bite* consistent and uniform. We may do all these things if we are so inclined, but it behooves the consistent oligarch to look abroad in the world a bit before he enters upon any extensive reconstruction of language according to his theory.

A final group of linguistic oligarchs is made up of those who might be denominated blind oligarchs. The blind oligarch follows the statement of usage, or the actual uses, of some person or group of persons, preachers, teachers, or public men, of some book, dictionary, rhetoric or what not, which he formulates as law and then seeks to impose upon his own little oligarchy. The blind oligarch thus puts all the burden of responsibility for his laws upon the shoulders of his masters and devotes all his energies to the executive task of seeing that these laws are complied with. This

attitude of mind toward language, both unreasoning and unobservant, is unintelligent in the highest degree. The uses of cultivated speakers and writers, of dictionaries and of other books, are certainly to be considered, but only as one makes use of all good helps and sources of information. The blind oligarch, like the historical and orthographic oligarch, is bound to fall into absurdity as soon as he pins his faith to one or two authorities, and the only thing which can save him is independence of observation and choice.

The three attitudes toward language which we have thus far spoken of, the anarchistic, the aristocratic, and the oligarchic, may all be described as anti-social in character. They emphasize the activity of the individual in opposition to, not in harmony with, the activity of the many. They differ thus far from the fourth and final class of the users of language, those who may be called the social democrats. The social democrat recognizes the right of the individual in the language, but only as that right is conditioned by his responsibility to the other members of the linguistic community. He avoids therefore the extreme of liberalism, on the one hand, the result of which would be license, and on the other, that extreme of conservatism which would set up arbitrary distinctions in language. He steers a middle course and unites himself to the great body of the normal, intelligent speakers and writers of the language. He neither assumes the burden of responsibility himself, nor places it upon the shoulders of a few arbitrarily chosen judges. In matters of language he sends his eye abroad and examines his whole linguistic surrounding. He observes here and there the little groups of the lawless, the polite and the precise; but he turns from these and directs his attention to that great body of the users of the language in which language lives and grows as it answers its immediate social needs, and of this body he endeavors to become a sympathetic and active member. His linguistic problems become then social problems, problems in social adaptation, changing continually as the social group and situation change, but offering always the same method of approach. In determining his linguistic sympathies, he will endeavor to keep his mind free from narrow theories and prejudices, from faddist and fashionable conceits, and will strive to place himself in such an attitude of mind as to be able to realize and to become a part of that central and broad movement in the life of the language by virtue of which language becomes a common social possession of a people, a record of its life and its being. It is here that he will find the feeling for the idiom preserved with a certainty and a sincerity that no amount of learned or æsthetic theorizing can impart. Fashions may come and fashions may go, theories

may grow ancient and be replaced by new ones; but there is one thing which has gone on forever, and that is the continuous current of the main stream of the life of the language. From *Beowulf* to Chaucer, from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from Shakespeare to the present day, there has been an unbroken thread of life, a historical succession of the spirit which makes *Beowulf* more intimately the possession of the English language than it ever can be of the French, Italian, or even the German. How shall we find that thread of life in the language of to-day? For certainly it will be the desire of every one to follow its leadings wherever they may go, to become a part of the life of the present which is to be a part of the life of the future. In endeavoring to answer this question we may find light in a paragraph from Johnson's *Preface to Shakespeare*, in which he is discussing the language of Shakespeare's comedies:

If there be, what I believe there is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of its respective language as to remain settled and unaltered, this style is probably to be sought for in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned depart from established forms of speech in hope of finding or making better; those who wish for distinction forsake the vulgar when the vulgar is right; but there is a conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides and where this poet seems to have gathered his comic dialogue.

"A conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides," what is this but the conversation of the great body of the normal intelligent members of the linguistic community, of those who care little for arbitrary and theoretical standards, but who, with open and unprejudiced minds, accept what is effective and expressive wherever they find it? Here, in this body, the speaker will find the source of authority for the colloquial speech, and to it the literary artist must always return as to the origin of all that is sane, expressive and beautiful in the language. In the end, he who wishes to settle the question of his responsibility toward the language, toward his fellows in the linguistic state, and toward those who shall come after him, must recognize the duty of an understanding of the linguistic will of this social body and the duty of an intelligent coöperation with it.

It may be objected that it is difficult to determine that happy middle ground above grossness and below refinement, that this is a matter of opinion concerning which we may have as many views as there are judges. And this, indeed, would have to be acknowledged. It is a matter of opinion. No sociologist, no psychologist, can formulate for us a hard

and fast definition, with clearly defined upper and lower limitations, of any social class without first settling upon some arbitrary standard. But it is just this settling upon a preliminary standard of judgment which is contrary to the spirit of social democracy and which ignores the peculiar duty and opportunity of democracy. Democracy is not a specific for any set of social diseases, it is an attitude of mind. The problem which a democracy imposes upon its members is one of attaining a sufficiently liberal and self-expressive exchange of opinion to enable its members to realize themselves as a unified and self-determining body. It is a difficult problem, has perhaps never been solved, and in its completeness may never be satisfactorily solved. Its solution remains nevertheless a worthy ideal to strive toward. Those who seek shall find, because the will to seek is largely the finding, and the duty of seeking is one that is laid upon all alike, from the highest to the lowest. This also is the problem in social education which language proposes. Our doctrine of educated liberality, of social democracy in language, offers no test for the solution of any specific difficulty. It is not a rule, but rather a guide to action which shall aid the individual in gathering together the evidence upon which his specific decisions are to be based. As such it is the most valuable single aid that the student of language can have, for the worth even of a dogmatic rule cannot be tested except by the help of some such general principle. Moreover, it demands and cultivates sensitiveness of hearing, quickness and certainty of observation, ready wit in adapting language to varying circumstances, and, above all, openness and flexibility of mind, without which all other gifts are vain. It encourages that lively sense of language which is one of our social duties, and which nothing will help so effectually to preserve as the realization of the complexity and the infinitely possible variations of language in its social relations.

George Philip Krapp.

KOREA—AN EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL SUICIDE

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As there is a tendency to censure Japan rather harshly for her recent change of relation toward Korea, a change from an advisory to that of a protecting State, fairness demands that before final sentence is passed we examine in something approaching a judicial manner the facts and the law in the case. An intelligent conclusion in such cases must always

be preceded by a study of the conditions which necessitated action and of what has been done. Without such inquiry the decision is simply a guess prompted either by prejudice or by the general disinclination to suspend judgment. But if we are to perform properly the duties of a coroner's jury, it is necessary that we examine carefully the facts in order to reach a verdict as to whether Korea committed suicide or was feloniously slain by Japan.

For present purposes it is not necessary for us to go into ancient history. And fortunately so, for it is only during recent years that we have reliable records as to the acts of the Korean Government. But even if we had, the fitness of the recent Government to rule a people should be judged by its own acts, not the acts or character of its predecessors. It must also be judged with reference to present standards of fitness, for it is entirely conceivable that a government which at a certain period might be considered relatively good might at a later period, when conditions have changed, be considered relatively unfitted to rule, or even intolerable.

While a government's budget is not a conclusive test as to its fitness to rule, it is, nevertheless, valuable evidence as to the things upon which the government throws the emphasis; it gives an idea of the judgment of the government as to the relative value of things. Such being the case, it is well worth while examining the Korean budget. In glancing through this, one cannot fail to be struck by the fact that in the same budget in which \$1,103,359 is appropriated for the "Imperial Privy Purse," \$424 is appropriated for public works. When we find \$1,000,000 appropriated for the funeral expenses of the Crown Princess and \$27,718 for all public schools outside the capital, we cannot escape the conclusion that it overestimated the value of pageantry and, what is more serious, sadly underestimates the duty which a government owes to the people to promote a wide diffusion of intelligence. Such a disproportionate outlay evidences an exaggerated estimate of the value of pageantry and an abbreviated notion of the value of education.

A comparison between the amount expended for education and that for the support of the army is also suggestive. Korea has been expending annually over \$5,000,000 on its army. Whatever justification there might be for expending so large a part of the total revenue upon an effective army, there certainly can be no justification for expending it in support of an ineffective one. The Korean army furnished neither protection for the country nor discipline for its members. A well-regulated army enforces a discipline that possesses some educative value. This is its redeeming feature in time of peace. But the Korean army does not

even possess the virtue of enforcing discipline. When the Pingyang regiment was ordered to the front, its colonel assembled the soldiers and asked all those who wished to go to hold up their hands. Though this unique method of ordering troops to the front possessed the advantage of reducing the regiment to a size that was no longer unwieldy, it does not appeal even to civilians as being either practical or evidence of good military discipline, and there is little likelihood of its receiving the indorsement of military men. Yet, strange as it may seem, this is not an exceptional instance. It is a recognized practice in the Korean army for the soldiers to hold a mass-meeting and vote upon whether or not they will go where they have been ordered (*Korea Review*, January, 1904, p. 176). With such discipline, a group of soldiers is not an army but a mob, and for the protection which a mob furnishes a nation \$5,000,000 a year is too high a price; for not only is it no protection, but it is an intensely demoralizing force. Even a well-disciplined army has a sufficiently demoralizing effect upon the community, but nowhere near so demoralizing as that of a mob. Such being the character of the Korean army, it does not surprise us to learn that the soldiers of Pingyang combined with the police for the purpose of elevating burglary to the rank of an honored profession, and incidentally increasing their income. When the governor remonstrated, they became indignant at his lack of appreciation of their purposes and the energy they displayed, and threatened to disband and leave the city without police or military protection (*Korea Review*, January, 1904, p. 30).

The expenditure of \$450,604 per year for maintaining the Korean navy is not only indicative of bad judgment upon the part of the Government, but is conclusive evidence of graft, as the navy consists of but one old gunboat which would be practically useless in a fight. The Government might as well spend \$450,000 a year on a wild-cat, as the latter would do more fighting and would afford equal opportunities for official graft. A government cannot make such expenditures without forfeiting self-respect and the respect of the people.

A review of the Korean Government's expenditure for its army and navy would not be at all complete without some reference to the Pension Bureau. A study of this bureau heightens the respect one has acquired for the practicality of expenditures by the Korean Government for the support of its army and navy. The Pension Bureau is maintained at an expense of \$27,552 a year; and one can get an idea of the necessity of such an expenditure when he recalls that the bureau grants pensions to the amount of \$1,956 a year. In other words, the Government considers it necessary to expend \$14 a year in order to distribute \$1. In some

countries this would not be considered wise financial management, but in Korea it has the sanction of the Bureau of Propriety.

There are a large number of miscellaneous items in the budget which deserve a passing glance. \$186,041 was appropriated for imperial "sacrifices." What benefit the people would derive from such an expenditure is something which baffles the ordinary mind. When we find an appropriation of \$170,256 for palace guard and \$87,978 more for a special palace guard, we cannot refrain from asking ourselves whether or not that work might not have been done by a regiment of the regular army, provided they would vote favorably upon it, or by the Seoul police force, maintained at an expense of about \$300,000 a year. At any rate, it would seem that an expenditure of \$250,000 for guarding the palace is disproportionate to the amount expended for national education. We find \$19,560 appropriated for maintaining a Bureau of Ceremony and Bureau of Propriety. The Mining Bureau superintended no mines and submitted no report, but cost the State \$15,742, half of which was for "travelling." A circulating library of greater utility could have been supported at less expense.

There is scarcely an item in the Korean budget which does not furnish unmistakable evidence of graft. When one finds such items as \$650,000 for the burial of the Queen Dowager, \$16,000 to \$27,000 for the rental of an office in such a city as Seoul, \$450,000 for maintaining an old gunboat, \$1,158,000 for "incidentals," he is a dull fellow if he does not begin to suspect graft. While there is no government free from occasional grafting, in Korea grafting was the rule, not the exception; the whole system was permeated with graft.

But not only was there graft and foolish expenditure after the money was collected. The method of collecting it was one which discouraged all industry. The collection of taxes was farmed out to the highest bidder. As large sums had to be paid to the palace ring of sorcerers, eunuchs, fortune-tellers, ministers and courtiers for the privilege of collecting taxes, the collectors, in order to recoup themselves, resorted to extortion. If the taxpayer grumbled at this he was thrown into jail. He then had the privilege of appealing from the extortioner who put him there to those from whom the extortioner secured his office. The courts interposed no safeguard against extortion, as the judges secured their offices from the same clique as the tax collectors and other administrative officials. There was no such thing in Korea as an independent judiciary; it was completely dominated by the administrative branch of the Government. The person who was deprived of his property or liberty by administrative officers had therefore no recourse. Such conditions re-

moved the incentive to industry and progress. Why should one do more than is necessary to secure a bare existence when he has no guarantee that more can be retained by him and when the acquiring of it may result in the loss of his liberty?

The following incident illustrates very well the respect shown for property rights and personal liberty by the Korean Government. A courtier proceeds to the home of a well-to-do Korean, and, having found the owner, says: "I am delighted to be the bearer of good news and a reward of merit. His Majesty the Emperor has graciously deigned to bestow upon you the decoration of the second class of the Order of the Plum Blossom, and to send it to you by my unworthy hand." Having thus manifested the interest which his Majesty takes in his subjects, he informs the newly made knight of the "Order of the Plum Blossom" that "the expenses connected with the bestowal of this high honor will be \$5,000." As this sum would represent all the property he had, Sir Yong Ko He concluded that he could not afford the decoration upon these terms. Such ingratitude forced from his Majesty's royal messenger the exclamation: "Then you scorn the imperial gift and insult his Majesty by refusing to accept it!" And without waiting for his righteous anger to abate, he proceeded to have the sordid ingrate thrown into prison on a charge of *lèse-majesté*. To secure a trial was out of the question. His only alternative to remaining in prison was accepting the terms offered and becoming a penniless Plum Blossom Knight.

Far different was the kind of treatment accorded influential members of the palace clique. They were allowed to borrow dies from the government mint and coin nickels for their own use. They were also permitted to use their own discretion as to the number and fineness of these coins, so that while the standard nickel contains two cents worth of metal, those of the irregular mintage sometimes contained not more than half a cent's worth. It is well known upon whom the evil results of debasing the coinage fall. This is one of the cowardly ways adopted by rulers for robbing the people or causing them to be robbed.

Such was the condition of affairs when Japan attempted in 1904 to bring about administrative reforms through a resident general who should act as adviser. His position was similar to that occupied for years by Lord Cromer in Egypt. Under this arrangement the fiction of Korean independence was retained. The main reforms attempted by the Japanese were the following:

(1) Separation of the imperial household from the executive, with a view of the lessening of intrigue and the protection of ministers from the influence of eunuchs, sorcerers, spirit-mediums, and other hangers-on of the imperial court;

(2) a reduction and reorganization of the expensive and absolutely useless Korean army; (3) a change in the financial system which would give real value and stability to the currency; (4) abolition of useless offices and a reduction in the number of the civil service employees; (5) a general increase in the salaries of officials, with a view to removing the excuse for administrative extortion; (6) education of the people; (7) adoption of sanitary measures; and (8) improvement of means of communication and development of the natural resources of the country.—*Outlook* for November 18, 1905.

Attempts to put into effect this eminently sensible programme of reform were met upon every hand by obstruction. The "Yangbans," or official class, were intolerant of reform—the old régime suited them. After three years of almost fruitless endeavor to improve the Korean administration and at the same time retain the fiction of Korean independence, it became evident to Japan that the plan was an unworkable one. Yet as she considered the reforms imperative she concluded that the only alternative was to disregard the fiction of Korean sovereignty for the substance of reform, and accordingly she has established a protectorate.

What then is the justification, if any, for the recent absorption of Korean sovereignty by Japan? The answer to this question depends entirely upon the point of view. If we pursue the dogmatic method of starting out with any one or all of the following assumptions—that "no man is fit to govern another man without that other man's consent," that "all government rests its authority on the consent of the governed," that "self-government, however bad, is preferable to government by another"—if we start out with these or similar assumptions, we must inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the position of Japan in Korea rests entirely upon force and has no moral justification. The difficulty with this method of procedure is that it assumes what is to be proven and then exults in having proved something.

At the risk of being considered sacrilegious I am going to question the correctness of the above gospel. Self-government is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end—the securing of conditions which enable the governed to realize the highest possible degree of happiness and usefulness in life. If self-government is an end, then the fact of its existence would be a realization of the end, regardless of the kind of self-government. If upon the other hand it is a means, it must be subjected to the ordinary tests for judging means, and this in each particular case, for the adaptability of means is something which is to be judged in the concrete, not in the abstract.

The attempt for centuries to escape this conclusion by asserting government to be of divine origin and hence not to be subjected to human

tests, has now been pretty generally abandoned. We have with practical unanimity reached the conclusion that government must find its justification not in its form, or in its origin, but in the degree of service which it renders. In other words, government rests upon expediency. We cannot say whether a particular form is good or bad, justifiable or not justifiable, until we find out what it is doing. Nor is it sufficient to find out what it is doing in general; but we must, in order to determine whether or not it is justifiable in a given State, find out what it is doing in that particular State. For a given kind or form of government, like any other means to an end, may work well in one State and badly in another, and the fact that it works well in the one is not a sufficient justification for continuing it in the other. To illustrate: a plow is a means for putting soil in a better condition for raising a crop, but a given form or kind of plow might work very well in smooth soil which would not work well at all in stony ground. It would be nonsense to insist upon using it in the latter simply because it worked well in the former. A given form of knife, which we commonly call a razor, is very well adapted to the use to which it is generally put, but it would not be indicative of common sense to insist that because it works well in cutting beards it would therefore work well and should be used for trimming apple trees.

There is altogether too strong a tendency upon the part of most of us to consider government in the abstract rather than in the concrete, whereas all governing must be done in the concrete. We are too apt to conclude that because self-government sounds well in the abstract it will necessarily work well in all cases in the concrete. We are prone to consider some rules too sacred to admit of exceptions. And yet the great apostles of "consent of the governed," the men most quoted by the apotheosists of self-government, did not hesitate to make exceptions. At the same time that Thomas Jefferson was preaching the doctrine of "consent of the governed" he held slaves, and there is no record that he ever advocated giving them a voice in the government by extending to them the right of suffrage, neither did he protest against excluding from the electorate "Indians not taxed." For equally practical reasons, Lincoln, at the same time that he was championing the doctrine that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent, was insisting that the Union should govern the Confederacy regardless of its consent. He had sufficient faith in the conviction that the Federal Government knew better what was good for the Confederacy in the way of government than the Confederacy knew itself, so that he was willing to use the whole of the Federal forces for the purpose of enforcing his ideas.

These men were not demagogues. They were not advocating the doctrine of self-government merely for the delectation of the rabble, but because they believed that upon the whole it was a sound principle of political science—a principle of far too great vitality to be destroyed by occasional variations from it, when these variations are rendered advisable by circumstances and prompted by practical common sense. The man who insists that there shall be no compromise in government in order to get the best that can be had under the circumstances, has secured his ideas of government from studying it in the abstract rather than observing it in the concrete. Burke was not far wrong when he said that “all government is a matter of compromise.” But whether or not we can safely go that far, we can with entire assurance as to our correctness reach the conclusion that ideas of government, unlike the theorems of geometry, are not something which can wisely be worked out without regard to the conditions under which they are to be applied. The nations which have made the greatest progress in the art of government and to whom political science is most greatly indebted are those which have thrown the emphasis upon conditions rather than upon theories.

If, then, we may abandon the theory that self-government, however bad, is better than government, however good, by another, we are free to ask ourselves the question whether the Korean Government had not by reason of its failure to fulfil the prime objects for which governments are instituted—the protection of life, liberty and property—forfeited its claim of right to continued existence? For my own part I can see no justification for the existence of a government after it has failed to fulfil these fundamental requirements, as the Korean Government had, and has shown no capacity for regenerating itself and no inclination to accept advice as to necessary reforms.

In order that my conclusions with reference to the merits of the Korean Government may not be thought unnecessarily harsh, I submit the following conclusions reached by Mr. George Kennan after a careful study of the situation at close range. He says: “It takes from the people, directly and indirectly, everything that they can earn over and above a bare subsistence, and gives them in return practically nothing. It affords no adequate protection to life or property; it provides no educational facilities that deserve notice; it builds no roads; it does not improve its harbors; it does not light its coast; it pays no attention whatever to street-cleaning or sanitation; it takes no measures to prevent or check epidemics; it does not attempt to foster national trade or industry; it encourages the lowest forms of primitive superstition, and it corrupts and demoralizes its subjects by setting them examples of untruthfulness,

dishonesty, treachery, cruelty and cynical brutality in dealing with human rights that is almost without a parallel in modern times." To this indictment I might add the more concise one by Mr. Gale, a Korean scholar of ability and ample opportunity for becoming familiar with the facts: "No government ever existed that was more infected with rottenness to the bones."

But it may be objected that the Korean nation had sufficient vitality to regenerate its government, however bad that government had become. The difficulty with this supposition is that it does not seem to be in accord with the facts. Those who by their disinterestedness and careful observation are in the best position to judge agree that "Korea presents a case, not of arrested development, but of disintegration and decay. Its civilization has not become stagnant, it has rotted." Time was when a country might remain isolated, and such conditions as existed in Korea a few years ago continue for years or even centuries; but for a country situated as Korea is, isolation is impossible in the twentieth century. The development of the means of communication has rendered national isolation a mere relic of the golden age. To some this may seem hard, but it is an accomplished fact.

With the possibility of isolation out of the question, it follows that when a State gets hopelessly out of joint with its environment and manifests neither the inclination nor the capacity to readjust itself to changed conditions, it must be pushed off the stage, as it is no longer performing a useful part. You may call this the "survival of the fittest" or what you will; it is a law which operates with States as with individuals; it is no respecter of persons, names or sentimentalities.

The work of establishing in Korea a government which will perform the functions for which governments are instituted having fallen to Japan by reason of her location and interests, it remains to be seen whether or not her work will justify her intervention. Even under the disadvantages of a residency she has succeeded in inaugurating some substantial reforms. The amount expended for education and for the encouragement of productive industries has been increased over a hundred-fold. Hospitals have been established and a conscientious attempt made at police reorganization. Reforms of far-reaching effect have been begun in the administrative and judicial departments. A loan of 10,000,000 yen has been secured for the building of wagon roads and a greater amount has been expended in the building of railroads. Over 50,000,000 yen have been expended in the building of water-works. But reforming by means of advice against the wishes of a government in which the dominant class are opposed to change as such is a most difficult task

—so difficult, in fact, that it would soon become intolerable. The change to a protectorate was as inevitable in Korea as in Egypt. It was perhaps a mistake to have attempted to govern through the medium of a residency rather than declaring a protectorate at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Now that a protectorate has been established we may look for more rapid progress.

Edwin Maxey.

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The Forum

JANUARY, 1908

FINANCE

THE FINANCIAL PANIC IN THE UNITED STATES

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

THE narrative of American finance which closed with the last number of THE FORUM brought the story within a week or two of what soon turned out to be perhaps the most interesting juncture in the history of modern finance. Readers of the article published in this magazine three months ago would have obtained little or no premonition of exactly what happened within a month of its publication; precisely the same might in fact be said of the views publicly and privately expressed by the financial community as a whole. It is, indeed, correct in an unusual degree to say that the actual outbreak, this past October, of financial and commercial panic on a scale not approached in 1893, and scarcely paralleled in the famous crisis of 1873, took the whole financial world by surprise.

To begin with, let us sum up the sequence of events in this remarkable episode. A well-known financier, asked by a friend in August whether we were likely to have a financial panic at New York this year, replied: "New York is in a panic now." To a large extent this description was correct of the August market, and in retrospect it may be seen that the grave position in which some enormously wealthy capitalists found themselves at that time was in fact a forerunner of what was about to occur on the credit market as a whole. History will, however, set the beginning of the 1907 panic on October 22d, the day when the Knickerbocker Trust Company closed its doors; that well-remembered occasion was, in point of time, the date when the public

**The
Knickerbocker
Failure**

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first showed signs of the sudden collapse of depositors' confidence which marked the series of troubled weeks which followed.

Certain events of the preceding week had led up rather significantly to the Knickerbocker affair. A national bank in New York first had to appeal to the Clearing House Committee for assistance. This institution had become embarrassed through the reckless use of its resources by a group of speculators, who, as it happened, had also used in a similar way the resources of other affiliated banks under their own control. The Clearing House Committee, which is virtually an executive board of all the associated banks of New York City, found on examination that the Mercantile Bank was not insolvent, and that with some assistance its affairs could be tided over. No actual run resulted, therefore, from the incidents of that week.

But, as usually occurs in an episode of this sort, these disclosures in one institution, at a time of general doubt and uncertainty, started the banking community as a whole to look into the status of other institutions. This is the process which in times gone by has invariably brought to light the weak spots of the situation, and such a point of danger was at once discovered in the Knickerbocker Trust's position. For numerous reasons, of which I shall have more to say later on, what was called the "trust company situation" had been for some years watched by experienced financiers as the probable storm centre in an actual financial crisis. The Knickerbocker Trust's directors, finding its resources seriously impaired, followed the Mercantile Bank's example and applied for help to the Clearing House Committee. Although not in any respect responsible for the regulation of the trust companies, the bankers spent a night session in examining the Knickerbocker's books. They found the company in a position of insolvency, where maintenance of payments, even with help from other institutions, was, in their view, impossible. Assistance was, therefore, reluctantly refused. These details, being made public in the morning papers, started an immediate run of depositors on the company. The company's doors were kept open for perhaps two hours, and in this connection are involved certain procedures which may be much more generally heard of when the whole incident is reviewed in calmer days. There were depositors, and large ones, who got their money out in advance of the general public, and before the institution closed its doors.

I have spoken of the apprehension among thoughtful financiers that the New York trust companies would be the centre of disturbance when actual panic should break out in the united American market. Before,

therefore, describing the incidents which followed the Knickerbocker failure, it will be necessary to explain just what this trust company situation was. Writing in *THE FORUM* of April, 1903, I described the controversy which had arisen that year between the banks of the New York Clearing House and the trust companies, whose checks had up to that time been exchanged and redeemed through the agency of banks in that institution. The Clearing House, after prolonged discussion, had unanimously adopted the rule that no such institution should be allowed to enjoy even the indirect use of the Clearing House for exchange of checks, unless it held in its own vaults 10 per cent. of its deposits in the form of cash. This requirement was afterward raised to 15 per cent. I mentioned at the time that the action of the Clearing House was based on the fact that the trust companies of New York City, though reporting \$447,000,000 deposit liabilities, maintained against those liabilities virtually no cash reserve whatever. A situation of this sort, I pointed out, was "certain to be dangerous in a money crisis."

The trust companies, in the somewhat angry dispute which followed, retorted that the substantial sum in cash deposited by the several trust companies in the banks was as available for reserve as actual cash in hand. *THE FORUM* cited at the time, the judgment of the financial community generally that this argument was fallacious in that it charged as a reserve, against a highly expanded mass of trust company liabilities, a bank deposit fund which was itself protected only by the 25 per cent. cash reserve of the banking law. That is to say, even if the trust companies safeguarded their own \$447,000,000 deposits by a credit of \$100,000,000 at the banks, the actual cash held against the entire liability was the \$25,000,000 or thereabouts which the banks maintained against the deposits of trust companies with them. Clearly, this meant that the trust company deposits were sustained by the very inadequate cash reserve of not quite 6 per cent. How this situation came about is now sufficiently well known. The trust companies, originally incorporated under an act of New York State which contemplated only the doing of an ordinary trustee or administrator business for estates, minors, lunatics, and so on, had found means, through their own construction of certain general powers in the act, of entering on another field—that of deposit banking, pure and simple. Instead, therefore, of confining their activities to accounts such as would be left in the hands of an individual trustee, they not only accepted but solicited deposits of all sorts, even in small amounts, using the moneys thus obtained for investment in certain directions which were permitted by the original

trust company act, but prohibited, for very wise reasons, in the State and national banking acts.

They were able to use these deposits for investment in stocks and bonds, in syndicate operations, even in real estate and real estate mortgages, which are forbidden as investments for bank deposits on the ground, made plain by all experience, that where an institution is subject to instantaneous call for return of its deposits to their owners, it is not safe to place them in fixed investments where time would be required to reconvert the investments into cash. While, therefore, the field for investment of trust company deposits was thus left without ordinary banking safeguards, there was lacking also any provision for maintenance of reserves. Had the law contemplated this acceptance of ordinary bank deposits by the trust companies, while allowing the use of those deposits for investments of the sort described, it would undoubtedly have required a ratio of cash reserves on hand not only equal to that exacted from the banks, but very much greater on account of the greater risk involved in case of a run of depositors. This was the basis on which the Clearing House acted in its demands upon the trust companies, and, in the light of last October's experiences, no one is likely now to deny that the Clearing House banks were most moderate in their demands.

But the trust companies did not think so. Some of them, which had continued to restrict their business to the simple trustee operations contemplated by the law, were merely angry at the idea of dictation by the banks; others—including, naturally, all which had gone on an extensive scale into deposit banking of the ordinary sort—had to find some other excuse. Some of them alleged at the time that a run on a trust company was unthinkable; others cited the remarks of the president of one of the companies, which referred to the "foolish fetich of a cash reserve." In the end practically all of the trust companies withdrew from their Clearing House connections rather than accept the terms laid down by the banks for such facilities. This point is important; it has, as we shall see, an essential bearing on certain phenomena of the panic.

The controversy, however, did not end here; in 1906 the so-called Wainwright Act was passed at Albany, requiring all trust companies to keep in reserve 15 per cent. of their deposits, of which reserve one-third at least must be in cash, while another one-third might be invested in State or municipal bonds and the rest kept on deposit with other banks or trust companies. As regards this Wainwright Act, it need only be remarked that no competent observer at the time thought it met the needs of the situation. What was needed was a cash reserve, against ordinary demand deposits, at least as large as that maintained by

banks. This was clearly not achieved by the Wainwright law, while as for the stipulation that one-third of this meagre reserve might be kept on deposit not only with banks but with other trust companies, the panic was destined to disclose the fact that this was a path to immeasurable abuses. Human nature being what it is, one can hardly wonder that certain adroit and unscrupulous trust company officers should have utilized this clause for deposit of reserves by "swapping" such deposits with one another. That is to say, Trust Company A would give its check for a million dollars to Trust Company B and count that deposit as part of its required reserve, while Trust Company B would place an exactly similar sum with Trust Company A, and reckon it similarly as its own reserve. Clearly, this was no protection at all, and certain events of the panic week proved clearly not only that this evasion of the law had occurred, but that the mischievous results which might have been expected from it had actually come about.

The reader will pardon this long digression; it is essential to the plain understanding of the narrative which is to follow. On the morning after the Knickerbocker failure of October 22d

Beginning there was reason, in the light of all experience, to anticipate a run on the other trust companies. This

of the run, as it happened, was directed toward the Trust

Run Company of America, through a quite inexcusable series of headlines in a usually conservative morning newspaper, which announced in large capitals that the company was in danger but would be rescued. Considering that exactly the same statement had been made with regard to the Knickerbocker, it may well be imagined how slight the reassuring influence of this second newspaper proclamation on the public mind could be. The run began at once that morning; before the day was over it was plain to every one that perhaps the most formidable run of depositors in the history of banking was in progress.

The Trust Company of America had no less than 15,000 individual depositors; the Lincoln Trust Company, to which the run at once extended, had something like 7,000. Many of these depositors had small accounts subject to instantaneous withdrawal; they had been attracted to these two companies through the high interest rate paid for their deposits—a rate made possible through the wide field for investment open to the use of these funds by the companies, under the lax provisions of the trust company act. Here, then, was the situation: With more individual depositors than the average savings bank would number, with deposits largely placed in fields of investment where quick conversion into

cash was impossible, and with a reserve which would have been wholly inadequate for a banking institution far more rigidly restricted, these two institutions were subjected to a sudden call for payments of sums of money over their counter to depositors, running to tens of millions.

No banking institution in the world could have stood up unhelped for a single day in the face of such conditions. The banking community of New York realized at once how grave a situation confronted the two beleaguered institutions, and adopted what measures it could to protect them. But even the banks of New York City were of themselves unable to cope with such a crisis. It happened, however, that the United States Treasury was at the time in possession of an abundant surplus, which, in fact, it had been returning only slowly to the market in view of the possibility of just such an emergency. Mr. Cortelyou, Secretary of the Treasury, came on in person to New York and at once deposited nearly \$40,000,000 of that surplus with such New York banks as should engage to use the cash thus left with them as a loan to the endangered trust companies. At the start there was undoubtedly some difference of opinion as to whether it was best to attempt the seemingly impossible task of saving the companies. There were bankers who frankly declared their judgment that the trust companies had best be left to their fate and that the Treasury money be reserved for other emergencies. This is a question on which discussion hereafter may converge; but the powerful influence of Mr. J. P. Morgan, who then assumed captainship of the banking forces, and the concurrence of Mr. Cortelyou in his judgment, led to the use of this Treasury money for the purposes described.

Transfer of actual cash from the Sub-Treasury, technically to the banks and thence to the two trust companies, but in reality directly to the trust companies began in enormous quantities. Payments were made to all depositors across the counter. Ordinarily, such a display of powerful relief and of actual cash would have stopped the panic. It had on this occasion no such influence; on the contrary, the lines of depositors grew longer. At times the lines of waiting men and women stretched for the space of a whole block. The depositors did not leave when the doors were closed at the end of banking hours; they remained in line to save their places for the ensuing morning. This episode passed into so extraordinary a phase that the police actually ticketed the men in line, with a view to enabling them to get at least a moment's sleep and leave the line for a second without forfeiting their place. This thing continued from Wednesday, when the run on the two trust companies

**Treasury
Relief**

began, up to the close of business Saturday. It began again when the trust companies opened their doors on the following Monday morning, and it was not until the week was well advanced that the waiting line had shrunk to negligible proportions. During this time the Trust Company of America alone had paid out \$34,000,000 over its counter to depositors. Nothing like this has ever been seen before in the history of New York or of any other city.

At length, even the Treasury's enormous reserve of surplus cash had been wholly used to save the companies, and still, to all appearances, the run continued. The spectacle of depositors lining the streets for a block away from the door of the company was no longer seen; what took its place was a policy of deliberately slow payments, through the use of every possible expedient whereby the amount of cash paid out might be kept down. It was alleged that on some occasions in the ensuing week, only one or two depositors presented their claims and received their cash during the entire five hours of business. What also came very forcibly to light, and what served to emphasize the folly of the companies in calmly breaking off their connections with the Clearing House in 1903, was that the line before the companies' counters was now made up for the most part of messengers of banks. When Clearing House facilities had been thus thrown aside, the companies undertook to collect by messenger the checks of other banks turned in to them, and to lay on those other banks collection of checks drawn on the trust companies through similar personal presentation at the teller's window.

This had gone well enough in the days of public confidence, but the scheme broke down entirely in the face of panic. Obviously, the policy of delaying payments just referred to made it impossible for banks to collect in any reasonable way checks on the besieged trust companies turned in to them as deposits. These other banks began by accepting such checks only as "subject to collection"; when they found that four or five days elapsed before the money could be collected, many banks refused to accept such checks at all. In the end the Bank Superintendent intervened, announcing that he could not allow such a state of things to continue, and insisting that the companies must either discover means of making payments promptly and regularly, or else must close their doors. This warning startled the whole community; it set the banks at work devising new expedients, and in the end, loans were made to the Lincoln and the American whereby they would be able to pay each depositor at once, either in cash or in a check on a solvent bank.

Such was the actual history, which has not heretofore been fully told,

of the run on the trust companies. It may be said to have continued for a week; it was accompanied necessarily by runs, greater or smaller, on all other institutions of the sort in New York City, and by a huge drain of money from the banks. The companies were saved, but with the rescue the financial situation passed into its second stage. The community at large was by this time absolutely frightened.

Clearing

House

Certificates

Withdrawal of cash from banks had proceeded at such a rate that a general run was imminent. At the close of the week in which the Knickerbocker episode had started the panic, it became manifest that moderate measures would no longer suffice, even for perfectly solvent institutions. On Saturday, October 26th, two drastic measures were at once adopted. The first was the serving of notice by the savings banks that depositors could get their money only after sixty days' warning of their purpose of withdrawal. Naturally, this did not mean that cases of actual need would not be accommodated; it was designed to prevent a general rush of the ignorant depositor to get his money, something which, unimpeded by such forced delay, would have rendered insolvent any savings bank in the country.

The second expedient was of larger scope and had some extraordinary results. In the panics of 1893, 1890, 1884, and 1873, when the New York banks were subjected to heavy pressure of this sort, recourse was had to what were called Clearing House loan certificates. The device meant simply this: that a given bank, whose cash reserves were so far reduced by panic withdrawals that it could not pay its regular daily balances at the Clearing House, was allowed to deposit with the Clearing House Executive Committee approved securities, on the basis of which that committee should issue, to the applying bank, certificates in certain large denominations which would by general agreement be receivable for balances payable to other banks. In 1893 the New York banks issued \$38,380,000 of such certificates; in 1890, \$15,205,000; in 1884, \$24,915,000, and in 1873, \$26,565,000.

The use of these certificates had, as a rule, been confined to a very few cities of the first importance. Thus, in 1893 the only places outside of New York which adopted the expedient were Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburg. In 1890, Philadelphia and Boston also issued them; in 1884, no city except New York; in 1873, Philadelphia alone adopted similar measures. Now, a moment's thought will show that adoption of this expedient meant, in the first place, loaning of their resources and of their cash as well by strong banks to those which were not in a condition to survive on other terms. When, therefore, as in

1884, the amount thus issued does not rise to large proportions, and when no very formidable run of bank depositors has occurred, the matter simplifies itself. In time, the weaker banks regain their old position; the Clearing House certificates, subject as they are to a heavy tax against the bank to which they are issued, are paid off; and the situation returns to normal.

But when the strain is long-continued, when cash continues to disappear into the hands of hoarders, and when, as a consequence, practically all the payments between the banks come to be conducted, not through cash, but through Clearing House certificates, a very different situation is created. In August, 1893, no less than 95 per cent. of all daily payments between banks at the Clearing House were made in loan certificates. This would mean that the chief purpose of the expedient had failed. With continuance of the run of depositors, the general banking reserve of cash is brought to such small proportions as to reduce many institutions, and sometimes all, to a position of extreme difficulty in meeting demands for large money payments. For instance, banks, among their other duties, carry the accounts of large employers of labor and engage to find for these employers, at the end of the week or month, the exact amount of cash in exactly the denominations required for their pay-roll purposes. In normal times the cash thus distributed flows promptly back through the savings banks, or the retail stores, or other depository institutions, and the banks in another week are in the same position as before. But when banks are confronted with a hoarding mania, it will be seen that the currency thus paid out will not come back.

It must also be apparent that such action as the shutting down on demand withdrawals by the savings banks—useful as that recourse may be in protecting the savings institutions themselves—will now recoil upon the deposit banks. Among the great army of employees who receive their weekly wages, in cash provided by the banks, perhaps the greater number will be savings bank depositors. It need be no source of astonishment that, when notified that they cannot get their savings bank cash immediately on demand, they should refuse to place their wages of that week with the savings banks or with any other institution. They will probably also be cautious about expenditures. The natural result will be that they will hide their weekly wages where they can best conceal the cash. But of this the result must be that the banks are paying out money constantly into quarters from which they get no money back.

**Money
Hoarding**

Combined with this, there arise at such times, and there arose in

formidable shape last October and November, demands from out-of-town institutions for recall of deposits from the New York banks. It is not, as it is sometimes stated, that these institutions apply to New York for help. That also occurs in some degree on such occasions; but in 1907, at any rate, the greater part of the demands sent in by out-of-town institutions were for return of deposits which these very outside banks had previously placed with the New York institutions as a New York individual depositor might have placed his money. In other words, they wanted back their own. But it was manifest in 1907, as it was in 1893, and perhaps in other panics, that the practice adopted by the New York banks of paying 2 per cent. interest on deposits of other institutions, and of thus attracting huge sums of idle interior money which could be used at New York City, met its penalty on occasions such as this. Between the loss to hoarders and the drain to the interior, some banks are certain soon to reach the position where they no longer can provide the necessary cash for pay-rolls.

When that happens, an immediate and very extraordinary result is bound to follow. Currency, as the phrase is, goes to a premium. In reality no such thing occurs, but what does happen is that bank checks, at all events on such institutions as are forced by necessity to refuse full payments to depositors, go to a discount. In 1893, and, in a measure, during 1873, the example was set of certain money brokers inserting advertisements in the newspapers that they would pay a premium on currency. Supposing that premium to be 2 per cent., the offer means that the man who brings \$100 currency to the broker will receive a check on a solvent bank for \$102. It might be imagined that he would instantly convert this check into cash, and sell that currency also at a premium. But, as a matter of fact, the check which he receives is drawn on a bank which will not cash checks indiscriminately, even when drawn by regular depositors. This singular operation served in 1893 to draw out substantial sums of hoarded money. It has been estimated that in last October and November not much less than \$25,000,000 was paid over the counter at these Wall Street brokers' offices for such checks. The premium lasted from the first day of November and through the first half of December; it rose at one time to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which was lower than the highest figure reached in the panic of 1893. To the extent that it drew out cash for use in pay-rolls, and restored reserves of outside banks which could not get at their New York deposits, it was no doubt a useful recourse. But it will also be observed that, once a premium is offered

and paid on currency, partial suspension of cash payments to depositors must be adopted, not by one or two of the banks alone, but by all: and this was substantially the result, both in 1893 and in 1907. This so-called "restriction" lasted longer in 1907 than it did after the panics of either 1893 or 1873.

During the period of great prosperity which preceded the panic of 1907, with extensive development of bank resources and its powerful amalgamations of capital, it had grown to be a rather general conviction among the New York banks that the clearing house certificate expedient would never again be adopted in this country. People of a more cautious temperament, aware of the habit the American community has of repeating financial excesses, had expressed their doubts of this optimistic view; but such people were decidedly in the minority.

**The
Interior
Banks**

We are now to see, not only how the loan-certificate plan was forced on the New York banks again in 1907, but how its use by the country as a whole was practiced on a scale to which the history of previous panics gives but the slightest parallel. When issue of loan certificates was announced by the New York associated banks on October 26th, the announcement was followed, with a promptness which had in it something of the bewildering, by news that clearing houses at practically every other American city had resorted to the same expedient. What this series of announcements really meant was that, within the space of twenty-four hours, the entire system of American banks had passed from the basis of mutual cash exchanges for mutual debit balances to one where due-bills were by common consent to be used in such settlement of balances. Had this recourse been adopted on a scale which would have admitted the use of such certificates for payments by any bank in the country to any other, results might have been somewhat different from what they were. Such application of the plan was, however, for many reasons impossible. In the case of New York, for instance, the assent to such use of paper in payment of balances between banks could be authorized only by the New York Clearing House Committee, and therefore could apply only to transactions between banks in the membership of that clearing house. The same was true of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Chicago, and of a dozen or more interior cities which now for the first time had recourse to the expedient.

It meant, in other words, that while in each separate city banks were engaged in this policy of mutual aid and mutual forbearance, no help was given to the transactions of one city with another. The quite in-

evitable result was the utter derangement of the interior exchanges. Each city whose banks had large credit balances in another city naturally made haste to collect them. But where such demands were made in exceptionally large amount, it soon became impracticable for a bank of the debtor city, whose local credit balances were paid in loan certificates, to meet this outside demand in cash; and thus the clearing house certificate plan, which solved the question for banks of a given clearing house, did not solve it at all for the country as a whole. It, therefore, presently came about, precisely as occurred in the panic of 1893, that drafts on a New York bank—presented, say, at his own bank by a Chicago merchant—were practically non-collectable. The New York banks as a class were ready to place such remitted checks to the credit of their Chicago banking correspondent; but to pay cash for all of them, when no cash was coming in return, would have involved so instantaneous a drain on the city's cash reserves that the banks could not have maintained their ordinary payment.

Therefore, interior exchange came almost completely to a halt. Had this been all, it would have been bad enough; but the very phenomena which were occurring as between banks of one city and their customers elsewhere in the country were bound to cause similar results in transactions between the banks and their own local depositors. The hoarding mania had by this time progressed at such a pace, and the legitimate demands on New York by out-of-town banks in urgent need of strengthening their reserves had depleted supplies of bank cash at so formidable a rate, that a critical situation had arisen for all institutions.

Such was the result of the partial bank suspension at New York. The result in other cities was of a character more sensational and picturesque. In 1893, at a similar juncture, hoarding at half a dozen similar interior points grew to such an extent as nearly to exhaust the available money circulation. With a view to preventing absolute stoppage of the machinery of petty trade, banks and employers of labor issued what they called "wage certificates," entitling the bearer to sums of money in denominations of one dollar and upward, and used to circulate from hand to hand, but not redeemable on sight in cash. In 1893 this emergency currency was put out very loosely—in perhaps the majority of cases the holder of such notes had no assurances of the ultimate redemption beyond the credit of the issuer. Last November it soon became apparent that the interior communities were confronted, on a much larger scale than in 1893, with

**"Emergency
Currency"**

need for such emergency currency. They went about the issue, however, much more intelligently and systematically than fourteen years ago. The *modus operandi* was as a rule as follows: The manufacturer, having determined to issue "pay checks" to his employees, would notify his bank of that intention. The bank would notify the Clearing House Committee; the bank would then set aside such part of the manufacturer's deposit as would cover his issue of pay checks, and would itself deposit with the Clearing House Committee sufficient securities to cover the deposit fund thus set aside. This being done, the Clearing House Committee would issue to the manufacturer such sums in emergency currency, made out in such denominations, as he specified.

Not all the emergency currency was thus secured. But in the larger cities this was the rather uniform basis for it. As may be supposed, the use of token money in such manufacturing centres as Pittsburg, where ignorant workmen and foreigners were numerous on the pay-rolls, was at first met with violent opposition which was naturally intensified when the recipients of these pay checks, presenting them at the bank, found they could not draw cash against them, but could only open a deposit for their own account. In the end, however, the necessity of the case brought general acquiescence, and the expedient was carried through more peaceably than might have been supposed. But it will hardly be imagined that such a situation could continue without gravely upsetting trade, not only between the different cities, but in every city where it was practised.

We left the crisis at New York City where the Clearing House had resorted to loan certificates on October 26th. It remains to speak of other events in that notable panic week, which had no immediate reference to what we have just discussed. During the week which ended on that day, panic had grown so general, not only among the depositors of banks and trust companies but among those institutions themselves, that for a time complete suspension of credit seemed to be imminent. Had all the banks and bankers of the city kept in mind the exact steps through which relief was obtained on previous occasions of that sort, their mental unsettlement might have been allayed. Many of them did thus retain their composure, many others did not, and for a day or two, at the height of panic, the result was absolute refusal by a number of important banks to continue their ordinary processes of discount.

In every first-class panic a situation of this sort arises; knowledge of what that situation is, and of how it must be dealt with, was the motive for the rule laid down in the famous Bullion Report to the British

**The Stock
Exchange
Panic**

Parliament of 1810: that in times of panic, banks must invariably discount freely and fearlessly for all solvent customers, but must charge a sufficiently high rate to deter all borrowers save those in absolute need of the capital applied for. When the banks, in the few days after the Knickerbocker failure, disregarded this wholesome rule and began to shut down on loans to their ordinary customers, the first place where the process brought matters to a crisis was the Stock Exchange. On the Stock Exchange, practically all the day-to-day operations are conducted through credit, and so highly systematized are the relations between borrowers and lenders that, unless the ordinary credit operations can pass through smoothly every twenty-four hours, wholesale suspensions of banking houses must result.

In the panic of 1873 this temporary refusal by the banks to discount caused such a situation that the Stock Exchange closed its doors and remained closed during the ten ensuing days. In 1893, on the panic day, July 26th, proposals for similar action were similarly made, and they were made in some quarters during the third week of last October. Both in 1893 and in 1907, however, there were enough cool-headed bankers with their hand on the situation to see the way out of the dilemma. Largely through the influence of Mr. J. P. Morgan, and backed by the urgent representations of the President of the Stock Exchange, a group of powerful banks, on the afternoon of October 24th, followed the rule of the Bullion Report and loaned, at the high rate of money then prevailing, all that was absolutely needed for the Stock Exchange. With that action the extreme stage of panic ended; though, of course, there were plenty of supplementary stages left for the markets to pass through.

It will be observed, however, that this continuance of loans on an extensive scale, coming along with the hoarding by depositors, and the heavy drain of cash by outside cities, still threatened the highly precarious situation for the New York banks.

New York	the highly precarious situation for the New York banks.
Bank	On October 19th, the Saturday before the panic, the
Reserves	New York banks reported a surplus of \$11,182,000 over

the 25 per cent. ratio of cash reserve to deposits required by law. The next week a deficit of \$1,233,000 was reported, and this deficiency increased at so formidable a rate that, on November 23d, it had reached the wholly unprecedented amount of \$54,103,000—the largest deficit in the panic of 1893 having been \$16,545,000. This showing was not quite as alarming as it appeared upon its face; for all other items in the bank return, credit as well as debit, were on a larger scale than in 1893, and the heavy deficiency of last November still left cash

reserves in the sum of 20 per cent. of deposit liabilities, where the ratio, in the largest deficiency of fourteen years ago, was $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Nevertheless, the figures showed a loss of \$51,000,000 actual cash by the New York banks within five weeks—this notwithstanding the Treasury's \$40,000,000 cash deposit. Much of this huge amount was actually hoarded, and hoarding was still going on extensively.

In every panic of the sort, at New York or at any other first-class financial centre, a situation of this nature has been met by one expedient: **Blockade in Foreign Exchange** import of gold on an extensive scale from foreign markets able to provide it. Considering that such import of gold has been the means of ending every previous bank panic, even as far back as 1837, it is perhaps a little singular that for two or three days Wall Street appeared to think that the recourse was impracticable. The reason for this mistaken view, however, lay in the fact that with the panicky refusal of credit by the New York banks, operations in international exchange came instantly to a halt.

A New York banker with foreign credits at his command, or a New York merchant who is exporting goods to Europe, has the right at such times, as at all others, to draw on London for the proceeds. But the machinery of such transfer of credits is that his bill of exchange is sold in the New York market, or, to put the matter in another way, it is pledged with a New York bank as the basis for a loan which anticipates arrival of the remittance from Lombard Street. It will be seen, then, that if the bank to which the merchant or banker, in the case supposed, has made his application, will not lend, then the machinery for drawing on Europe's reserves of capital or gold temporarily ceases to exist. During the last half of the panic week ending October 26th, that was precisely the situation which existed. Ordinarily, gold can be at once engaged in London when the rate of exchange has fallen to the neighborhood of \$4.83 $\frac{1}{2}$ per pound sterling. During the week referred to, not only had the rate declined to this figure, but, in the urgent offering of their drafts on London by bankers or merchants possessing foreign credits, the quoted rate at one time sank below \$4.80, and was, in fact, during forty-eight hours, reported on Wall Street as unquotable. For this absurdity there is no possible explanation except the panic among the New York banks—which was fortunately short-lived. The manner in which the market found its way out of this particular embarrassment involves a curious story.

I have already described the means by which the bidding of a premium

on money, or the offering of bank checks at a discount, operated in the local market. Precisely the same transaction now began to be applied on an extensive scale in the case of the international market. As first reported, on Saturday, October 26th, and Monday, October 28th, the transaction was described as the bid of a 3 per cent. premium for imported gold. But since such premium could be paid only in bank checks, it followed that in this case, as with the premium offered to the money hoarders, bank checks were sold at a heavy discount to attract the gold. It will be plain on a moment's thought, however, that while the normal gold import point of foreign exchange is \$4.83½, if an actual premium of 3 cents on the dollar is added to what the bidder pays, then gold can be imported with exchange nearly 15 cents higher.

The Premium on Gold Imports

As a matter of fact, a 3 per cent. bid for sterling bills made possible importation of gold from Europe, even supposing rates to have gone as high as \$4.98—this notwithstanding the fact that \$4.88½ is normally the figure at which New York would be forced to export gold. The result may be imagined. Under the influence of these extravagant bids, engagements of gold in wholly unprecedented quantities occurred on the London market. The rate for sterling exchange advanced at once from its low figure of \$4.80, and went at times as high as \$4.91; yet the gold engagements continued at the higher figure, the net result of this extraordinary operation being the purchase of some \$97,000,000 gold on the European markets.

The situation on the markets where these extraordinary demands converged was peculiar enough. There are only three European markets from which on short notice any such sums of gold could possibly be procured—London, Paris, and Berlin. But, as between these three, the Berlin market was in a state of partial panic on its own account, and the Imperial Bank of Germany strained beyond precedent in meeting home requirements. As for Paris, the Bank of France very early shut down on providing for these American demands, except on the basis of special negotiations, that institution being able to pursue such a policy through the charter right which it enjoys, to pay out gold or silver, at its option, to holders of its notes.

This left the strain to fall almost exclusively on the Bank of England. The American purchaser of a bill of exchange on London naturally became entitled, through that purchase, to possession of a deposit in an equivalent amount, at some London joint-stock bank. From this bank his credit enabled him to withdraw the amount in Bank of England notes; and these notes, presented at the Bank of England, must, in ac-

cordance with that institution's charter, be redeemed in gold. It will be seen, therefore, that a strain of unusual magnitude, and, as it seemed at the start, of indefinite duration, converged at once on the Bank of England. Starting with assurances that London would do its best to help out New York in its panic emergency, sentiment in the London financial community changed very rapidly as the extraordinary nature of these gold withdrawals began to be perceived. After a while, some of the strongest banking authorities in that city publicly took a position so remarkable as to suggest nothing else than that London itself was falling into panic.

In the very highest banking quarters, during this singular episode, there was authorized the statement that action by President Roosevelt in the way either of guaranteeing the assets of the banks, or of issuing an emergency currency of his own motion, was imperative. It hardly need be said that no such recourse was possible or conceivable; yet the insistent repetition of such demands by London added greatly to the perplexity of our own market, and at times threatened bad results in its influence on American sentiment. To the credit of London it must be said, that however strange and extravagant its advice to America may have been, its actions in the crisis were without exception sound, conservative, and correct. At no time during these enormous gold withdrawals did the Bank of England impose any obstacle for engagement of gold to New York beyond the raising of its official discount rate. This rate had been $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since midsummer; it now was raised successively to $5\frac{1}{2}$, to 6, to 7, the last-named rate having never been touched since the panic of 1873.

There is a double purpose to such advance in the Bank of England rate. It may prevent gold outflow through making the operation costly; this purpose obviously was not achieved, even by the 7 per cent. rate, in the face of the panicky demands from New York City. But the secondary purpose is to apply such a check to home and foreign borrowers that loans at the Bank will be reduced, capital will flow back, and the institution itself be placed in a position where it can with greater equanimity meet these emergency demands. This is exactly what occurred: the Bank's own position was speedily fortified, and through direct negotiation with the Bank of France, a loan of gold from that institution to the Bank of England was procured sufficient to meet what was left of the New York engagement. This done, the Bank of England actually strengthened its position in the face of these heavy gold shipments to New York, so that, although its ratio of reserve to liabilities fell on November 7th as low as $35\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., against the traditional 40 per cent. minimum,

it was back to 44 by the opening of December. That figure compared with 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ in the same week of 1906, and, except for 1904, was actually the highest reported at that time of year in any of the past six years.

It always happens that, in some part of a grave financial panic, application is made in an excited way to the Treasury for relief. We have seen how, in the initial stage of panic, Secretary Cortelyou threw to the point of danger the whole available cash resources of the Government. Nothing could have been more wisely or more sagaciously done than what he did in the week of the Knickerbocker failure. But for the markets, action of this sort is never enough. The phenomena of currency famine, the use of Clearing House certificates, the shutting down on full cash payments to depositors, and the contrivance of emergency money by interior banks, are of so rare and unusual nature as to unsettle the minds of hasty thinkers. One invariable result of such unsettlement has been a panicky demand for the Government to issue money. In the panic of 1873, the Secretary of the Treasury was prevailed upon to put on the market, through purchase of Government bonds, \$26,000,000 of legal tender money which had been retired by law. That action involved the country later in a new struggle over fiat money, which was blocked only by President Grant's courageous veto of the Inflation Bill in 1874. A similar appeal to the Treasury was made in the panic of 1893, when a bill was shortly passed by Congress for the coinage of silver in an amount to represent the imaginary profit of the Government in its past coinage of overvalued silver dollars. Against this proposition, President Cleveland interposed his veto.

It is not the most pleasant part of this year's panic story to have to say that the Treasury yielded to the appeals of the inflationists. The story of that episode was peculiar; it must be briefly told. Suggestions had been made, and not in obscure quarters, of an issue of irredeemable paper money by executive authority; they had been flatly rejected by the Government. They were rejected not only because of plain illegality, but because of the mischievous consequences which the expedient would entail for many years to come. One may judge the state of many people's minds by the fact that even so usually conservative a judge as the London *Economist* had shared in the mental panic sufficiently to advise such issues. Failing the legal tender fiat money expedient, there remained the possible expedient of increasing the supply of national bank notes. Now, national bank notes can be issued, under the law, only on the security of Government bonds pledged by the bank with the Treasury. But as mat-

ters stood last November, practically all of the Government bonds outstanding were already utilized as a basis for bank circulation, or for other purposes which prevented their release.

An issue of 2 per cent. bonds under the Panama Canal Act had been authorized by law, in the Treasury's discretion, under the acts of 1902 and 1905; \$30,000,000 of them had been sold a year before, and \$100,000,000 more could be put out. It had for some weeks been quietly discussed in the Treasury whether some such issue might not be made for the express purpose of providing a basis for new bank circulation. There were two objections to the project, either one of which ought to have been fatal to it. On the one hand, it was plain that the Government would thereby be made to borrow heavily in the market at a time when it did not need the money and when the market was least able to spare it; on the other, it should have been manifest that banks subscribing to the bonds must pay cash for them, and that even if they got back that cash through public deposits, or offset it by issue of bank notes based on the Government bonds thus purchased, the banks themselves would be left in the same position as before. But the issue of Panama bonds was not the only expedient considered. In a very quiet way, the plan of issuing one-year 3 per cent. Government notes had been mooted at the Treasury. Such an issue had been authorized as a possible expedient by the Spanish War Loan Act. The law had contemplated, naturally, only a possible issue of the sort for military purposes, and had expressly stated that the notes might be issued by the Secretary "in such sum or sums as in its judgment may be necessary to meet public expenditure." It had never been repealed; but clearly, with a public surplus of \$230,000,000 on deposit with the banks, no such requirement existed. The note expedient was, however, advocated on two curious grounds, neither of which could apply to the 2 per cent. canal bonds. The Treasury itself seemed to think that the offer might attract the money of frightened hoarders, who would be glad to invest in a Government security. There were also certain bankers who conceived the notion that the 3 per cent. notes might not only be used as a basis for bank circulation, but, through connivance of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Secretary of the Treasury, might actually be employed as cash reserves in bank. Of the idea of drawing out hoarded money, it may at once be said that it had no good foundation; the result of the experiment proved it. The truth appeared to be that hoarders of money were either hiding their cash to sell at a premium later, or else were so frightened that they would not part with their hoards until convinced that the banks were sound. As for the idea of using the notes in bank reserves, the Secretary of the

Treasury promptly put his veto on the scheme. He did well to do so; for, ignoring the question of plain violation of the law, there remained the fact that the most dangerous sort of inflation would have been encouraged through such action. Every fresh dollar of reserve money empowered banks to create four dollars in fresh liabilities.

Neither of the parties to this transaction seemed to appreciate the fact that the financial situation was righting itself without Government interference. On November 17th the Treasury announced the issue of \$50,000,000 in the Panama bonds, and of \$100,000,000 in the 3 per cent. notes. What I have said already is sufficient to show why the operation met a complete and early failure. It was found that subscriptions to the loans were throwing utter confusion into the finances of the banks; that no hoarders of money were applying for the notes, but that, on the contrary, some people were endeavoring to take out their cash from bank deposit for the purpose. Banks, finding that the Treasury could not increase their actual cash holdings through redepositing proceeds of the loans, subscribed either reluctantly or not at all. In the end, the Treasury stopped its loan operations when only \$25,000,000 of the Panama bonds had been put out and barely \$12,000,000 of the notes.

I have given so much space to narration of the actual incidents in this formidable panic that the probable sequel can be discussed only briefly. And, as a matter of fact, it is difficult at this time of writing to perceive with clearness precisely, what should follow this extraordinary episode. The currency premium, the bank restrictions on depositors, and in many cities the "emergency currency," are still in existence, and domestic exchange is still in a state of much demoralization. That the trade of the United States should for the time have been utterly demoralized by such collapse of credit followed necessarily. Sales of commodities such as wheat and cotton were so urgently pressed upon the market that the price of those articles, notwithstanding an urgent European demand, fell far below the figures of September. From one point of view, it may be said that these sacrifice sales of our staple products were the price which the community paid for our import of foreign gold. Yet, on the other hand, it will be remarked that actual failures were on the whole remarkably few, and that banks in particular stood up unexpectedly well against the protracted strain. In this regard the showing was vastly better than that of 1893, and gave some force to the theory that our great strength in natural resources and our genuine power over international exchange would leave the position

**The
Sequel**

of the country as a whole far stronger than in the sequel of any other recent panic. Aside from this industrial consideration, it is to be recalled that for the first time in the history of our panics the currency is sound. We have neither the silver demoralization of 1893, nor the depreciated greenbacks of 1873, nor the depreciated bank notes of 1857 and 1837. Furthermore, the Treasury, which was a point of dangerous weakness in the storm during 1893, is a tower of strength to-day.

These are mitigating circumstances; whether they will go far toward counterbalancing the natural results of so formidable a breakdown as the country has experienced, is a difficult question. Readers of *THE FORUM* during the past five years will indulge in no illusions as to the dangerously inflated character of the financial position which had been created by our infatuated promoters and our gambling millionaires. In episodes of this sort it often happens that the punishment is violent in proportion to the violence of previous excesses. This might be unhesitatingly prophesied as the sequel, were it not for the considerations just set forth, which show where Nature has offset the damage inflicted on our national prosperity by man. It is too early yet to indulge in prediction as to the probable length of the trade reaction which is inevitably before us. Leroy-Beaulieu, in the Paris *Economiste*, has made the prediction that for the United States "a season of reaction is in store, not for a few weeks or a few months, but for several years." Other prophets, home and foreign, have been more guarded in their prophecies; but all have united in the judgment that a period of dulness and trade stagnation is ahead of us at least for the next twelve months. Beyond that time, it is probable that the events of 1908, outside of the actual banking situation, will have much to do with the matter.

There is also, as invariably occurs at such a juncture, random discussion of what particular cause was responsible for the breakdown of credit. Some financiers have gone so far as to declare the whole panic episode to have been a foolish accident, one of our wealthiest capitalists venturing the assertion that the whole disturbance "was not only unreasonable but unwarranted." Such comments may be dismissed with slight respect. We are paying the penalty for our own excesses, and the part of the wise man is to accept the lesson, discard the errors of the past, and start building up for a future era of prosperity.

Alexander D. Noyes.

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE NEW CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENCY

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

THE Sixtieth Congress began its session on the first Monday in December. Up to the present time its proceedings have been as placid as an unruffled mountain lake. If the plans of the majority leaders do not go awry, this placidity will continue until the day of adjournment, which, according to the present plans, shall not be later than May 15th. In other words, the programme of the present session is to be one of masterly inactivity. The appropriation bills are to be enacted into law, because they are necessary for the operation of the government. All other subjects are to be quietly shelved. There is to be no attempt to revise the tariff. Even currency legislation is doubtful.

This programme of do-nothingism is not due to the fact that plenty of work is not in sight. On the contrary, President Roosevelt, in his annual message, outlined enough topics to keep Congress busy if it remained in Washington for a year. He suggested, briefly, federal supervision and license for corporations; federal supervision of issuing of railway securities and the legalizing of pooling agreements; amendments to the anti-trust laws to prohibit injurious combinations; executive power to suspend licenses of corporations engaged in interstate business in order to avoid delays incident to legal proceedings; publicity in all corporation matters affecting the public; immediate attention to the currency question; a tax on incomes and inheritances; a limit to the abuse of injunctions; the investigation of labor disputes in the hope of avoiding strikes; laws to regulate the employment of women and children; deep waterways from the Lakes to the Gulf; federal inspection and grading of grain; admission of wood pulp free of duty; the establishment of postal savings banks and the extension of the parcels post; and numberless other matters of equal interest and importance.

In a very large degree the comprehensive programme here outlined will be ignored. Congress is to do as little as possible and adjourn early, because a Presidential campaign is approaching; because the national conventions are to be held next spring; and because the party in power

desires to avoid, as far as possible, any display of inharmonious feeling on the eve of the campaign. There is, however, a still more potent reason. This is the feeling, very generally existing, that there has been enough disturbing legislation in the past two years and that, perhaps, it would be better for the country if a period of comparative rest intervened. In other words, there is a reactionary sentiment in Congress. There is a belief that the country may well settle down for a year or two, adjusting itself to new conditions, determining how the legislation already enacted will operate, and being spared, in fact, the uncertainty and anxiety which accompanies continued agitation. Republican leaders will not admit that there is any dissatisfaction with what has already been done. On the contrary, they claim that the position of the Republican Party has been vastly improved both by the determined efforts of the President and by the legislation which a Republican Congress has enacted. At the same time, they seem to feel that enough has been done for the present and that if Congress does little more than pass the necessary appropriation bills the country will not be disposed to criticise.

There is, especially, some opposition on the part of the Republican members of Congress to a further extension of the powers of the Executive. A considerable portion of the President's message is devoted to pointing out the directions in which this power can be increased for the public good. With many of the President's recommendations the party is in entire accord, but there is a disposition to move slowly in extending federal power. Some of Mr. Roosevelt's suggestions go far beyond anything previously proposed. The issuance of a federal charter or license to all corporations doing an interstate business, with the power summarily to suspend their operations when it is deemed advisable to avoid "irksome and repeated delay before obtaining a final decision of the courts upon proceedings instituted," is, indeed, a most advanced position; while the proposed supervision of these interstate corporations "by the proper government officials" suggests an extension of federal power to the last degree. Even those Republicans in Congress who believe in the exercise of federal power are inclined to give full consideration to the propositions which have been suggested and especially to avoid, if possible, further ground for the campaign against federalism which the Democrats will make in the next campaign.

The policy pursued by Congress with respect to one paragraph of the President's message will be observed with deep interest. Having been waited upon by a delegation of magazine and newspaper publishers, who complained of the extortion of the paper trust, the President has recom-

mended the abolition of the tariff on wood pulp. Will the Republican leaders heed this suggestion? They know—or, if they do not know, the information will speedily be laid before them—that the price of paper is practically controlled by the trust and that the high rates now exacted have materially increased the expense of publication. If they undertake to relieve this situation, however, how can they avoid affording equal relief to all other victims of monopolistic corporations? In other words, why should the publishers alone be singled out for sympathy and aid while numerous other unfortunate Sindbads are laboring under the burden of the Old Man of the Tariff? It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell that if the Ways and Means Committee reports a bill placing wood pulp on the free list, in order that the paper trust may be brought into subjection, the Democrats will invite attention to numerous other impositions of like character and will appeal to the Republican majority to afford relief. It will be very surprising if the Democrats do not make large use of the virtual admission that the duty on wood pulp is the lever by which the paper trust is enabled to maintain its extortionate prices. With a campaign approaching in which the tariff is to be the paramount issue, this signal instance of the operation of the protective system, when that system is invoked to create a special privilege, is all that is needed to awaken the public mind to a realization of the Democratic contention that the tariff creates and fosters trusts.

Another paragraph is so novel that it seems wise to quote it entire in this review of political matters. It is as follows:

Under our form of Government voting is not merely a right, but a duty, and, moreover, a fundamental and necessary duty, if a man is to be a good citizen. It is well to provide that corporations shall not contribute to Presidential or National campaigns, and furthermore to provide for the publication of both contributions and expenditures. There is, however, always danger in laws of this kind, which from their very nature are difficult of enforcement; the danger being lest they be obeyed only by the honest, and disobeyed by the unscrupulous, so as to act only as a penalty upon honest men. Moreover, no such law would hamper an unscrupulous man of unlimited means from buying his own way into office.

There is a very radical measure which would, I believe, work a substantial improvement in our system of conducting a campaign, although I am well aware that it will take some time for people so to familiarize themselves with such a proposal as to be willing to consider its adoption.

The need for collecting large campaign funds would vanish if Congress provided an appropriation for the proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties, an appropriation ample enough to meet the necessity for thorough organization and machinery which requires a large expenditure of money. Then the stipulation should be made that no party receiving campaign

funds from the Treasury should accept more than a fixed amount from any individual subscriber or donor; and the necessary publicity for receipts and expenditures could without difficulty be provided.

The reference to the necessity for publishing campaign contributions and expenditures is in line with the admirable results desired to be attained by the National Publicity Association, an organization conceived and developed by Mr. Perry Belmont, of New York. Mr. Belmont has been devoting himself for more than a year toward creating a public sentiment in favor of publicity for campaign contributions and expenses, and although he is a Democrat his movement has elicited considerable non-partisan support. He has had one or more bills introduced in Congress, seeking to enact the idea into law, and although Congress has as yet failed to act favorably upon the measures, it is gratifying to know that the purpose which is sought to be accomplished is steadily gaining in public favor. The time will surely come, and ought to come, when every dollar that is given to a political party will have its origin and its destination equally known to the people. The country would then be spared the accusations which are now made to the effect that rich corporations, enjoying especial privileges, practically secure those privileges by supplying funds which can be used to influence elections. At the present time, the regrettable mystery and secrecy which surround these contributions affords foundation for the most extravagant charge. No one knows whether the condition is as bad as it is painted or whether it is even worse. The whole situation is repugnant to the American sense of honesty and fair play; and it is no wonder that the President, whose inherent integrity is proverbial, hastens to put himself on record in favor of full publication of all the facts.

It will take some time, however, for the country to understand and appreciate fully the radical change in our political methods which is suggested by the President. To appropriate large sums from the public treasury for the purpose of supplying political parties with campaign funds is certainly a most original idea. Its merit lies in the fact that it would relieve the campaign managers of the necessity of solicitation and, above all, it would place the party which might be at odds with rich contributors in a position to fight its battle on something like an equality of funds. It would be interesting to discuss the possibilities of the new method in all its phases, but it hardly seems probable that the idea will assume practical shape for some time to come. It is not chimerical, by any manner of means, but it will not appeal to the average politician; and Congress is not yet composed entirely of statesmen with ideal tendencies.

The discussion of currency legislation is not without its political phase. The President does not advocate any especial method to secure a safe and sure, as well as elastic, currency, but he mentions with favor Secretary Cortelyou's plan. According to this plan, national banks should be permitted to issue a specified proportion of their capital in notes of a given kind, the issue to be taxed at so high a rate as to drive the notes back when not wanted in legitimate trade. This plan, as the President remarks, will not permit the issue of currency to give the banks additional profits, but to meet the emergency presented by times of stringency. Mr. Bryan has another plan. He proposes a law providing for a government guarantee to depositors in national banks, the government being in turn protected by requiring the banks to enter into an agreement with the government to reimburse the latter for losses sustained by depositors through any bank failure. "Under this plan," says Mr. Bryan, "when a bank fails the government would reimburse the depositors for any loss sustained and then would collect from all the other national banks an equal sum. The government would lose nothing, nor would the banks suffer, because in the last forty years the loss by depositors on account of failure has been less than one-tenth of one per cent. If the government guaranteed deposits, people would not take their money out of the banks, confidence would be restored and there would be no stringency."

The fact that there is a stringency, however, and at a time when no real causes for panic conditions exist, compels recognition of the fact that something is wrong with the currency system. The country is prosperous enough. There have been no droughts or floods, crops are bringing high prices, the federal treasury is overflowing with money, and the demand for manufactures continues. Even in the recent agitation no national bank suspended. If under such favorable auspices a panic can be created, it behooves Congress to inquire most carefully and thoroughly into the conditions which make such a panic possible, and if a remedy can be afforded by legislation, the requisite laws should be enacted. There is a disposition in Congress, however, to approach the subject with much deliberation. Senator Aldrich, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, states that he has no measure of relief under consideration; and in the House of Representatives it is certain that no scheme will be presented for definite approval until it has been well digested. This is due to the feeling that the financial situation is entirely too delicate to be dealt with in ignorant fashion. There will be conferences and consultations; and when the proposed law is finally reported, it will be one

that will meet occasions of stringency without affecting the stability of the money already in circulation.

Every step taken by both parties in Congress will be affected by the fact that a Presidential campaign is approaching. The game of politics will be played during every day of the session. No one can yet foretell the outcome of the Republican National Convention. There is, of course, continued talk of the renomination of President Roosevelt. The sentiment in this direction is being industriously stimulated by men like Senator Bourne, of Oregon, who has gone to the extent of offering a prize of \$1,000 for a magazine article presenting in most logical and convincing fashion the reasons why Mr. Roosevelt's name should again be presented to the country. Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, is another ardent advocate of the President's renomination, while Governor Hoch, of Kansas, picturesquely declares that the renomination scheme will run through the national convention like a herd of Texas steers. There is much more talk to the same effect, but all of it must be taken *cum grano salis*. When it is known that a large number of Republicans in the Senate and the House have gone on record as opposing a third term, even for Mr. Roosevelt; when men like Senator Warner, of Missouri, declare that the country has taken President Roosevelt at his word; when the President himself has nipped in the bud the efforts of federal office holders in the South to instruct delegations in his behalf, it would certainly seem as if the renomination of the President were unlikely. There is no reason to alter or modify the opinion repeatedly expressed in THE FORUM that the President will not head the Republican ticket next year. It is doubtful if there will be a determined effort to nominate him; and even the suggestion that he may be nominated in spite of himself has been effectively vetoed by his reiteration of his decision not to be a candidate under any circumstances.

The Republican race is open to all comers. At present the candidates are all bunched and it is difficult to pick the winner. Kaleidoscopic changes have occurred during the past three months. Secretary Taft is not to secure the Ohio delegation without a struggle. At a meeting of the advisory and executive committees of the Ohio Republican League of Clubs, held in Columbus, at which 98 out of the 105 members were present either in person or by proxy, resolutions were unanimously adopted supporting Mr. Foraker for election to the United States Senate as his own successor and also declaring him to be their candidate for the Presidency. To this declaration Senator Foraker promptly responded

that he would not be a candidate for two offices at the same time and, therefore, accepted the support tendered him for the Presidency. This means, of course, that a battle royal is to be fought in Ohio between now and the assembling of the national convention next spring. It is impossible at the present time to predict the outcome. The followers of both aspirants are indulging in positive assertions which may or may not be true. The one fact remains, however, that Mr. Taft, even if he should be successful, will go before the national convention with a delegation secured only as the result of a bitter struggle which must of necessity leave many scars and stings behind. This situation is likely to affect Mr. Taft's position adversely. He has already some promise of support in many States, but whether this support will be as ardent after a bitter factional fight in Ohio remains to be seen. If Secretary Taft should receive an overwhelming endorsement in his State, the situation may remain unchanged; but if he is victorious by a narrow margin, the delegates will, in the opinion of many impartial observers, hesitate before inviting a continuance of the struggle by nominating him for the Presidency. If Senator Foraker should win the delegation, Mr. Taft is eliminated. The contest in Ohio, therefore, will attract the attention of the entire country.

The Republican Party does not, however, lack in available material. There is Speaker Cannon, for instance. Illinois will present his name to the convention and a district in Michigan has already elected two delegates pledged to his support. He is experienced in national affairs, enjoys the respect of every member of the House of Representatives, is thoroughly democratic in his manner, and has the courage of his convictions. Despite the fact that he is over seventy years of age, he is as tough as a pine knot; and if he were ten years younger would be a formidable candidate. Even as it is, he has numerous supporters who regard him as coming nearer to the Abraham Lincoln type than any other man in public life. Mr. Fairbanks is, of course, still a candidate, despite the absurd story telegraphed from St. Louis that he proposed to withdraw; and Senator La Follette is openly seeking votes in the Northwest, where he is so well-known and where his career as governor of Wisconsin brought him into national attention. Pennsylvania has declared for Senator Knox, whose ability is unquestioned, but whose following is mostly confined to his own State.

Unquestionably the figure which has loomed most prominently in the public eye during the last three months is that of Governor Hughes, of New York. He has grown tremendously in popular esteem, mainly

because he has shown himself a level-headed, painstaking, modest official. He has the characteristic of substantiality. He does not seek notoriety, he does not disport himself in daily interviews with panaceas for every public ill, he does not endeavor to reform the universe. He seems to be attending strictly to business. Whenever he speaks, he utters plain, straightforward language, indulging in no hyperbole or empty rhetoric. He must, of course, have some ambition; and no man can contemplate the possibility of election to the Presidency of the United States without experiencing a thrill. In the midst of the talk concerning him, however, Mr. Hughes pursues the even tenor of his way. "I do not seek any public office," he declares; and he adds that "I have not sought, nor shall I seek, directly or indirectly, to influence the election or the vote of any delegate to any convention, and with reference to the action of any delegate to any convention there will be no suggestion or thought of influence, protest, or reprisal in the executive chamber." This position is pre-eminently wise. It is dignified, self-contained, and in keeping with the character of the man. And when he asserts that he is in favor of putting an end to abuses without tumult and disorder, without injustice or demagoguery, and in a patient, deliberate, but none the less effective manner, he strikes a keynote which awakens a responsive echo everywhere.

Although Governor Hughes is apparently taking no active part in advancing his own interests, there is no question that the number of those who believe in his availability is increasing. The Presidential poll made by the *Chicago Tribune* showed that while Secretary Taft was in the lead, Governor Hughes was a close second. In New England, according to Governor Floyd, of New Hampshire, Mr. Hughes is a prime favorite. "He is the type of man that appeals to New England," says Governor Floyd, "clean, clear-cut, fearless, intellectual and not a politician." In the West, too, Mr. Hughes has developed considerable strength. In Idaho, says Senator Heyburn, the people are thoroughly alert concerning Governor Hughes and are particularly anxious to name a candidate who can assure New York's electoral vote to the Republican Party. In Oregon, according to the *Portland Oregonian*, Mr. Hughes would prove most acceptable; and even in California the record of New York's executive is being favorably discussed. In a country like the United States, where intelligence is disseminated quickly and thoroughly, the record of a man on the Atlantic coast is known without delay on the Pacific Slope. The probability is, therefore, that during the present winter Governor Hughes will find himself and his actions a matter of comment among the voters all over the country; and if he con-

tinues to demonstrate his possession of that commanding quality known as common sense, he will find himself growing in popular favor.

The national capital may not be the best view-point in the nation, but there is no question that in Washington there is strong belief, expressed more than once since Congress began its session, that the struggle in the Republican ranks will narrow down to a contest between Secretary Taft and Governor Hughes, the former attracting the Roosevelt element and the latter being the choice of those Republicans who believe in progress, but who are, nevertheless, disposed to see reforms accomplished with less strenuosity. It is also asserted that Senator Foraker's announcement of his intention to contest with Mr. Taft for the supremacy in Ohio will help Governor Hughes, especially if the latter's name is presented to the convention as the unanimous choice of New York.

Looming up in the background as another possibility is George Bruce Cortelyou, also of New York. Mr. Cortelyou has had a most wonderful career. Not so many years ago he was a clerk in the Post-office Department in Washington, unknown, and, apparently, with the drudgery and tread-mill existence of a government clerk as his lifetime portion.

**The Rise
of
Cortelyou**

Transferred to the White House as a stenographer, he manifested those qualities which have since been developed in such high degree. He possessed both intelligence and tact; and when, in course of time, he was promoted to the position of secretary to the President, and came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, he demonstrated his ability. From a government clerkship to the position of Secretary of the Treasury, winning the applause not only of President Roosevelt but of the nation for the able and energetic manner in which he met a great financial emergency, is, indeed, a far cry; and it is no wonder that he is now regarded as by no means unavailable for still higher honors. The fact about Mr. Cortelyou is that he has always proved himself equal to any opportunity which presented itself. Quiet and reserved in his manner, given more to silence than to speech, he impresses those who know him with inherent strength. It does not appear that he has done or is doing anything to secure the nomination; but none the less there will be delegates upon the floor of the convention who will be ready to propose his name as a favorable compromise should a deadlock offer opportunity for such suggestion.

The outlook, then, is for a Republican convention of real interest—the first, by the way, in twenty years. The renomination of Harrison in

1892 was not unexpected, although an element in the party struggled earnestly to prevent that result. McKinley's nomination was conceded in 1896 before the convention met and his renomination

Convention in 1900 was by acclamation. It was equally certain in
of 1904 that Mr. Roosevelt would be the nominee. We
Real Interest must go back to 1888, therefore, to recall a convention in which there was a genuine struggle for the nomination.

In that year, it will be remembered, there was a strong current toward Mr. Blaine, who had been nominated and defeated four years previously, and even his famous Florence letter, in which he protested against the use of his name, was not sufficient to remove him from the field. Not until he cabled from Edinburgh to his personal friends, the late Representative Boutelle and Chairman Manley, demanding that his withdrawal be respected, did the convention actually cease to vote for him. The free-for-all contest which resulted lasted many days, and was marked by many interesting episodes, not the least of which was the manipulation of Southern delegates by rival candidates. Out of the deadlock Benjamin Harrison emerged as the choice of the party, defeating Gresham, Sherman, Alger, and all the other aspirants. Something of a similar struggle may be expected at the next Republican convention. Some of the candidates will go before the convention with a nucleus of votes. No one, from the present outlook, will have a decided majority. There will be no cut-and-dried programme. Each State delegation will be a factor in the result.

There are many persons who believe that should a deadlock occur in the convention, the delegates will stampede to President Roosevelt. Simply as a matter of history repeating itself, let me quote what Mr. Blaine wrote when it was suggested that, despite his declination, there was a prospect that his name would go before the convention. It is a voice from the grave, but it is not without its appropriateness at the present time. Mr. Blaine said:

If I should now, by speech or by silence, by commission or omission, permit my name in any event to come before the convention, I should incur the reproach of being uncandid with those who have always been candid with me. I speak, therefore, because I am not willing to remain in a doubtful attitude. I am not willing to be the cause of misleading a single man among the millions who have given me their suffrages and their confidence. I am not willing that even one of my faithful supporters in the past should think me capable of paltering in a double sense with my words. Assuming that the Presidential nomination could by any possible chance be offered to me, I could not accept it without leaving in the minds of thousands of these men the impression that I had not been free from indirection, and, therefore, I could not accept it at all. The misrepresentations

of malice have no weight, but the just displeasure of friends I could not patiently endure.

When Mr. Blaine supplemented this by his cablegram from Edinburgh the delegates were convinced that he was in earnest and did not nominate him. If there is one man in these United States who is candid and free from indirection that man is the present President of the United States.

Unless there is a revolutionary change in the condition of affairs within the Democratic Party, Mr. William J. Bryan will be nominated as that party's candidate for the Presidency at the national convention to be held next June. At present there are no signs that such a change is impending. The career of Mr. Bryan, although by no means unfamiliar, is nevertheless so remarkable as to warrant more than passing reference. When the writer first met Mr. Bryan, some fifteen years ago, he was a novice in Congress and absolutely unknown in national politics. He had been in some degree prominent in Nebraska, where he attacked the high protective tariff of the Republican Party, but not until he delivered his first speech in the House of Representatives did he attract national attention. After that speech he literally awoke to find himself famous. It was a speech in which he inveighed most bitterly against the protective tariff system; and with eloquence, humor, logic and argument he held his political friends and opponents in rapt attention for more than two hours. It was not long, however, before he saw that the question of the free coinage of silver was of more immediate moment and he studied that question with great industry. Armed with all the facts and arguments applicable to the free coinage of silver he forged to the front as the apostle of that idea and on the crest of the wave was carried to his first Presidential nomination. Although defeated he was still such a potent factor in 1900 that he was not only nominated by acclamation at Kansas City but was able actually to dominate the platform. Again he went down to defeat, and when the Democratic Party assembled at St. Louis in 1904, he saw himself displaced and delivered what seemed to be his valedictory. Nearly four years have elapsed and to-day he is again the leader of his party, with a personal following undiminished in numbers and with his third nomination practically assured. There is no counterpart for this career in our political history.

Mr. Bryan's announcement that he would accept the nomination if his party decided that he was its most available candidate was made in a

few well-chosen words. He asserted that he would not ask for nor seek the nomination, nor would he assume to decide upon the question of his availability. He presented no issues nor did he even refer to the principles which he considered paramount. He did, however, take occasion to present his assumption that the voters of the party would not nominate him unless they desired "to make an aggressive fight for the application of Democratic principles to present conditions," and he also took it for granted, he said, that the organization of the party would be in harmony with the platform and would be composed of men whose political records would invite confidence and give assurance that the victory would not be a barren one. This means, if it means anything, that Mr. Bryan will not, upon his part, accept a nomination unless he is in thorough sympathy with the platform that may be adopted. What will be the nature of the platform, therefore, that will appeal to Mr. Bryan, and will it be one that will also attract the large number of Democratic voters who have not in the past been willing to follow Mr. Bryan to the full extent of all his views?

**The
Platform**

The answer to this question is to be found in Mr. Bryan's utterances since he announced his willingness to accept another nomination. In the first place, there will be nothing in the declaration concerning the free coinage of silver. Mr. Bryan himself relegates that issue to the rear, explaining that since the time when it was demanded by the Democratic Party the increase in the production of gold has radically changed conditions. No one believes that Mr. Bryan, who is a man of sincere convictions, has abandoned all that he professed to believe when he advocated the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. He does say, however, that the necessity for asserting those views does not exist at the present time. The elimination of the free silver issue removes the chief, if not the only, obstacle to widespread support for Mr. Bryan. This was the rock upon which the party split in 1896. It was the issue which drove thousands upon thousands of Democrats into the Republican Party or into a position where they would not vote for any candidate. With this issue removed, there will undoubtedly be large accessions to Mr. Bryan's banner.

It is not likely, either, that there will be any declaration in favor of government ownership of railroads. Mr. Bryan's advocacy of this idea in his Madison Square Garden speech did not meet with hearty response and, especially in the South, was promptly vetoed. Mr. Bryan has, therefore, qualified his advanced position by asserting that regulation is more important than ownership; and the platform will go no further than sug-

gesting that this regulation ought to be of the most rigorous character consistent with the public good. It may also be regarded as very doubtful whether Mr. Bryan will insist upon any declaration favoring the initiative and referendum. This is not a vital question, and if there shall appear to be widespread opposition to its endorsement, there will be no disposition to interject a disrupting element into the platform. It is evident, therefore, that the three issues which might arouse antagonism will not be incorporated in the party platform, especially if, as now seems to be the purpose, there will be yielding on all sides in order that harmony may be accomplished.

Now if these things are to be eliminated, as is at present indicated, it will not be difficult to frame a platform upon which the entire party can stand. First of all, there will be a strong low tariff plank. It will not be a free trade declaration. It is doubtful if there is a single leader in the Democratic Party to-day who will have the hardihood to declare himself an absolute free trader. The country is committed to the principle of protection to a degree which makes the attempted overthrow of that principle a hopeless task. At the same time, any one who believes that there is not a revolt against the present high tariff fails to read aright the plainest signs of the times. The Republicans themselves, with a few exceptions, admit the necessity of revision, but they would postpone action until after the Presidential election. "In a country of such phenomenal growth as ours," says President Roosevelt, "it is probably well that every dozen years or so the tariff laws should be carefully scrutinized so as to see that no excessive or improper benefits are conferred thereby, that proper revenue is provided, and that our foreign trade is encouraged." Secretary Straus, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, a successful and far-seeing business man, told the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers that a tariff wall too high in this country would encourage high walls elsewhere, known under the name of "discriminating duties," and he advocated a revised tariff to meet the changed and changing conditions. Even Representative Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, who does not believe that it is necessary to revise the tariff, admits that there will probably be a declaration in the next Republican platform favoring revision. As for the Democrats, surely there is no issue for which they can more loyally or enthusiastically contend. They have been committed from time immemorial to a tariff for revenue only; they have combated in season and out of season against the privileges which the present tariff gives to

**Tariff
the
Dominant
Issue**

the favored few; and they stand shoulder to shoulder in supporting every effort to reduce the present schedule. Upon this one issue the gold and silver Democrats forget their differences; and it is the issue which is to be dominant in the next campaign.

The declaration in the party platform in favor of the protection of the people against the aggression of trusts will also appeal to the universal Democratic mind. The election of United States Senators by the people will also be demanded. There is no possibility of Democratic friction in this issue. It has been a party tenet for years and the Democratic leaders in both Houses of Congress have advocated it without reserve. More than one-half of the States have gone upon record, through resolutions passed by their legislatures, in favor of the popular election of United States Senators; and in quite a number of States the system is already in vogue through the operation of the primary system. Senator Burkett, of Nebraska, and Senator-elect Williams, of Mississippi, come from widely different sections of the country and yet both were elected by popular vote. Here is an issue, therefore, which has a large degree of popular support and to which every Democrat can subscribe.

If the Democratic Party should again, as in the past, advocate an income and inheritance tax, it would only repeat a good old Democratic doctrine and one which now finds the endorsement of President Roosevelt. If it should assert that ultimate independence should be specifically promised to the Filipinos, no Democratic note would be raised in opposition; and if it should condemn a colonial policy which has already cost hundreds of millions of dollars and which will entail the expenditure of countless millions in the future, such condemnation would not create a division in the party. And if, last of all, the party platform declared for publicity of campaign contributions—which was the only issue referred to by Mr. Bryan in his announcement—surely no Democrat would be disposed to raise objection.

The fact is, therefore, that the Democrats can, in their next national convention, and from present indications they will, adopt a platform which, instead of causing dissatisfaction and dissension, will unite all the elements of the party. The desire on the part of the Democrats to unite is everywhere apparent. The expression of the members of the party in the Senate and in the House of Representatives is in favor of a party platform upon which all can stand, sacrificing no real principles of Democracy, and yet not asserting a number of new dogmas which cannot be generally accepted. It is probably true that Democrats,

**United
Democracy**

as a rule, are optimistic; but certainly, from conversations with their leaders in Washington, one gathers the impression that next year they expect to win.

Can the Democrats win with Bryan? That question is, of course, uppermost. The answer is to be found in the opinion expressed by Representative John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, the leader of the minority on the floor of the House. He says that the Democrats may not win with Bryan, but that Bryan can, without doubt, poll more votes than any other candidate who can be named. This is the situation in a nutshell. Where is the candidate who can command as much strength as Mr. Bryan? If there be such a candidate, no one in Washington seems able to discover him.

There is, of course, some talk of other candidates, chief among them being Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, the Democratic Lieutenant Governor of New York State. Mr. Chanler's claim to recognition lies in the fact that he carried New York State for the second place on the ticket at the election in which Mr. Hughes became governor. This fact has undoubtedly given him some prestige. There are men in the South, like Representative Broussard, of Louisiana, who say that they are tired of voting for candidates who cannot win. Mr. Broussard says that if a Democratic President is to be elected he must carry New York; and he adds his belief that Mr. Chanler is the only Democrat thus far mentioned who can accomplish this much-to-be-desired result. "Mr. Chanler's campaign last year and his election after years of Democratic defeat and despondency," says Mr. Broussard, "did more to revive hope among Democrats than any event that has occurred since the election of 1892." In New York State Mr. Chanler has already secured the endorsement of the State Democratic Committee, and, in addition, he has had his claims enthusiastically emphasized by many leaders. They characterize him as a young man and a strong man who has something more than money to commend him, who has been the successful architect of his own political fortunes and who can be trusted to administer the affairs of the country, if elected, in a vigorous, yet conservative fashion. While all this may be true, the fact remains that, to a very large degree, Mr. Chanler is regarded as unknown, untried and inexperienced. It is also charged against him that he was too closely identified in the last campaign with Mr. Hearst and the Independence League; that unless Mr. Hearst supports him next year he cannot expect to carry New York and yet, on the other hand, the very fact of Mr. Hearst's support would be detrimental

Mr.
Chanler

to his chances. How seriously the Democracy will regard Mr. Chanler's candidacy remains to be seen. The one great factor in his favor is that he has carried his State and that the electoral vote of New York is essential to Democratic victory.

Mr. Chanler's formal entrance into the arena of Presidential politics may be said to have occurred in Atlanta in October, when he delivered an address in which the tariff was his theme. He denounced protection as an unqualified evil, but, at the same time, declared that it would be dangerous to attempt suddenly to destroy the system. He regarded it as equally unwise to attempt unintelligent revision. His solution of the problem can best be given in his own words:

Take the tariff out of politics. Divorce it from every suggestion of political manipulation. Make the raising of revenue a national, not a partisan, responsibility. The army and navy are not fettered by politics; they are not made use of for private gain. The tariff should stand upon the same high plane, not to be made use of as a private privilege, but regulated and respected as a national necessity, reduced to the lowest terms commensurate with our commercial growth and national importance.

Let us insist upon rigid and intelligent investigation. Let a commission be appointed of Senators and Representatives of both parties. Add to that commission the most learned exponents of political economy, chosen by recognized institutions of learning. Add to them men who represent the importer and exporter, manufacturer and consumer, chosen by the chambers of commerce of our centers of civic strength; call in authorized representatives of organized labor and of the Farmers' Grange; and, after all sides have been heard, such a tariff conference will have enlightened the people of this country as to the best remedies. Then Congress can act.

All of which sounds well, but it is hardly likely to be adopted. When the tariff is taken out of politics Mr. Chanler will be much older than he is to-day. In the actual operation of his proposed commission he would find the Senators and Representatives of both parties in a state of constant disagreement, while they would inevitably be influenced by the conditions which obtained in their own respective localities. As some one has truthfully and humorously said, you cannot separate the tariff from politics with the aid of a crowbar; but, in addition to this, it was at least courageous for Mr. Chanler to make a violent attack upon the protective system in a city where the chief Democratic newspaper once openly espoused the cause of the Protection Democrats and in a State whose Senators and Representatives have, in every tariff discussion, been conservative.

If the nominee is not to be Mr. Bryan, who is available? Mr. Chanler's ambition has also already been made known. The result

of the election in Cleveland when Mayor Tom Johnson defeated Representative Burton in a campaign that had a national interest, brought Mr. Johnson prominently into the limelight. For a day or two he was hailed as a prospective Presidential possibility. Then he fell into line for Bryan. "I shall do all in my power to obtain Ohio's delegation for you," he wrote to the Nebraskan, "and wherever I have friends in other States I shall advise them to follow my example in this respect." This eliminates Mayor Johnson. Is Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, suggested? He has written that he does not want the nomination and will not accept it. An incipient movement is under way in favor of Judge Gray, of Delaware, who is a jurist of great ability, but who has absolutely no chance whatever of securing the nomination. Former Attorney-General Harmon has been mentioned; but his name has fallen upon unresponsive ears. The suggestion in favor of former President Cleveland is absurd. The fact is that there is not a Democrat in the entire country who stands in the same running with Bryan. There is no Democrat, unless it be Mr. Chanler, who is trying to get delegates; there is no Democrat, other than Mr. Bryan, who can get such a large number of delegates without the asking. These are the plain facts, written without partiality or prejudice. They may not be pleasant reading to those Democrats who have no use for Mr. Bryan. It may seem to them like writing the death warrant of the party; and yet, after a careful survey of the situation, if there is any other outcome possible than the nomination of Mr. Bryan next year the basis therefor is certainly not discernible at the present time.

Some time ago THE FORUM emphasized the wisdom of managing national conventions upon the principle that they were deliberative assemblies and that their proceedings should not be conducted in the presence of huge and frequently uncontrollable throngs. It is gratifying to find that this suggestion has met with favorable response. Quite a number of editorial comments have been elicited by the suggestion, in line with the utterance of the *Washington Herald*, which pleads for a sane gathering held solely for the purpose of transacting the serious business in hand, and not for the amusement or entertainment of a great throng of spectators. "Nowhere else in the world," says the *Herald*, "would the conditions that have existed here for decades be permitted. Nowhere else, probably, would the delegates of a great political party, assembled to select a candidate for the highest office in the land, tolerate a system inevitably tending to the interruption, delay, and influencing, by a mob of sightseers, of what should be dignified proceedings. Even if

Conventions
without
Mobs

all the countries of the globe nominated and elected presidents as we do, it is our opinion that this would still be true."

It is not necessary, as some of the newspapers have done, to refer to specific instances where disorder has taken possession of a convention, as at St. Louis in 1904. Every one familiar with these conventions knows that friends of candidates have only too frequently manipulated the supply of admission tickets in order that the galleries might be filled with noisy and demonstrative adherents, in the hope that an exhibition of apparent popularity would influence the delegates. There is no reason or sense in the attendance of many thousands. The only possible excuse is the stimulation of party enthusiasm, and it is doubtful whether the benefit in this direction offsets the disadvantages. It would, indeed, be refreshing to attend a convention where the number of spectators and their capacity for noise are considered of less importance than the careful consideration of the important duties which a national convention is called upon to perform.

The propriety of Associate Justice Brewer's public denunciation of the President may well be questioned, but few will find fault with the suggestion that an occupant of the White House should be confined to one term. The ineligibility of a President for re-election was quite seriously considered when the Constitution was being framed and there is now a very general consensus of opinion that instead of the present system it would have been better if the Presidential term had been fixed at seven years, with renomination impossible. Mr. Bryan, however, favors the one-term idea without lengthening the time of service. He bases his view upon a desire to let the people speak as often as possible. There is force in this position, but, at the same time, if a President is not to be eligible for re-election he ought to be given a period longer than four years in which to formulate his policies and put them into effect. Even President Roosevelt, with all his earnestness of endeavor and intense application, could not have achieved the full measure of his purpose in four years. He could only have begun to shape the course to be pursued and then would have been compelled to leave to his successor the working out of his ideas. There is no danger in the seven-year suggestion, because a President whose policies were not regarded in a favorable light would find himself blocked by an unwilling Congress. A longer interval between elections would also contribute to the quietude of the country.

The four-year term, however, is provided for in the Constitution and that document is not likely to be amended in the near future.

Henry Litchfield West.

**The
Presiden-
tial
Term**

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A BEGINNING OF BETTER RELATIONS IN EUROPE

BY A. MAURICE LOW

It would be the crowning achievement in King Edward's long list of diplomatic triumphs if he should succeed in bringing about an *entente* between his people and those over whom his nephew, the Emperor William, rules. It is much easier to establish good relations between the governments of England and Germany than it is between the two peoples. Officially those relations are perfectly "correct"; a word the import of which used in diplomacy means as much as when a young, pretty and frivolous step-mother says, with a meaning voice, that she cannot complain of the way she is treated by her step-daughters, prim, plain and of uncertain age, and wedded to spinsterhood. That sort of family correctness is more apt to get on the nerves and destroy all the Christian virtues than declared hostilities; and when one great government takes studious pains to assure the world of the correctness of another great government's attitude, diplomacy knows only too well the intense irritation that exists under the surface. Metaphorically, the German and British governments have no more thrown dishes at each other's heads than have the second wife and her husband's children indulged in that bourgeois display of temper, but there are other weapons that can inflict a more grievous hurt. The pretty woman can wound by casual references to age, and her senior retort by allusions to the ignorance of youth. Neither Germany nor England sent ultimatums or made threats; on the contrary, they have been studiously polite and each has been considerate of the other's feelings, but it has been diplomatic politeness and not friendship. Each has watched the other, and each has been prepared for any sudden move that might not require the continued maintenance of the fiction of friendship.

Nevertheless the relations between the King and Kaiser and their constitutional advisers have been better than those between the two nations, which, of course, is quite natural. Although country counts before family, it must have been distressing to a man so genuinely good-hearted as the King to know that his nephew, whose father and mother were both very dear to him, is disliked in England; and ministers feel the weight of their responsibilities and know too well the danger always

to be feared from arousing national animosities. But the people have no responsibility and no fear of consequences. National hate or national liking is the individual emotion intensified by the number of individual minds through which it passes. No one man is ever so intense as the aggregate; a mob is always more cruel than its component units. The two people, the English and the Germans, so much alike in so many things that they ought to understand each other very well and be very good friends, have come very cordially to dislike each other because they have been made to believe that each stood in the way of the other, and that the perfect safety and the fullest development of either could only be brought about by the downfall of the other. This feeling has been encouraged, as is always the case, by patriots and the unworthy. Men animated by the highest and most unselfish motives have been able to convince themselves that their country was continually threatened, and with voice and pen have urged the necessity of continual vigilance, and have said that to relax any precaution would be a crime. And men inspired by motives less lofty, who have seen a personal or political profit in keeping alive distrust, have played the part of the devil's advocate with consummate skill. Despite the high level of general intelligence, people, after all, are very stupid. The average man believes what he reads. Yet this is not to be wondered at, for it is only the few who think for themselves, and the many are only too glad to have their thinking done for them.

The visit of the German Emperor and Empress to the King and Queen of England, nominally merely a social and family reunion, must be regarded as of high political import, and already there are rumors that it will not be long before Germany ceases to be isolated and will be admitted into King Edward's League of Peace. If this is true, if distrust is succeeded by a good understanding and a common policy, the European political situation has changed over night; and the Bannerman Government, which, only a short time ago, appeared to be tottering, may find in the peace of Europe a new lease of power.

It is evident that the German Emperor did not come to England as a self-invited guest, and it is equally evident that he came on the invitation of the King because he believed it would be productive of good results. It is said that the Emperor made it clear that he was anxious to visit England, and it is also reported that before the King extended the invitation he sought the advice of the Prime Minister and ascertained from him that it would be agreeable to his government for the

**What does
the Emperor
Want?**

Emperor to be received as a guest. If these reports are true, and there is reason to believe in their accuracy, the fiction of a social visit is destroyed, and the object is political purely. It has always been a tradition of English politics that a Liberal government pursues a less aggressive foreign policy than a Conservative, and the present government of England believes profoundly in a policy of peace. British diplomacy of the last few years having deprived the Kaiser of the opportunity of making political alliances detrimental to the interests of England, and the Emperor having been given convincing proof of the determination of England so to fortify her position that she cannot be successfully assailed, what could be more natural than that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman should regard the time as ripe for bringing about an *entente*? The highest aim of statesmanship is peace and not war, the elimination of international friction. England can gain nothing by parading her dislike and distrust of Germany, and while she does not have to sue for an alliance, she can feel a greater sense of security and ease if Berlin and London work in accord.

The brilliant editor of the London *National Review*, which exercises a greater influence on European affairs than any other publication, who has been foremost in warning his countrymen against the German menace, still cautions them to beware of the Greeks bearing gifts. Referring to the visit as "a purely court event, being the return of the King's visit to Germany," and thus in advance depriving it of all political significance, he utters this note of warning tempered by admiration:

Wilhelm II is assured of a courteous reception, not only because he is the nephew of one of the most popular sovereigns who ever sat on the British throne, but also because he is a picturesque and powerful personality who arouses interest wherever he goes. We, for our part, regard him as the head of a nation which is being steadily and systematically trained by the powers that be to look upon a war with England as a moral duty, just as a former generation of Germans were taught to regard the dismemberment of Denmark, the humiliation of Austria, and the spoliation of France as successive landmarks in their national mission. German statesmen are successfully educating Germany to regard England as the chief obstacle to the acquisition of her legitimate "place in the sun," and the instruments of aggression are being forged under our very noses on the other side of the North Sea, where prodigious practice is proceeding in the embarkation and disembarkation of troops as a rehearsal of that "blow at the heart of the British Empire" against which the late Lord Salisbury warned us. . . .

Note also that under cover of the imperial visit to England yet another Navy Bill is about to be introduced into the Reichstag, while Germany's frank, not to say brutal, declaration at The Hague Conference should remove all responsible doubt as to her future intentions or methods. In spite of all this, and our determination to do whatever we can to awaken our somnolent countrymen to the German menace, and to impress upon them the imperative necessity of keeping clear

of all political entanglements with Germany, we are not so narrow minded as to be incapable of admiring the strenuousness, the brilliance, and the fervid patriotism of the German Emperor. We have no surplus of these qualities in our public life at the present time, and we should be grateful if his Majesty would impart some of the *feu sacré* to our Front Benchers. But it is necessary to remember that Wilhelm II invariably combines business with pleasure, and as his last visit, in the autumn of 1902, was followed by such deplorable episodes as "the Venezuela mess" and the Baghdad Railway imbroglio, it is no breach of hospitality to warn ingenuous Cabinet Ministers to remain *toujours en vedette* during their intercourse with a fascinating sovereign who has a genius for hypnotizing foreigners, especially Anglo-Saxons.

The *National Review* and other anti-German journals have always believed that the German Kaiser plays the rôle of the *agent provocateur* and that his purpose is to impair the good relations between England and France and England and Russia so as to play one power against the other and prevent a unity of action that might cause him inconvenience. "Germany," says the *National Review*, "apparently works on the theory that the stock of international goodwill is strictly limited, and that any arrangement, alliance or friendship between other powers is detrimental to her and to be resented accordingly." Whatever may be the ulterior motives of the Kaiser, on the surface at least he is as desirous to preserve the unbroken peace of Europe as his uncle the King of England, and in a somewhat notable speech at the Guildhall, as the guest of the lord mayor and the city of London, he recalled what he had said in the same place sixteen years ago: "My aim is above all the maintenance of peace," and added:

History, I venture to hope, will do me the justice of saying that I have pursued this aim unswerving ever since. The main prop and base for the peace of the world is the maintenance of good relations between our countries, and I shall further strengthen them as far as lies in my power. The German nation's wishes coincide with mine. The future will then show a bright prospect, and commerce may develop among the nations who have learned to trust one another.

In emphasizing his desire for the maintenance of peace the Emperor no doubt had in mind the popular British conception of his character as a war lord who longs for the day when the Temple of Janus will be open and the land will once more echo to the tread of Prussian and Saxon and Bavarian in battle array. But the appeal to history is not in vain. History will at least do the Kaiser the justice to say that in the twenty years that he has sat on the throne the peace has been kept and the sword has lain idle in its sheath.

The basis of the English jealousy of Germany, and *vice versa*, is commercial rather than political. England's most formidable commercial

rival is Germany; if it were not for England, Germany would dominate European commerce. Now to a great many persons the idea will seem repulsive that commerce, mere money, lies at the basis of national greatness; but it is true. Not art, not literature, not great scientific discoveries measure national strength, but money, commerce, trade—these are the things that make for greatness. A nation may have a million men trained to arms, but they are of little use unless it has the money to support them in the field, and money can only be acquired in times of peace. Nobody understands this so well as the German Emperor, and nobody has labored so zealously to make Germany great commercially. England has felt this competition, she feels it every day, and she will feel it more in the time to come. Knowing this, and knowing that England deprived of her markets and her outlets for manufactured goods would sink to the level of Holland, there are Englishmen who believe that as England must at some time or other fight Germany, the time to fight is now, when England's navy is vastly superior to that of Germany; instead of waiting until the discrepancy will be less and the issue will not be so certain. And on the other hand, no German statesman worthy of the name could do aught else than pray that peace may be preserved as long as possible, for every year that Germany can postpone the day of conflict, if come it must, she becomes richer, and therefore more powerful; she can increase her navy and meet her foe on more equal terms.

Disturbing rumors are afloat regarding the condition of the Emperor's health, and remembering the tragic death of his father it is not surprising that alarm should be felt. Shortly before his visit to England it was announced that he was suffering from a cold, which was made light of; although it was made known that after spending a few days with the King as his guest, he would go to the Isle of Wight, and in that salubrious climate enjoy two weeks of almost complete rest and relief from the affairs of state. It is almost unprecedented for a reigning monarch to take a rest cure on foreign soil unless the condition of his health imperatively demands a change of climate, and it is not reassuring to be told that one of the first callers upon the Kaiser in his place of seclusion was the most eminent throat specialist in England; whose visit, it was carefully announced, was not made in his professional capacity. The Emperor's father died of cancer. It was at first denied that the growth in his throat was cancerous, and when it could no longer be concealed he was taken to San Remo in the hope that the benign climate would prolong his life. It was an English sur-

**Is the
Kaiser a
Well Man?**

geon, Sir Morell MacKenzie, who was the Emperor's chief medical adviser, much to the disgust of the German medical profession, which was jealous that a foreigner should be consulted; and it was MacKenzie who at first pronounced the growth not to be cancerous, but there were imperative reasons why the truth should be concealed. It has always been believed that MacKenzie did not err in his diagnosis but did what it is permissible for a doctor to do under certain circumstances, and that is keep his knowledge to himself, when by revealing the truth great harm would result.

If the Kaiser feels the need of rest and wants to get away from the mephitic atmosphere of the Berlin court, it is not surprising; for the disclosures that followed the trial of Maximilian Harden, the editor of the Berlin *Zukunft*, for libel, must have been a terrific blow to the pride of a very proud man, who has always believed that he was absolutely his own master in his own house and was controlled by no one.

**Hohenzollern
Blood
Boils**

And whatever else may be said against the Emperor by his enemies no one has ever attacked his private life or impugned his character. In all things a domestic man, in his affection for his wife and children and his devotion to the homely virtues, he represents the type of the great middle class, which is the same in Germany and the United States and England; the great middle class that saves society from the vices of the very rich and the degeneration of the very poor. A sturdy burgher this in his virtues rather than a king in his vices, recalling Carlyle's description of the founders of this royal house—"a thrifty, steadfast, diligent, clear-sighted, stout-hearted line of men; of loyal nature withal, and even to be called just and pious, sometimes to a notable degree." And Carlyle notes (with secret admiration, we may be sure, for he was a man of kindred nature) that while they were not given to fighting, where it could be avoided, "yet with a good swift stroke in them, where it could not;" and while they were "by no means quarrelsome in aspect and demeanor, yet there is in the Hohenzollerns a very fierce flash of anger, capable of blazing out in case of emergency." Those fierce flashes of anger must have blazed through the palace at Berlin like lightning riving the blackness of night, destroying and terrifying, leaving this king "with the good swift stroke in him" longing to exercise it on the men who had brought disgrace on him, and furious in the knowledge that he was powerless.

The Harden trial has had unexpected results. It was the outcome of articles in *Die Zukunft* accusing certain men nearest the Emperor and holding the highest positions with such horrible immorality that the

mere thought is nauseating. Count Kuno von Moltke, commandant of Berlin, was one of the men accused, and he was compelled either to admit the truth of the charges by remaining silent or to attempt to disprove them by bringing an action against his traducer. He did the latter, and all that Harden had charged, and worse, was found to be true.

If that was all, if some of the men bearing the greatest names in the Empire were held up to the execration of the world as moral degenerates, no mention of a peculiarly repulsive police court case would find its way into these pages, nor would it engage the attention of the student of international affairs, however much it might appeal to perverted taste. But much greater consequences are involved. For the first time we learn that the Kaiser has not been master in his own house, but has been under the influence of men without morals or conscience, men who delighted in the most horrible forms of debauchery, who formed a ring about the person of the Emperor, and who were able to keep from him men and facts that it was not in their interest he should know. Conceive if you can anything more ironic than this: the most virtuous ruler in Europe, intolerant of restraint, imperious, proud, with a will that brooked no interference, having for his intimate associates moral perverts who "controlled the imperial sceptre," to use the words of August Bebel's *Vorwaerts*.

The head of the camarilla was Prince Eulenburg, and next to him was Count Moltke, who has since been deprived of his post as military commander of the capital. Harden, a man of great ability and much courage, was devoted to Prince Bismarck, and has never forgiven the men who conspired to bring about his downfall, chief of whom was Prince Eulenburg. For years Harden has nourished his revenge, and watched, and waited, and planned. He fought against tremendous odds, he merely a humble editor and his opponents the greatest in the land. They had destroyed Bismarck, they were now determined that future chancellors should either be made by them or under their control. They put Bismarck's successor in office and deposed him when they had no further use for him; they brought about the downfall of his successor, and Count Bülow, the present chancellor, was made by them, only fiercely to hate his creators when he found that he was supposed to be their tool.

The camarilla had not personal but political ends to serve. It was opposed to the Bismarckian policy, in which Harden believed so devot-

edly, and was at cross-purposes with the chancellor, Count Bülow, which explains the curious policy of Germany regarding France during the last year. The Bismarckists thought that France could be bullied, and on that theory the Anglo-French treaty relating to Morocco was very nearly seized upon as a *casus belli*. But France refused to be bullied, although she submitted to the humiliation of dismissing that extremely able foreign minister, M. Delcassé, as the price of peace with Germany. Then followed the Algeciras conference, where again the Bismarckists attempted to carry matters with a high hand, but the camarilla induced the Emperor to yield to France. Eulenburg and his cabal had again proved their power.

Harden did not bring any political charges against the camarilla, and it was only as an incident in the libel suit that the facts came out; but as he said at the trial, what really interested him was the political and not the moral relations. "It was not I who dragged into publicity the terrible things which now every one knows," he said. "All these things did not interest me. After the first day's proceedings I said to myself, 'To-morrow Count Moltke will stand up and say, I myself am innocent; but I must admit that this Harden, who has known all this for five years and made no use of it, does not wish to raise a scandal but is pursuing a political aim which from his point of view appears to be justified. As I am a Christian nobleman and a Moltke, I will not make against him the unjustifiable reproach that he has here only sought to culminate. I therefore withdraw the prosecution.'"

Harden is revenged. Eulenburg did not dare to appear at the trial and fled; Moltke is disgraced, the other members of the camarilla have disappeared. A more decent set of men will now rule Germany.

The Anglo-Russian convention covering Persia, Tibet and Afghanistan, which for so many months has been discussed, has at last been signed, and the comments of the English, French, German and Russian press on a diplomatic event of no mean importance are interesting. The press of the two countries most directly concerned either hail the treaty as a great triumph or bewail a one-sided bargain. Some of the Russian papers frankly admit that before the Japanese war Russia would never have agreed to any such treaty; but the Russia of to-day is not the Russia of ten years ago, and when her armies were defeated on the plains of Manchuria there was shattered the dream of the conquest of India. India was the heel of Achilles to English statesmen. It was there that England was vulnerable, and the belief

Russia
and
England
Agree

that Russia might at any time plan an invasion of India was worth to Russia almost as much as the thing itself; it was a bogey to scare more than one timid statesman.

Russia being in no condition to attempt to upset English rule, and England being more than ever fortified by her alliance with Japan, entered into on the part of England solely for the protection of India by the Japanese army, there was no urgent necessity for England to make this treaty, unless it was to demonstrate her good will and her sincere desire for peace. In the old diplomacy nations turned the misfortunes of their rivals to their own advantage; the modern diplomacy deals in a spirit of greater generosity. Many of the Russian newspapers recognize this. Russia, they say, has made a very good bargain, and the treaty ought to pave the way to abiding friendship between the two countries, and, as the *Slovo* remarks, "secure Russia from any danger she may have feared from the ambition of Germany." There is less unanimity of sentiment among the English newspapers. The *Manchester Guardian*, the most influential of all the English provincial papers, whose political views are always colored by the effect of politics on trade, thus disdainfully comments:

The Anglo-Russian Convention seems to us to merit neither strong praise nor strong blame. Things in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet were drifting in certain directions. The convention in each case takes note of the drift, formalizes it, and, as it were, legalizes it. Such agreements are often worth making, but they seldom give sufficient cause for having the bells rung, or for tearing out hair either, and so it is with this one.

But the London *Morning Post* meets this criticism in a broader spirit. "The significance of the Anglo-Russian convention," it says, "is not to be found by the study of its details. It is a handshaking, not a bargain. It takes things just as they are and records them." The French press is jubilant, for anything that tends to remove friction between England and Russia knocks another prop from under Germany and strengthens the English support of France, as the Paris *Temps* explains:

It is of great value to France that her alliance with Russia and her *entente* with England, which some statesmen have looked upon as incompatible, should now have become ratified and confirmed by a direct understanding between London and St. Petersburg. Our moral standing in Europe will henceforth be strengthened.

The German press is compelled grudgingly to admit that England has fortified her position in Europe by relieving the tension on her Indian frontier, and the newspapers are trying to discover whether Eng-

land or Russia got the best of the negotiations. They are generally agreed that England has riveted her hold on the Persian Gulf.

The treaty deals with Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet separately. Persia is divided into three spheres; the northern half being recognized as the Russian sphere, the southeast the British, while in the intermediate territory the two powers agree not to oppose without previous mutual agreement each other's proposals for commercial concessions. At the same time, to make its position perfectly clear in regard to the Persian Gulf, on which both Russia and Germany have long laid covetous eyes, when the text of the treaty was officially made public, there was also published a despatch from Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stating that it was not considered necessary to introduce into the convention a positive declaration with respect to Great Britain's special interests in the Persian Gulf. Sir Edward calls attention to British policy of the last hundred years affecting those waters and the intention of the government to maintain that policy, although "it does not desire to exclude the legitimate trade of any other power." Stripped of its diplomatic covering, what England says to Germany in particular and all the rest of the world generally is: "You may secure what trade you can, but any attempt to assert political rights or to obtain lodgment on the shores of the Gulf, in the shape of a coaling station or otherwise, will be resisted by us." It is the British Monroe Doctrine of the Near East, and like its prototype the world will respect it so long as it can be upheld by force.

Great Britain wins a substantial victory so far as Afghanistan is concerned. After years of intrigue on the part of Russia in attempting to undermine the British position and make the Ameer a Muscovite puppet, Russia now recognizes Afghanistan to be outside the Russian sphere of influence and agrees not to send any political agents to Afghanistan, and in all political matters to act through the intermediary of the British Government. To prevent Russia from controlling Afghanistan has long been the object of Indian diplomacy, for the control of that country opened the way to India. If Russia loyally respects the treaty, British troops on the frontier can be withdrawn and the military burden lightened.

Both powers recognize the suzerain rights of China in Tibet; they agree to respect its territorial integrity and abstain from any intervention in the internal administration of the country. By this arrangement Russia gains what England loses. It was only a few years ago that England sent the Younghusband expedition into Tibet to make the Dalai Lama understand that England was not to be trifled with, and as security

for the satisfaction of an indemnity she occupied the Chumbi Valley. England now agrees to terminate the occupation when the third instalment has been paid, and both powers bind themselves not to obtain any railway, mining or other concessions in Tibet.

"The convention," says the *Morning Post*, "marks a fresh stage in the development of British policy." For more than fifty years England and Russia have continually endeavored to block each other's game; any move on the part of Russia was sure to be met by an attempt at check-mate on the part of England. Half a century of national hate is not effaced by a treaty affecting interests that are too remote to appeal to the imagination of men immersed in their own little affairs, but the point of view of even the dullest man is influenced by the knowledge that the nation with whom his nation was always expecting war has now settled differences across the table.

On November 14th, the Third Russian Duma was convened. Remembering the fate of its predecessors, a cartoon in the Berlin *Lustige Blaetter* is not inappropriate. The Czar is represented looking into a chamber in which is a woman, while through the door of a chamber behind him are seen the remains of two other women. Below the cartoon is this legend:

**Czar
Bluebeard
and his
Wives**

Czar Bluebeard—"The third wife pleases me much better. But how delightful the fourth will be!"

The quality of the Czar's "wives" is improving, thanks to the method of their selection. They are more tractable, less foolishly inclined to think that they have a will of their own and a right to exercise it. The First Duma was a radical body that really believed a constitution meant something and that the delegates of the people were sent to St. Petersburg to make the laws for the Empire. They soon discovered their mistake. The Second Duma was scarcely less radical, and since it was also possessed of the insane idea that a Russian Parliament legislated, its existence was brief. Now comes the Third Duma, but the Czar has learned wisdom even if the people have not, and he has taken very practical measures to make the Duma subservient. By amending the fundamental law of representation, the Duma meets with the radicals hopelessly in the minority, and with the Right, the party of reaction, in a majority. The Duma is made up of the Right, the Octobrists, who are a party of mild progress, and the Left, formed of the Constitutional Democrats, the Social Democrats and other scattering groups, all of whom are radicals. There are fewer peasants in this parliament than there were in either of

its predecessors, but there are more landlords and members of the lesser nobility; more ex-bureaucrats and priests, more men in frockcoats and fewer in the blouse of the mujik. Intellectually, it is higher than its predecessors, but with the intellectuality of reactionism. The Right is not in sympathy with a constitutional form of government, although it may wink at the farce of it; what it really believes in is the autocracy, the same wretched system that has steeped Russia in the dregs of barbarism.

There would be little hope that this Duma would become a constitutional force were it not for one thing. As usual Russia needs money, she needs a great deal of it, and she needs it urgently. In her emergency she turns to France, for France alone is able to supply her needs, and blandly asks for \$50,000,000 to meet pressing demands, and for a further loan of \$750,000,000 to be made next spring. There is no trouble about procuring such a relatively trifling sum as \$50,000,000, that the banks will supply as they would any other borrower whose security is deemed adequate; but three-quarters of a billion, three-quarters of what Germany wrung from France as an indemnity after the war of 1870, is another matter and cannot be furnished without the acquiescence of the government.

If Russia must have the money France cannot afford to shut down on her, because the French people have too large a part of their savings invested in Russian securities for these investments to be imperilled by any injury to Russian credit, but before giving his approval of the loan M. Clemenceau demanded that it must be approved by the Duma. Heretofore the Russian Minister of Finance, with the approval of the Czar, has acted without other authority; but something more than that is now required. Russia having the fiction of a constitutional form of government, the people, through their representatives in parliament, must sanction national indebtedness, exactly as they would in the United States or England or any other nation where the people have a voice in the management of their own affairs.

This is an amazingly shrewd move on the part of the French Premier. In the first place it makes the Czar understand, as perhaps he could be made to understand in no other way, that for his own sake he must continue the existence of the Duma. No Duma, no loan. Of the two evils it is for the Czar to choose the lesser. He can get along very well without the Duma, but can he get along very well without the money that he so badly needs? And if the loan is made only because it has been authorized by the Duma, it will do more to impress that body with its power than anything else that could happen. It will drive home to the reactionary Right the knowledge that the Duma, in the eyes of the world, is a recog-

nized institution and without it Russia has no place in the family of civilized nations; it will put in the hands of the Octobrists and the Left a weapon that the autocracy will be slow to make them use. In return for approving the loan they will naturally demand political concessions, and the greater the extremity of the government, the more insistent will be their demands. If M. Clemenceau adheres to his terms, the friends of constitutional liberty throughout the world will feel that they owe him a great debt of gratitude, for he will have done more than any other man to make parliamentary government in Russia real.

The Duma has already done one notable thing. In an address to the Czar the word "autocrat," which has been one of his titles, was struck out. Autocracy and a constitutional form of government are incompatible. The Czar may not recognize the constitution, but the Duma declines to admit the existence of an autocracy. Absolutism gives way before the power of parliamentary government.

Nearly two years ago the Liberal Party in England came into power with such an unprecedented majority that it seemed almost impossible it could lose its hold on the country in the seven years that is the constitutional life of a parliament; but there are a number of close observers, not all of them their political opponents, who believe that if the Liberals were forced at the present time to go to the country Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman would be lucky if he managed to scrape through with a majority just barely sufficient to give him control of the House. This belief is based on the change of public opinion as indicated at by-elections. Almost without exception they have gone against the government, showing that the high tide of Liberalism that swamped the Unionists two years ago is receding. Unless unforeseen circumstances arise Sir Henry can remain in office for another four years, and in that time may regain his lost prestige; but he must do something to arouse the enthusiasm of his followers if he hopes to stay the rapid progress of party disintegration.

It is always a dangerous thing for a political party to promise too much; it is doubly rash to twist economic laws to suit political exigencies. The Prime Minister promised the country a great deal before election, but, unfortunately, he has been unable to redeem those promises. A reform of the educational system of the country appealed strongly to his Nonconformist supporters, but the bill, after passing the House, was thrown out by the Lords, and Sir Henry has not dared to make it an issue and appeal to the country. The Irish bill, which it was thought would

**The Weak-
ness of the
Commonplace**

secure the solid support of the Irish members at Westminster, Ireland rejected. Army reform was urgently demanded, but it is doubtful if Mr. Haldane's measure has really corrected the abuses that the Boer war revealed. In short, the Liberal government has done nothing to appeal to the imagination of the country, and a government that is commonplace, that does nothing either brilliantly good or brilliantly bad so that it becomes a fighting party, bold, aggressive, audaciously challenging its opponents, soon ceases to command interest. Only in foreign affairs have any triumphs been scored. Sir Edward Grey has impressed himself upon the country as a man of extraordinary ability, and he has been as successful in the House as he has been at the Foreign Office. A great many Liberals regard him as the coming man.

When the Bannerman government came in, the opposition was impotent. The Unionists were divided over the question of tariff reform; Mr. Chamberlain's health was broken; Mr. Balfour was a tariff reformer one day and a free trader the next; there was no virile, militant leader to harry the enemy. The Unionists were almost as discredited as the Democrats have been in this country for the last few years. Seemingly the Liberals had everything their own way and had nothing to fear from a disorganized minority.

Protection was one of the great issues in the last campaign. The voters were warned that if the protectionists came into power they would impose a duty of two shillings a quarter on imported wheat, as proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, which would send up the price of bread; but if the Liberals had a majority no change would be made in the tariff and the price of bread would fall. With the change of a word or two the argument was similar to that used so frequently during the first Bryan campaign, when the farmers were complaining of the low price of wheat and were told that it was all owing to the demonetization of silver; if Mr. Bryan was elected silver would be restored to its "rightful" value as money and the price of wheat would advance, but the election of Mr. McKinley meant a still further fall in commodity prices. We know what happened, and that facts routed theories. The same thing has happened in England. The Liberals have been put in power, England still enjoys the peculiar blessing of free trade, but the price of bread has not fallen. All over the world there has been a marked increase in prices in the last two years, which is an unpleasant predicament for a party that prophesied the workingman would find the burden of living press heavier if the Unionists were successful.

Fooling the People

It would be the malignancy of fate if Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman should be compelled to leave the House of Commons for the greater ease of the House of Lords, for the Lords have been a thorn in his side, and the "ending or mending" of the House of Lords has been the rallying cry of the Liberals, although up to the present time they have neither ended nor mended the upper house. Recently the Premier was taken suddenly and seriously ill, and he has been ordered by his physicians to cancel all his political engagements and take a complete rest. This illness has revived the rumor that the condition of his health will not permit him longer to retain his seat in the House of Commons and that he will accept a peerage and lead the government from the House of Lords, for which there are numerous precedents, as the Prime Minister may be either a peer or a commoner. But it would be a paradox for the Premier to be a member of the body which he has accused of having unconstitutionally interfered with legislation and whose powers he is trying to curb; which the radical members of his party would like to abolish because they believe it now has no place in the legislative system. And yet Sir Henry must either be relieved of the enormous strain of leading the Commons or continue to do so at the peril of his health; or he must put his pride in his pocket and go to the Lords or retire from active political life, because every member of the government must have a seat, either in the Commons or the Lords. The cabinet is not a body outside of Parliament as it is in this country, but is a part of it, and there is no place in politics for a man who does not represent the people either by election or in his own right as a peer.

It would be somewhat ironic if a few years hence China should appeal to Russia to save her from the menace of Japan, and yet men who are familiar with the affairs of the Far East and take a long look ahead consider that not the most improbable thing that may happen. Men are always so engrossed with their own affairs that they have little time or inclination to think about what does not immediately concern themselves, and events that have been slowly shaping burst upon the world with startling surprise. To point out now that the time may come when China will appeal to the world to be saved from Japan appears far-fetched, because it is only special students who comprehend what is going on in Asia; but instead of being fantastic the suggestion is predicated on causes that must ultimately have one of two results; either China will be able to defy Japan or any other power that attempts to

bring a part of the Chinese Empire under its control, or China, knowing that she is helpless and impotent to resist aggression, will throw herself upon the protection of the world.

China gave her support to Japan during the war with Russia because she was desperately anxious to escape from the slavery that, by her own weakness and cowardice, she had permitted Russia to fasten upon her. Russia was in Manchuria to stay, and China knew that she could not be ousted except by force. She was perfectly willing to see Japan try it, not believing that Japan would be successful, but consoling herself with the reflection that Japan's failure could not make the situation much worse, and in the operation the paws of the Russian Bear might be bruised, which would be a slight compensation.

The paws of the Russian Bear were not only bruised but they were lacerated, mangled; for the time, at least, the claws were drawn. Then it was believed that the influence of Japan would be so powerful that Japan would do what the Western world has long tried and never accomplished: that Japan would infuse her own spirit into the Chinese people, that China would throw off the clogging weight of her civilization and embrace modern methods as avidly as had Japan, and that Japanese statesmen and Japanese military officers and Japanese teachers would make China another Japan; China in name, but Japan in fact.

It seemed plausible; it would have been plausible with any other people except the Chinese, who have never yet been influenced by external pressure, who are as irresponsive to lasting outside influences as the jelly fish is to the finger that is lightly laid upon it, that leaves, for a moment, a depression on its gelatinous mass, which disappears the instant the finger is removed. Whatever progress China has made is the result of forces moving from within and not without. And the Chinese had profited from their Russian experience. They had ridded themselves of one master, but they were not so foolish as to relinquish their brief freedom only to place the yoke of another master about their necks. The Japanese were in Manchuria; the Chinese were only too anxious to get them out so that Manchuria might be free of the alien and once again in the absolute possession of China.

There has been a good deal of friction between the two governments over Manchuria, a good deal of suspicion on the part of China, who knows that the Japanese are determined to dominate the commerce of the Far East. That is perfectly legitimate. Commerce is the prize for which all nations strive. In many respects better business men than the Japanese, the Chinese are hopelessly outclassed by them in commercial undertakings on a large scale, for the Japanese adopt modern methods

and modern machinery, while the Chinese are still content with the processes of the past; wages in Japan are not much higher than in China, and modern factories against hand labor and antiquated machinery reduce labor cost in Japan to below that in China. Not content with competing with China on her own territory, Japan is with remarkable enterprise and aggressiveness competing with European and American manufacturers, and cheap labor as well as the saving of freight gives her a great advantage. It is not surprising that Japan is turning out war vessels in her own yards at a cost per ton lower than they can be built in England even and with almost equal rapidity, but it is amazing to learn that Japan has offered to rehabilitate the Spanish navy at a price much below that submitted by any of her European competitors.

So long as Japan, by legitimate commercial competition, can control the trade of Manchuria the world can raise no objection, and the only remedy open to China is to imitate the example of the United States and protect the home market; that is, if the rest of the world will permit it. But what China fears is the political control of Manchuria by Japan, and this fear is not without foundation. The Japanese regard Manchuria as the natural means of their expansion, just as they do Korea and Formosa, and they are pursuing an aggressive policy in what is supposed to be an integral part of the Chinese Empire.

**China
is
Awakening**

I have been trying, for some years, to impress upon the world the fact that China is awakening. A giant sunk in slumber under the influence of a spell does not cast it off lightly, and China, a giant in potential power, but ignorant of its own strength, does not easily emerge from the lethargy of centuries. But now the time is coming—it has not yet come, it will not come in a day or year even—when China will throw off its inertia, prepared to exert a giant's strength. That great, slow moving mass is being stirred into life. The spirit of progress has been quickened. Soon, much sooner than most people imagine, China will be ready to act; to defy as well as to defend.

The progress of any people can be measured by the self-government they enjoy. China, like Russia, has for centuries lain under the blighting influence of an autocratic government; a government that was centred in a few hands and deprived the people of all voice in their own affairs. Ten years ago nobody dreamed—or rather, it was only the men who dreamed—that either Russia or China would be under a constitutional form of government; but the world moves with incredible rapidity in these days, and at no time has it moved more swiftly than

in the last decade. Earnest men, men of progress and ideas, men who know that with all its vices the civilization of the West is the only real civilization the world has known, such men, for instance, as Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, the former Chinese Minister to the United States, and now one of the high officials of the Chinese customs, have labored zealously and intelligently to bring about a change in the form of government. They have encountered many obstacles, they have had to beat down prejudice and ignorance; at times, they stood in peril of their lives, but they never faltered. The reformers of China have triumphed, for on the day that the last issue of this Review appeared the Dowager Empress issued a decree declaring China to be under a constitutional form of government.

Most reformers grow weary when their hopes have been crystallized into the anticipation of realization. Your reformer, as a rule, is visionary, a quality, combined with zeal, without which there can be no great reform; and there has never been any great reform accomplished unless the visionary had the assistance of practical men at the moment when success seemed assured. That is the critical moment. Reform having demanded the enactment of a law or a new adjustment of society, most reformers are content to let the law execute itself, forgetting that it was not the result of a spontaneous demand that brought about the reform, but the awakening of conscience, and conscience must be kept alive for its workings to be felt. The Chinese reformers are not content merely with paper decrees. Between that and a working constitution, a constitution that means something, is a long gap that must be bridged, and they have taken the first steps.

Commissioners have been appointed by the throne to visit Japan, Great Britain and Germany to study their constitutional systems as preliminary to the adoption of a constitution suited for the needs of the Chinese Empire. Simultaneously two of the leading statesmen of China—Yuan Shi Kai, the viceroy of Pechili, and Chang Chi Tung, the viceroy of Shang-Sha—have been called to Peking and made grand councillors and given almost unlimited powers. It is believed that these appointments foreshadow the enlargement of the authority of the grand council, which will be to China what the Elder Statesmen are to Japan, and really control the Empire until such time as the ministers under the constitution are made responsible to the people through their representatives in parliament. It is not to be expected that these reforms can be brought about in a day, or that a people like the Chinese

**China to
have a
Constitution**

can be quickly made to accept a change that is so foreign to all their traditions, but the seed has been sown and in due time it will bring forth its fruit. It takes the world a long time to move forward, but when once it advances it never goes backward.

Meanwhile China is beginning to show some resistance to aggression, which gives encouragement to those persons who view events from the outside and leads them to hope the time is not far distant when China will cease to be the Cinderella among nations and no longer allow herself to be treated as the kitchen drudge. China has been unmercifully bullied and robbed, simply because her folly had made her too weak to defend her own rights. The series of treaties concluded between Japan and the European powers has awakened her suspicions and led her to believe that Europe is indifferent to the preservation of the "administrative entity of China," to use Mr. Hay's extremely felicitous phrase. China sees herself deserted, left to her fate, which is the reason she feels that she must now rely on herself. Deserted on all sides except one, the only friend to whom she can look for protection is the United States.

China believes that the United States is the one country that is not animated by territorial aggrandizement, and that for her own interests and to maintain the open door the United States could be induced to come to her support should Japan attempt to repeat the tactics of Russia and make Manchuria a Japanese province, or, at any rate, obtain there a preponderating political and commercial control that would place other nations at a disadvantage. How far the United States would go no one would be foolish enough to predict at this time, but one may safely affirm that the United States could not view with unconcern an attempt on the part of Japan or any other power to embarrass the legitimate current of commerce by discrimination in favor of their nationals. The United States must, every year, find a larger outlet for its surplus manufactures, and the Far East offers a peculiarly inviting field. Only crass stupidity or incredible cowardice would permit that market to be closed without an attempt being made to keep it open, and Americans are neither stupid nor cowardly. The confidence of China, one is inclined to think, is not misplaced.

Portugal seldom occupies much space in the newspapers. It is one of Lord Salisbury's "dying nations," it is a nation with a past, but with little hope of a future; a nation that has stood still while the world about it has advanced. Now the existence of the throne is threatened and the prediction is freely made that before many weeks the monarchy will be succeeded by a republic.

Portugal has been in tumult for many months. Last May King Carlos dissolved the Cortes because the opposition defeated the bills brought in by the government. Under parliamentary usage Premier Franco should have resigned, but this he declined to do and had the support of the King, who governed by royal decree. The constitution of Portugal requires that within six months after the dissolution of the Cortes there shall be an election, but the Premier has refused to order an election, which has brought about the present critical state of affairs. It has not been easy to ascertain precisely how disaffected the country is, as martial law has been declared in Lisbon and other large cities, the press is under strict censorship, and the free transmission of letters and telegrams is prohibited. There were apparently circumstantial accounts of the banishment of the Crown Prince for encouraging the opposition and of serious insubordination in both the army and navy, but these reports have been officially denied, and the Crown Prince is said to be in Lisbon and no restriction has been placed upon his movements. Although mutinies in the army and navy may be exaggerated there are indications that there is much unrest in both branches of the service.

The people appear to be inflamed against "the administrative dictatorship" set up by Premier Franco backed by the King, and their resentment, which was at first almost entirely directed against unconstitutional methods, has now assumed a more dangerous form and become anti-dynastic. The Party of Regeneration, the Constitutionals, have demanded that the King must rule through the majority in the Cortes and that it is not in his power to suspend constitutional guarantees. If the King pushes his opponents to the limit, they, failing to secure redress by any other means, may revolt and declare the throne vacant, and with the loyalty of the army under suspicion, and the mass of the people opposed to the King's policy, there would be little chance to suppress the revolution. King Carlos cannot count upon the support of any of his European neighbors. Neither France, Spain, Italy, Austria nor Germany has any interest in the reigning house of Portugal, and there is not a foreign minister who would advise his sovereign to send troops to Portugal to put down the revolution. If the revolution comes, it will, in all probability, be bloodless, and a future Balzac will have the material to write the companion to the chronicle of "Kings in Exile."

A. Maurice Low.

FINE ARTS

CONCERNING OUR IGNORANCE OF AMERICAN ART

BY ARTHUR HOEBER

THERE used to be a popular fallacy in this country to the effect that the artist was a weird, long-haired individual, who sat about in a sky-blue velvet cap, generally in a garret, painting when the fit seized him, and that he was a man utterly unfitted for the practical side of life, a ne'er-do-well, who had much better have been at some more useful and practical occupation, but who was tolerated by family and friends as a harmless crank. In the more thickly settled regions of the country this view has been modified to a certain extent, although the artist is yet regarded with suspicion. While he figures nowadays occasionally in collections brought together by enterprising men who have turned their attention to the fine arts, there is yet a large class of multi-millionaires, who have made their wealth directly through the patronage of their fellow-countrymen, from products taken from the soil of America, who have bought freely of pictures by Europeans living and dead, but who have no use for the American painter on any terms whatsoever. These wealthy men pay fabulous sums for indifferent work by foreigners, work in many cases spurious, palpably so at that, and leave neglected at their doors men of talent, Americans who are making art history and whose works some day collectors will scramble for, paying prices out of all proportion to the needs of the workers living when patronage would have meant so much, both for physical and mental comfort.

It is obvious that one cannot thrust a picture down the throat of an unwilling collector, but it may be well to consider the matter in the light of previous indifference of the public. With exceptions here and there, the really good artist has always had a struggle both for patronage and recognition. Nor does one have to go very far back to cite examples of deadly struggles against poverty and neglect. Our own Homer Martin, who is now even paid the compliment of imitation, sold his canvases, when he could at all during his life, at absurdly small sums, though they were just as good then as they are now; and occasionally, at the sale of work at the Artist Fund Society, when members contributed a canvas to cover the annual dues of one hundred dollars, a few friends would get together and make up this amount, that

Martin might not be humiliated at seeing his picture fetch less than the necessary sum. Blakelock, painting away in his studio those splendid color dreams and tonal schemes, sat waiting in vain for patrons and, but for a moderately prosperous artist friend who advanced him small amounts now and then, would have starved; and at last through despair he became insane. Yet Blakelock's admirable skies were no less full of subtlety and color then than now.

The story of Jean François Millet is familiar to all who have followed even carelessly the history of art, and Diaz and Rousseau were neglected; while, to go back to their inspiration, the Englishman Constable, we find he had to be recognized by foreigners before his countrymen would accept him, and they did it gingerly even then. Anton Mauve, alive, got fair sums only for his lovely Dutch pictures. Now that he is dead, the collector pays absurd prices for his lightest sketches, sketches that hundreds of living men could do and do just as well, and which Mauve himself would have been the first to depreciate. That sturdy group of Georgian painters, known as the Early Englishmen, portraitists of strength and charm, are to-day appreciated at values excessive, and their canvases, that sold at hundreds two decades ago, now bring thousands, because they are the fashion. Happily, in their case the fashion happens to have settled on worthy men, but it does not always do so. It is no less fickle in pictures than it is in the matter of dress, or sport, or any other thing. Thirty years ago this same fashion decreed in favor of the simpering art of the Düsseldorf school, and collectors paid vast sums for Meyer von Bremen and others of his cult. Later, fashion turned its attention to a mass of insipid French painters who poured forth a stream of inane canvases, of certain dexterity, it is true, but worthless from the point of view of good art, and again men bought liberally. These works have not stood the test of time. They were not builded on a sure foundation, and to-day it is difficult to dispose of them at any price, there being simply no market for them.

The same is true of art in England, where values in the past few years have undergone a remarkable transformation. In short, the good art endures, and the poor eventually—fashion to the contrary notwithstanding—goes to the wall. It is little short of amazing that men astute in business, who have amassed fortunes through their commercial acumen, throw all intelligence to the winds when they go in for the amassing of pictures, purchasing with no discrimination and without so much as asking the advice of men fitted by study and experience to confer

with them. Many of the museums of the country—in the smaller cities at least—are filled with indifferent and unrepresentative examples of art because of the dominance of some rich man of bad taste whose pig-headedness it is impossible to restrain. Nature creates few men with artistic judgment as a birthright, although there may be a certain inherent love for the pictorial and the beautiful in some. Yet it is quite possible by a serious course of study and investigation to train one's perceptions in art; by association and propinquity to develop more or less esthetic judgment. And as a simple business precaution, it is well to get expert advice in the matter of buying works of art. The capitalist does not invest in a mine until he has sent his engineer to pass on its value; nor does he blindly sink his money in the building of a railroad commercially undesirable. It not infrequently happens, however, that an otherwise astute and hard-headed business man becomes the easiest mark for the fraudulent dealer and will give up thousands for a forgery when ordinary precautions would have shown him the futility, the absurdity of the transaction. It is no easy matter to gather together a good collection of pictures. The intimate knowledge of good art is the study of a lifetime, but it is never difficult to obtain good advice.

We labor here under the disadvantage of having no official gallery for modern art, as have the French in their Luxembourg Museum.

**No Official
Galleries of
Modern Art**

One may go to that well-equipped gallery in Paris and study seriously the latest development of the native painter as well as the artists of all nations. The splendid object lesson this place affords is incalculable as an educational factor. It is true our Metropolitan Museum has a collection of modern Americans, but even there one may search in vain for many of the men who are making serious art history, and pictures are bought only when the man is so well established that there is no question, when he has passed well toward the end of his career. This with exceptions, of course, for some few of the younger are represented through the gifts of private individuals. The purchase, however, for the Metropolitan, of important works from current exhibitions, is an unknown incident. Not so in France, not so in England, or Germany, or Italy, or Spain, where the marked man is certain of official recognition. And recognition is essential for the progress, the stimulus of the artist, absolutely essential. Men cannot go on advancing with the work of years piled up on their studio floors, with the heart taken out of them by lack of patronage, the very means to exist. Advance, of course, has been made, and will continue to be made; but with present help, some

kindly encouragement, and, above all, material aid, greater progress would result. The attendance at our exhibitions is disheartening. Perhaps, indeed, the shows of the National Academy are not of the highest artistic flights, but there is at least a modicum of good material even there, and ever has been. The Society of American Artists had to merge itself in the Academy because of a lack of patronage. Yet there remain the annual shows of the Ten Americans in New York. One may not complain of the lack of the artistic there; a sale, however, even at that exhibition is almost unknown, and the members have to make up the cost of the show out of their own pockets, and it is doubtful if, picture for picture, a better modern exhibition is held anywhere in the world than this of the Ten!

How is the average American house pictorially adorned? I am speaking of the houses of the well-to-do—not, of course, of those who cannot afford to buy something worthy for their walls.

Pictorial

Adornment of American Homes

Well, there are some old pictures handed down from father or grandfather, a few engravings utterly uninteresting, and many photographs of the family. Perhaps a department store water-color or two, or an etching of the cheap variety, a photograph of a popular old master, or the interminable simpering Queen Louise coming down the stairs; and this last seems by some marvellous chance to have attracted a great majority of the public. But the pictures mean absolutely nothing, evince no taste or personality, and do not for a moment decorate the walls in the remotest manner. They just cover the wall paper. In the dining-room there will be possibly a hunting scene, or some gaudily colored engravings of fish, perhaps fruit. You may add, in the more literary homes, the old stand-by of "Washington Irving and His Literary Friends," or possibly Daniel Huntington's "Martha Washington's Reception," bad enough in monochrome, worse in color; and there the matter ends. Clever sketches by the younger Americans? You look for them in vain. Serious performances by men of reputation? You may not discover them, save, of course, at rare intervals. A stupid, impersonal room; and yet most of these people would like to boast of a decent chamber that their friends would admire. You ask them and they say, "We cannot afford to buy pictures, much as we would like to," which, of course, is not true, since they spend money lavishly in other quite unnecessary directions. A woman with a dozen necklaces, if she gets a Christmas gift of several hundred dollars, will buy what? a picture? Never! She will buy another necklace, which she may wear thrice, possibly half a dozen times in a season, while the picture would be seen every day in the year and

for the rest of her life! The reason is simple. She prefers the necklace to the painting; for, alas! to be attractively surrounded by good art is a necessity with very few.

These people are bad enough; but a worse class is the recently affluent American who, with well-filled purse, does go in for pictures, but prefers almost anything to the product of his own countrymen; and curiously enough, the more questionable his way of amassing wealth, the less is he inclined to patronize native art. Possibly we should be thankful for this at least. Nowadays it has become the fashion for these collectors to gather in perhaps an Inness or two, maybe a Wyant, or a Homer Martin, but it is strongly suspected that these acquisitions are grudgingly secured and only because many of the other collectors have them. Frequently, too, these works are by no means representative of the charm and quality that made the men preëminent. Fashion has stepped in again and decreed that Inness, Wyant and Martin are to be taken seriously.

The amount of spurious work that has been foisted on the American public is absolutely incredible. The prominence of the Barbizon painters, with the enormous prices they have brought in recent years, has contributed to produce a special class of picture forgers and to make the effort lucrative. It is not a difficult thing for an artist reasonably well equipped to reproduce the work of these tonal painters, and with a slight change almost to defy detection; while, the master being dead and gone, it is difficult to bring proof of the fraud. There masquerade to-day thousands of canvases alleged to be by these "Men of Thirty" that, of course, they never saw, while even for the originals prices are paid out of all proportion to their intrinsic worth. But, again, it is the fashion to have them, and the rich man must keep up with the procession. The quality, the charm, the splendid coloring, matter little, so long as it is a Corot, Daubigny, Diaz, or Rousseau. Many drawings and paintings by the son of Millet are sold boldly as originals by the father.

This same condition applies to the modern Dutchmen, though even with their genuine examples absurd conditions exist. It was only recently a sketch was shown to the writer by one of the famous Hollanders, a modest canvas that had obviously been tossed off in not more than a couple of hours, clever, strong, but of muddy color, a work such as a hundred men might do before nature and do quite as well, for which was asked, in all seriousness, several thousand dollars; and it was quite without the distinction that originally made the artist's fame. But the man is dead, can produce no more, and it is the fashion to have

one of his canvases in a well-considered collection; the name, in short, counting for more than the result. Within the year a prominent collector paid ten thousand dollars for a modern work by a man living—or, rather, for an imitation of the work of a living man—only to find it was a forgery which the artist personally repudiated. Had the man been asked to expend a like sum on almost any other article of commerce, he would have demanded the most careful guarantee of its genuineness. Ten thousand dollars is a tidy sum, too, to give up without some certainty of the article bought. It is openly stated that there is a regular factory in Paris—several of them, in fact—for the production of these forgeries. In at least one case where a man bought, through an unscrupulous dealer, a picture from the painter's studio, he got in the end only a forgery, for the dealer had the selected canvas sent to his place, a copy was made of it, and the original was sold again to a more exacting buyer!

The late William Hood Stewart, who lived many years in Paris and had a superb collection of Fortunys, Corots, and others, was an ideal patron, who spent his leisure about the studios, buying canvases from the easel, cultivating the artists' society, entering into their enthusiasm, encouraging them by intelligent commendation and by practical aid, with the result that his collection sold for an enormous sum, far in excess of that which he paid for it; and he was a liberal buyer at that, giving the artists their own prices. A quarter of a century and more ago it was the fashion for patrons to wander in the studios, note the progress of the men, secure options on work under way, and so put themselves well in touch with the artists. With exceptions, this practice has fallen into disuse. The patron and the painter are too frequently strangers, the former preferring to make a business arrangement of it entirely and do his trading through the dealer. Yet he misses much by this process. In the old days the artist of ability was a man of real distinction, his place socially was fixed and court was paid to him. It is so to a degree abroad now, but in this country where does the artist stand simply because of his talent? Few of them get much social recognition. Even at the unveiling of some public statue where the heads of the Government attend the function, it is rare that so much as a line is given in the newspaper accounts to the sculptor himself.

Not that your true painter or sculptor desires for a moment to enter the social whirl, but in representative gatherings it is at least well to recognize him. Dr. Kurtz, the enterprising director of the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts, in a recent article, pointed out the fact that there

were at least over two hundred living painters in America whose work was of sufficient importance to entitle them to a permanent place in our museums, not to mention many more who had passed away; and he claimed, with a reasonable show of truth, that no other country could produce so large a number of names of such quality and such diversity of expression. Our landscape men are among the best in the world and have had official recognition all over, while our exhibitions hold their own with current displays elsewhere. What, then, is the matter? How is it that there is only modest encouragement? Why do the collectors neglect their own countrymen? The answer is not easy, but there are several contributing causes. Most men are influenced by their friends, or are impressed by the talk of prosperous dealers. The man who has made his fortune after years of terrific application to his office and gradually finds himself advancing socially, associating with those already affluent, discovers after a while that there is something in an esthetic way that he has not hitherto had time to be interested in. His new friends have gorgeous houses, elaborately fitted up, and on the walls are paintings. Mostly they are canvases that he is unable to comprehend, that do not for a moment appeal to him, but which he is made soon to understand are costly and—in the fashion. They seem to be the right thing to have, and to keep up with the mode he drops in at some shop on the Avenue and asks a price or two, which at first stagger him. Later, perhaps, he attends an auction sale and he sees men frantically competing for these things at sums that are remarkable. It appeals to him to find that in the open market men will struggle so strenuously for these baubles, and he sees a fortune paid for a canvas that means little to him. It is the first step that counts.

In earlier days the American collector cut his eye teeth on a Bouguereau, or a Ridgeway Knight. Those were men he comprehended. Pretty girl, bright colors. No brain-work necessary to take in such compositions. But he finds his friends look askance on these after a while. Those Barbizon men and the Impressionists are more in demand. Besides, they cost ever so much more; hence they must be good, for the money value is his only index. The use of a little gray matter in the affair, the looking seriously at nature and returning to the galleries to make comparisons, the reading of some good art books, the careful consideration of pictures as pictures, a personal knowledge of the artist and his work,—these are things of which he rarely thinks. “So-and-so has a Corot. I have six Corots!” That is the boast. “This man Mauve is in every one’s collection. I must have a Mauve,” even if it is but a name signed to an indifferent canvas, and so on down the line. The

American picture can be bought for between one hundred and a thousand dollars. Ergo, the American picture cannot be of much importance or it would cost more. And this foolish process of reasoning prevails to an extraordinary extent. If the unscrupulous dealer happens into the game at first, the would-be collector is hopelessly lost, and no one can say what the result may be.

One of the most exasperating of the attitudes of the American of whom we write is his position in regard to the foreign portrait painter—

The Foreign Portrait Painter	not the capable artist who comes from abroad, but the adventurous persons who arrive annually on these shores in numbers seeking Yankee dollars in exchange for contemptible art work, inane, foolish, simple portraits that are a laughing stock to the well informed. These are
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men generally quite discredited in their own countries, but who have a good address, wear fashionable clothes, take a large and gorgeously furnished studio, and have an amount of social small talk that completely hoodwinks the parvenu, as well, indeed, as some who by all rights should know better. And the higher the price they ask for their wares, the more is the American patron apparently impressed. A showy canvas results, a hopeless affair with insistence on clothes, if the sitter be of the feminine sex, with a jangle of blatant color and an impossible audacity. Or, maybe the artist is distinctly clever, an able craftsman who gives no soul to his work, but portrays perfunctorily the outer shell of his model, gets a photographic resemblance, yet quite misses all the subtleties, the charm, and the character. Such alleged artists have fairly swamped this country of recent years and been financially most successful. The serious, well-endowed painter from Europe is ever welcome, and his work is viewed with pleasure. No one of the native painters begrudges him his success, but when the other kind is selected, not infrequently to paint official portraits for executive mansions, there is only humiliation and regret; and there are prominent people—that's the rub—who lend a certain authority when they employ such indifferent men, people who by breeding and education ought to know better; and there are not lacking capable portrait painters among the natives, both men and women.

In point of fact, our collectors—always with honorable exceptions, be it understood—buy pictures much as they invest in other things and with cold calculation, even if the calculation is at times most short-sighted. The instinct of the connoisseur is rare, of course, and with our buyers almost a negligible quantity. The going to an exhibition and picking out a clever performance by an unknown man is practically un-

heard of; yet such gems are not infrequently to be found, and at a song. It is illuminating to note how the patron has come forward to recognize the modern German school, and the Teuton's loyalty to these able men in Munich and elsewhere has had much to do with the progress of the artist. There was held last season in Washington, at the Corcoran Gallery, an exhibition of work by our native men that came as a revelation to the people there from all over the country, as well as to the foreign visitor and resident. It was a show that would have attracted serious attention in any capital in Europe. Yet, apart from the official purchases with a fund raised by a few public-spirited men as an inducement for the artists to contribute, there were few if any works sold; and yet Washington is a city containing many rich people who could well afford to patronize the fine arts.

The social position of the artist was shown there in a humiliating degree as well. On the occasion of the opening of the display the Chief Executive made a visit of ceremony and was received by the director of the institution and conducted about the galleries, but the idea of his meeting the painters present—and there were many of them—seemed never to have occurred to any of the management; for the men who produced the canvases that filled the walls were as politely ignored as if they had never existed. Fancy such an event in France! By unanimous consent, the most distinguished painter there present would have been selected to accompany the President about the galleries; there would have been a little gathering of the contributors afterward, and they would have been presented to the guest of honor, who would have made some pleasant commentary on their work and have paid them at least the compliment of recognizing their efforts. And, of course, the same thing would prevail in London, or Germany, or Italy.

It is the fashion to say that there is little artistic in this national life of ours worthy of perpetuation; that America furnishes but a poor field for the painter, all of which is, of course, the veriest nonsense. The best artists of all times perpetuated their own land, their own people, and the existing conditions about them, and certainly no one will deny the term "greatness" to our own Winslow Homer, who, away from the world, almost alone on the Maine coast, has produced masterpieces, both of the figure and the sea. To-day his works are eagerly sought after and his commissions far exceed his output. Time was, however, just after the Civil War, when he was at his wits' end to know how to make a modest livelihood by the sale of his works, which were then of the most artistic sort and to-day are bought eagerly.

**The Best
Artists Per-
petuate Their
Own Land**

At least one man has found superb material in the tall skyscrapers, the workmen high up in the air, with bridges and beams, with rafters and swinging cranes, painting pictures that have called forth enthusiastic commendation from the critics, but which, alas!—most of them—still litter his studio. The shipping of this great city, with its splendid rivers, affords quite as much of the pictorial as any of the themes that give the Belgian Clays his fame and success, while our landscape is not surpassed anywhere in the world. But our knowledge of what our own men have done is lamentable. Only last year one of the most distinguished of our painters, a man whose honors abroad would fill a page of this magazine, were they set down in cold type, had a show of some score or more of his canvases, pictures that had attracted profound attention on the other side of the ocean, and he was referred to in one of the leading American newspapers as “the young Belgian,” whereas his name was a household word to his fellows, to young students, and to all who had followed the art history of our times.

I do not maintain, of course, that the outlook is hopeless, but I do believe the moment has arrived when the thinking public should take a little time for introspection in the matter of art, and should seriously consider if their own painters are not worthy of serious attention and patronage. The enormous sums devoted to various projects of a public nature, sums constantly growing, benefactions pouring in to colleges, to libraries, and other institutions, disclose certainly an enormous public spirit on the part of our rich, and yet to-day there is not a really satisfactory art gallery in this city. A few men have been patriotic in national art matters, spending their wealth freely, but they are easily enumerated on the fingers of one's hand—perhaps five fingers will suffice to count them. Prizes are not needed; there are too many of them already and they do little, if any, good. What is wanted is money for the purchase of paintings that may go, let us say, to one museum where the work can be seen, where the public may study it and become acquainted with the progress of the native; but, above all, let the public consider seriously what the native is doing, study him, encourage him by securing good examples, meet him, disclose an interest in the accomplishment of the men about us, and generally manifest a desire to learn. It will repay, too, for the study of art is ennobling, has a broadening influence, brings out the best that lies within one, and of necessity takes one again to nature, familiarizes one with her moods, her charm, her poetry and sympathy, all that is healthy and elevating; finally, it takes one out of the everlasting rush and straining after the material.

Arthur Hoeber.

THE DRAMA

DRAMATISTS OF THE CURRENT SEASON

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

No other artist is so little appreciated by the public that enjoys his work, or is granted so little studious consideration from the critically minded, as the dramatist. Other artists, like the novelist, the painter, the sculptor, or the actor, appeal directly to the public and the critics; nothing stands between their finished work and the minds that contemplate it.

The Public and the Dramatist

A person reading a novel by Mr. Howells, or looking at a statue by Saint Gaudens or a picture of Mr. Sargent, may see exactly what the artist has done and what he has not, and may appreciate his work accordingly. But when the dramatist has completed his play, he does not deliver it directly to the public; he delivers it only indirectly, through the medial interpretation of many other artists—the actor, the stage-director, the scene-painter, and still others of whom the public seldom hears. If any of these other and medial artists fails to convey the message that the dramatist intended, the dramatist will fail of his intention, though the fault is not his own. None of the general public, and few of the critics, will discern what the dramatist had in mind, so completely may his creative thought be clouded by inadequate interpretation.

The dramatist is obviously at the mercy of his actors. His most delicate love scene may be spoiled irrevocably by an actor incapable of profound emotion daintily expressed; his most imaginative creation of a hard and cruel character may be rendered unappreciable by an actor of too persuasive charm. And, on the other hand, the puppets of a dramatist with very little gift for characterization may sometimes be lifted into life by gifted actors and produce upon the public a greater impression than the characters of a better dramatist less skilfully portrayed. It is, therefore, very difficult to determine whether the dramatist has imagined more or less than the particular semblance of humanity exhibited by the actor on the stage. Othello, as portrayed by Signor Novelli, is a man devoid of dignity and majesty, a creature intensely animal and nervously impulsive; and if we had never read the play, or seen other performances of it, we should probably deny to Shakespeare the credit due for one of his most grand conceptions. On the other hand,

when we witness Mr. Warfield's beautiful and truthful performance of *The Music Master*, we are tempted not to notice that the play itself is faulty in structure, untrue in character, and obnoxiously sentimental in tone. Because Mr. Warfield, by the sheer power of his histrionic genius, has lifted sentimentality into sentiment and conventional theatricism into living truth, we are tempted to give to Mr. Charles Klein the credit for having written a very good play instead of a very bad one.

Only to a slightly less extent is the dramatist at the mercy of his stage-director. Mrs. Rida Johnson Young's silly play called *Brown of Harvard* was made worth seeing by the genius of Mr. Henry Miller as a producer. By sheer visual imagination in the setting and the handling of the stage, especially in the first act and the last, Mr. Miller contrived to endow the author's shallow fabric with the semblance of reality. On the other hand, Mr. Richard Walton Tully's play, *The Rose of the Rancho*, was spoiled by the cleverest stage-director of our day. Mr. Tully must, originally, have had a story in his mind; but what that story was could not be guessed from witnessing the play. It was utterly buried under an atmosphere of at least thirty pounds to the square inch, which Mr. Belasco chose to impose upon it. With the stage-director standing thus, for benefit or hindrance, between the author and the audience, how is the public to appreciate what the dramatist himself has, or has not, done?

An occasion is remembered in theatric circles when, at the tensest moment in the first-night presentation of a play, the leading actress, entering down a stairway, tripped and fell sprawling. Thus a moment which the dramatist intended to be hushed and breathless with suspense was made overwhelmingly ridiculous. A cat once caused the failure of a play by appearing unexpectedly upon the stage during the most important scene and walking foolishly about. A dramatist who has spent many months devising a melodrama which is dependent for its effect at certain moments on the way in which the stage is lighted may have his play sent suddenly to failure at any of those moments if the stage-electrician turns the lights incongruously high or low. These instances are merely trivial, but they serve to emphasize the point that so much stands between the dramatist and the audience that it is sometimes difficult even for a careful critic to appreciate exactly what the dramatist intended.

And the general public, at least in present-day America, never makes the effort to distinguish the intention of the dramatist from the interpretation it receives from the actors and (to a less extent) the stage-director. The people who support the theatre see and estimate the work

of the interpretative artists only; they do not see in itself and estimate for its own sake the work of the creative artist whose imaginings are being represented well or badly. The public in America goes to see actors; it seldom goes to see a play. If the average theatre-goer has liked a leading actor in one piece, he will go to see that actor in the next piece in which he is advertised to appear. But very, very rarely will he go to see a new play by a certain author merely because he has liked the last play by the same author. Indeed, the chances are that he will not even know that the two plays have been written by the same dramatist. Mr. Bronson Howard once told me that he was very sure that not more than one person in ten out of all the people who had seen *Shenandoah* knew who wrote the play. And I hardly think that a larger proportion of the people who have seen both Mr. Willard in *The Professor's Love Story* and Miss Barrymore in *Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire* could tell you, if you should ask them, that the former play was written by the author of the latter. How many people who remember vividly Sir Henry Irving's performance of *The Story of Waterloo* could tell you who wrote the little piece? If you should ask them who wrote the Sherlock Holmes detective stories, they would answer you at once. Yet *The Story of Waterloo* was written by the author of those same detective stories.

The general public seldom knows, and almost never cares, who wrote a play. What it knows, and what it cares about primarily, is who is acting in it. Shakespearian dramas are the only plays that the public will go to see for the author's sake alone, regardless of the actors. It will go to see a bad performance of a play by Shakespeare, because, after all, it is seeing Shakespeare: it will not go to see a bad performance of a play by Mr. Pinero, merely because, after all, it is seeing Pinero. The extraordinary success of *The Master Builder* during the present season is an evidence of this. The public that filled the coffers of the Bijou Theatre was paying its money not so much to see a play by the author of *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* as to see a performance by a clever and tricky actress of alluring personality, who was better advertised and, to the average theatre-goer, better known than Henrik Ibsen.

Since the public at large is much more interested in actors than it is in dramatists, and since the first-night critics of the daily newspapers write necessarily for the public at large, they usually devote most of their attention to criticising actors rather than to criticising dramatists. Hence the general theatre-goer is seldom aided, even by the professional interpreters of theatric art, to arrive at an understanding and appreciation, for its own sake, of that share in the entire artistic production which belongs to the dramatist and the dramatist alone. Therefore, it

seems advisable, in reviewing current plays for *THE FORUM*, to shift the point of view of criticism and, omitting all consideration of the actors, to focus attention entirely on what the dramatist, through his own efforts only, has succeeded in accomplishing.

For, in present-day America at least, production in the theatre is the dramatist's sole means of publication, his only medium for conveying to the public those truths of life he wishes to express. Very few plays are printed nowadays, and those few are rarely read: seldom, therefore, do they receive as careful critical consideration as even third-class novels. Mr. Clyde Fitch has printed *The Girl with the Green Eyes*. The third act of that play exhibits a very wonderful and searching study of feminine jealousy. But who has bothered to read it, and what accredited book-reviewer has troubled himself to accord it the notice it deserves? It is safe to say that that remarkable third act is remembered only by people who saw it acted in the theatre. Since, therefore, speaking broadly, the dramatist can publish his work only through production, it is only through attending plays and studying what lies beneath the acting and behind the presentation that even the most well-intentioned critic of contemporary drama can discover what our dramatists are driving at.

The great misfortune of this condition of affairs is that the failure of a play as a business proposition cuts off suddenly and finally the dramatist's sole opportunity for publishing his thought, even though the failure may be due to any one of many causes other than incompetence on the part of the dramatist. A very good play may fail because of bad acting or crude production, or merely because it has been brought out at the wrong time of the year or has opened in the wrong sort of city. Sheridan's *Rivals*, as everybody knows, failed when it was first presented. But when once a play has failed at the present day, it is almost impossible for the dramatist to persuade any manager to undertake a second presentation of it. Whether good or bad, the play is killed, and the unfortunate dramatist is silenced until his next play is granted a hearing.

The critic should, therefore, devote especial care to calling the attention of the thinking public to the merits of a good play that has failed: he should do this rather than devote time and space to the criticism of a bad play that has succeeded. I shall, therefore, in *THE FORUM*, avoid consideration of all plays wherein the dramatist alone has accomplished nothing of importance, and shall devote attention to the worthy work of worthy dramatists, whether their plays have succeeded or have failed. For the dramatist's exact accomplishment can seldom be measured by the failure of his play or the extent of its success. The play in which Mr.

Charles Klein has come most near to drawing character truthfully and constructing a story which sincerely represents the laws of life—I mean *The Daughters of Men*—failed last season, whereas *The Music Master* and *The Lion and the Mouse*, neither of which was of any serious importance as a play, achieved unusual successes, for reasons quite apart from the merits and the defects of Mr. Klein's accomplishment. Mr. Clyde Fitch has enjoyed many great successes, but his best play, *The Truth*, failed last season in New York, and his next best play, *The Girl with the Green Eyes*, ran very close to failure when it was first presented. *Michael and His Lost Angel*, the very greatest play by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, failed badly both in England and in America; and though the author subsequently published it, with a manly preface in which he stated his own belief that it was better than any of his popular successes, the play has remained unknown to the majority of Mr. Jones's admirers.

The distinguishing characteristic of the current theatrical season in New York has been the multiplicity of failures. Play after play has been disclosed only to be hastily withdrawn. Yet the output of the season, taken as a whole, has been in no way inferior to that of other and more prosperous seasons. Dramatic production is unfortunately not only an art but a business. As such, it is subject to general economic conditions. It is only natural that, in this season of tight money and business depression, the theatres should have suffered. The theatregoing classes are those that have been most emphatically affected by bank failures and the decline of the stock market. Consequently, many plays have failed this season that would have succeeded if they had been produced a year ago. But the work of worthy dramatists should not, therefore, be ignored by the critic; and consequently, in the present paper, I shall review certain interesting dramas irrespective of their failure or success, and shall omit to consider only such plays of the season as have exhibited no noteworthy merit on the part of the dramatist.

Mr. Augustus Thomas has long been recognized as one of the ablest and most important dramatists that America has yet disclosed. It was, therefore, with perturbation verging on amazement that the critics witnessed his new play, called *The Ranger*, last September. It exhibited some moving moments; it contained a good bit of drama here and there, and some fairly efficient writing; but in the main it was chaotic and confused. Mr. Thomas seemed unable to decide whether he meant to write a melodrama merely, or a study in local conditions characteristic of the Mexican border-country. His play was, therefore,

Mr. Augustus
Thomas

devoid of definite purpose. The first act was scattery and obscure; the audience could not determine what the play was all about and whither it was tending; time was wasted in crude exposition of apparently unimportant matters. The remaining acts were also complicated and chaotic—noisy with alarums and excursions, but utterly unclear. And after the play, a friend of Mr. Thomas, who is himself a dramatist, was heard to murmur a brief parody of *Hamlet*, "Alas, poor Gus!"

After the inevitable failure of *The Ranger*, Mr. Charles Frohman declined to produce another new play that Mr. Thomas had prepared for presentation. Mr. Harrison Grey Fiske also read and rejected it. It was finally produced by the Shuberts, and scored an immediate and absolute success.

This other play, entitled *The Witching Hour*, is far and away the best play of the season. It is, furthermore, the supreme achievement of Mr. Thomas's career. It is firm and neat in structure, clear and masterly in characterization, simple, direct, and often beautiful in writing; and, best of all, it deals with matters of very great importance in contemporary philosophic thought.

The thesis of *The Witching Hour* is that every thought is in itself an act, and that therefore any thought we hold intently has, even though it may not be externalized, the virtue and to some extent the power of action. Consequently, a man whose thought is sane and strong can, merely through the virtue of his thinking, conquer and in some degree control the thought, and secondarily the action; of other men whose minds are in a receptive mood. This thesis is pursued through its many applications in telepathy and hypnotism, the cure of nervous and hysterical disease by mental means, and the control of one mind by another through the power of suggestion.

This dynamic theory of thought has been for Mr. Thomas a favorite subject of contemplation for several years. His play is, therefore, based upon a sound maturity of consideration. There is nothing hasty or half-baked in the philosophy that Mr. Thomas illustrates. He asserts what he is sure of, and he never works his thesis for more than it is worth. His play is consequently of importance as an imaginative interpretation by a sane and serious thinker of a subject which looms very large in contemporary thought.

But Mr. Thomas has brought to the creation of this play not only maturity of philosophic thinking, but also maturity of dramaturgic means. The most amazing thing about his work is the way in which he has given to a thesis so abstract and theoretic an embodiment which is at all moments dramatic and concrete. It is fortunate for the literature

of the American stage that Mr. Thomas should have undertaken such a difficult task only after long experience had given him a mastery of the technique of the theatre. He tells a story of many strands which is intricate but always clear, and carries it along with a rapid and enthralling movement. Despite the unusual amount of exposition demanded by his theme, he never seems to halt his story in order to write essays about it. The necessary explanations either lie inherent in the incidents, or are brought forward apparently for the sake of revealing character. Whatever comment on the thesis is demanded is made usually by Judge Prentice, a man of extraordinary depth and sweetness of mind, who has pursued his meditations on the power of human thought to the misty verge of the mysterious unknowable. Largely through the influence of the Judge's wholesome and searching philosophy, Jack Brookfield, a successful gambler with an honest heart and a robust mind, grows into full command of the latent powers of his own nature, and, through the dominance over other people which he thus acquires, steers them out of evil into good. The development of Brookfield's power over other people, which is coincident with the growth of his consciousness of an ability to marshal and command his own latent possibilities of thought, is masterly exhibited. And the play is replete with other living characters—notably Lew Ellinger, an inveterate gambler with a mellow, humorous outlook upon life.

Each of the four acts takes place at midnight, the witching hour when the minds of men are most receptive and therefore most susceptible to influence from other people's thoughts. Over the whole story hovers an atmosphere of imminent mystery. And yet the action is at all moments immediate and vivid, and Mr. Thomas has projected it with that thoroughly concrete visual imagination which has always been a feature of his plays. It would, therefore, be unfair to attempt a summary of his intricate and interesting story. Like all good plays, *The Witching Hour* must be seen in order to be properly appreciated.

Yet in merely literary merit, it is a very remarkable work, and it is to be hoped that, after it has run a year or two, Mr. Thomas will publish it. It is written with manliness and humor and not infrequent lyric charm. The characters talk as people really talk, and the dialogue is eloquent with directness and simplicity.

It is a rare privilege for the critic to be able to speak in terms of the very highest praise of a new play by an American dramatist. With *The Witching Hour*, Mr. Thomas has come into his own. If he can give us a few more plays as good as this, and if certain other of our dramatists, through high thinking and sincere and honest labor, can grow to a similar

stature, we shall be able to assert at last to other nations that we have in America a genuine dramatic literature.

The next best play of the current season is *The Thief*, by a young French dramatist, M. Henri Bernstein, translated almost literally (except for a few cuts here and there) into somewhat cockney English by Mr. Haddon Chambers. This play is a marvel of dramaturgic dexterity. Its interest lies chiefly in its plot; but it exhibits half a dozen characters very truthfully and sympathetically drawn. These characters, for the most part, were inadequately acted; and it was difficult to discern beneath the superficial playing of the minor actors the mellow mastery of characterization which the dramatist undoubtedly possessed. Fortunately, his play proved actor-proof, because of the ingenious mechanism of its plot and the clever manipulation of suspense.

**M. Henri
Bernstein**

The action passes within twelve hours, at the country-house of Raymond Lagardes and his second wife, Isabelle. A large sum of money has been stolen from a desk belonging to Madame Lagardes. A detective from Paris, who is secretly installed in the house as a guest, comes to the conclusion that the money was taken by Fernand, the young son of Monsieur Lagardes by a former marriage. The boy, when accused, stubbornly asserts his innocence; but the evidence against him is overwhelming, and he finally breaks down and confesses that he is guilty. At this point the first act ends.

The second act occurs at two A.M. in the boudoir of Richard Voysin and his wife, Marie-Louise, who are living as the guests of the Lagardes. Just as the couple are about to go to bed, Richard discovers the stolen money hidden in a bureau drawer beneath a flutter of his wife's *lingerie*. He forces from her a confession that she is the thief. He is about to awaken the household in order to tell Monsieur Lagardes the truth; but Marie-Louise restrains him with a sexual appeal so powerful that he falters and decides to stay with her. Being in the wrong, she wins the struggle; and the audience expects the curtain to fall at once. But suddenly it occurs to Richard that Fernand would not have assumed the guilt of theft unless he were the accepted lover of Marie-Louise. She admits that Fernand has been making boyish love to her, but asserts that she has shown him no encouragement. The audience knows this to be the truth, but her husband disbelieves her. This second time, being in the right, she loses the struggle. Richard casts her from him.

Only two people appear on the stage during this enthralling second act. On the human side, the act is remarkable chiefly for the force of the

sexual motive in controlling a plot not in itself sexual. Technically, it is noteworthy for the author's absolute mastery of cumulative suspense. He builds the act up point by point, and just when you think that he has touched his climax, he begins suddenly anew upon another tack and carries the interest still higher.

The third and last act does not let down in tensivity. Gradually the full truth of the entire situation is revealed to all the characters, and they are left ready to live on without deceit. So ably has the author managed his *dénouement* that suspense endures until the end. And the element of character rises richly to the surface as the story clears itself to a close.

The Thief is a phenomenal theatrical achievement; it illustrates all that may be attained by mastery of structure; it is a model of play-making. But it is not so great a work as *The Witching Hour*. The reason is that Mr. Thomas's play is about something of importance, and exhibits characters whom it is worth everybody's while to meet; whereas M. Bernstein's clever drama exists chiefly for the sake of its mechanism, and conveys no message of importance to the audience. Does it ever really matter, to outsiders, who stole, and who did not, a certain sum of money? *The Thief* excites admiration for its technical efficiency, but does not stimulate thought beyond the limits of its story. But *The Witching Hour*, with its suggestion of more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in material philosophy, teaches while it entertains, and leaves the audience richer for a gleam.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones failed this season with *The Evangelist*, or, as he himself preferred to call the play, *The Galilean's Victory*. The failure is not difficult to account for; and yet the play in many ways was worthy, and I am inclined to think that it would read better than *The Hypocrites*, by the same author, which filled the theatre for the greater part of the preceding season. Mr. Jones's primary purpose in *The Evangelist* was to exhibit various phases of contemporary religious life in England; and as a dramatic basis for his criticism of ecclesiastical conditions, he selected an erring wife who was led through the experience of religious conversion to confess her infidelity to her husband.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones is, of course, the second ablest living dramatist writing in our language, and *The Evangelist* is in one way at least an important play for students of his work: it exhibits at the same time all of his habitual merits and all of his habitual defects, and is, therefore, thoroughly characteristic of its author. Mr. Jones's habitual

merits are novelty of invention, solidity of structure, genuineness of characterization within the sphere of English middle-class society, carefulness of literary finish, a common-sensible wholesomeness of tone, and what Matthew Arnold used to call "high seriousness" in looking on at life. His habitual defects are a tendency to preach explicitly, a certain heaviness or lack of leaven in his writing, a restriction of interest within a somewhat narrow range of life, and a leaning toward the sort of theatricism that seems fabricated rather than inevitably truthful.

Mr. Jones allowed his preaching habit full sway in the first two acts of *The Evangelist* by exhibiting a complete discussion of modern English sectarianism between several clergymen of different denominations who had assembled for the purpose of determining upon an attitude toward a revivalist preacher who was coming to convert the working classes. At the same time he deftly carried on an undercurrent of drama which swam to the surface now and then, and achieved some masterly delineation of character, especially in the person of Richard Fyson, a man of sane and scientific mind, who was apparently the author's mouthpiece. Where he failed was at the climax of his play. The sensibilities of the erring wife had been wrought upon by the evangelist. Toward the close of the third act she was left alone at night in a library with a wide window at the back. Through this window she could look into a chapel in which the revivalist was holding an enthusiastic meeting. The music, the hymns, the voice of the preacher, and the public confession on the platform of a girl who had fallen, so wrought upon her that she climbed a little stairway to her husband's door, knocked upon it, and told him that she had something to say to him. At this point the curtain fell. The scene was devised with clever theatricism, but it failed to convince an audience that was out of sympathy with an hysterical access of religious emotion. The truth is, as Mr. Walter Prichard Eaton pointed out in a masterly criticism of this play in the Sunday New York *Sun*, that sudden and profound religious emotions are necessarily too intimate and personal to be employed as leading motives in a play. Mr. Jones himself ascribed the failure to a lack of interest on the part of the contemporary American public in Christian ecclesiasticism. Before he sailed for England he expressed this point to one of his friends in a memorable sentence: "This morning, when I got up and looked out of the window of my room in the hotel, I actually looked down on the top of a church steeple!"

Mr. George Ade, the witty and illuminative fabulist in slang, has never yet succeeded in writing a thoroughly satisfying play. His chief

asset as a dramatist is an ability to draw with great fidelity of detail certain very humorous and very popular types of American character.

Mr. George Ade What he has lacked always has been an architectonic sense of the art of building plays. His latest comedy, called *Artie*, was, like all his other works, vividly humorous in detail, but processional in arrangement. It was replete with humorous dialogue and clever sketches of character, but it seldom rose to tensivity of action, and what little struggle it set forth almost never seemed to matter. It was a piece of many brilliant little bits, nearly every one of which was in itself more interesting than the play was as a whole.

Undoubtedly more funny things were said in *Artie* than in any other comedy of the season, and the piece exhibited with entire truthfulness many interesting phases of American life and character; also, it had the great advantage of being staged with rare fidelity to fact by a director of remarkable ability in imagining the actual, Mr. George Marion. Yet the failure of the play was inevitable. It told the story of a clever and flippant young man who jollied his way to material success. To use for a moment the language of the author, what *Artie* handed out was josh. Mr. Ade should have foreseen that a successful drama could not be patterned out of the deeds of such a hero. In the first place, it was impossible to awaken for him any serious sympathy from the audience, because the hero never felt any very serious emotion. The love interest of the play was weak and ineffective, because *Artie* made love just as flippantly as he did everything else, and his best girl seemed to exist chiefly for the sake of being jollied. Furthermore, since it was a foregone conclusion that *Artie*, by his cleverness and wit, would get the better of any one who tried to thwart him, it was impossible for the dramatist to create any feeling of suspense as to the outcome of the action. The struggle was never serious and therefore never really moving.

The play failed merely because it was lacking in emotional appeal. Cleverness alone will never interest an audience. The spectators did not care for *Artie* as a person, because they were never allowed to fear for him and seldom lured to love him. To make a comedy, as has been frequently remarked, is a very serious business, and the best of comic plays are those that often tremble on the verge of tears.

The Coming of Mrs. Patrick, by Miss Rachel Crothers, ought to have been a better play than the same author's *The Three of Us*, because its theme was more important and its story was inherently less conventional. The reason that it failed to duplicate her former success may be ascribed

chiefly to the fact that it was written before *The Three of Us* and was therefore the result of less experience in composition. It displayed the same remarkable merits as the play which was first exhibited to the public; but it also displayed in more emphatic measure the same faults that lay latent in *The Three of Us*.

Miss

Rachel

Crothers

It told the story of the effect produced upon each member of a musty, gloomy, and old-fashioned household by Mrs. Patrick, a trained nurse gifted with common sense, a healthy spirit, and that searching understanding which is born of human sympathy. The play was very satisfactory in scattered dialogue and subtle unemphatic characterization. In the second act there was a dinner-table scene, deftly directed by Mr. George Foster Platt, in which, above a murmur of half inaudible conversation, there emerged now and then a single sentence from this person or from that; and the scene was so wonderfully natural that it suggested more than any formal dialogue. In the first act there was a little scene which was entirely new to the theatre and very wise. Dr. Bruce had just introduced Mrs. Patrick to Miss Lawton. He had known each of them for years, and they were the two women on earth whom he held in highest admiration. He therefore left them alone together, feeling sure that they would almost immediately meet and find each other. But each of the women felt embarrassed in the presence of the other, because each of them felt the subsistence of an unrealized antagonism. They exchanged laborious commonplaces, interrupted with uncomfortable pauses. After a few moments, Mrs. Patrick moved to the mantelpiece and gazed into the fire. Miss Lawton crossed the room to a window opposite, and looked out into the street. When Dr. Bruce entered once again, he found them, with their backs turned to each other, separated by the width of the room.

The dialogue, like that of *The Three of Us*, was easy and natural throughout; and Miss Crothers once again displayed her wisdom in sudden simple lines, poignant with profound humanity. In the last act, Mrs. Patrick, who loves the doctor, thinks that he is going to marry Miss Lawton. A young lad, of whom she is very fond in elder-sister fashion, finds her dejected and alone and seeks to comfort her. He asks if there isn't anything that he may do for her. "Don't say anything kind to me," she answers gently. Later, when the doctor holds her in his arms, she ejaculates, with a little laughing sob, "I think I'm going to die."

The reason why the play failed is that it broke into little pieces structurally. The author's method was scatterry rather than continuous.

She seemed unable to keep her attention focussed on the straightway progress of her story to its culmination, but allowed herself to be allured into digressions. The third act was especially weak, because it was given up almost entirely to a long scene which was apart from the main purpose of the play. Miss Crothers must learn to build more firmly in order to earn indisputably the success that she deserves because of her subtle gift for characterization and her genius for writing truthful dialogue.

**Martha
Morton** Mrs. Martha Morton Conheim, in *The Movers*, attempted a study of many of the main defects of the extravagant social life of present-day New York, and succeeded in projecting a group of life-like characters rendered hectic and almost hysterical by a morbid lust for wealth. Her play was interesting, because its subject was timely, because its characters were mainly true (except for a family doctor who was insufferably pure and sweet, and wore, I am sure, a back comb in his hair), and because its dialogue was well written except at certain moments when the author tried to write. It failed because of a vital structural defect. The first two acts exhibit the financial difficulties of Marion Manners and her husband, Chudleigh. For some time they have been living beyond their income. Chudleigh is driven to abscond a large sum of money; and in fear of the imminent discovery of his crime, shoots and kills himself. His suicide occurs at the end of the second act. The last two acts exhibit the gradual humanizing of Marion Manners through the sweet uses of adversity, and the way in which she conveys her deeper sense of life to her unregenerate relatives.

The trouble with these last two acts is that the play really ended with the suicide of Chudleigh, and that therefore Mrs. Conheim's fabric breaks into two at the middle. She has always written plays as if they were novels; and that is probably the reason why, in constructing *The Movers*, she did not realize that she was attempting two dramas instead of one. The story needed a completer focus of attention on a single main effect, and a compression into a less extensive period of time.

A certain interesting paradox has stood at the heart of nearly all the plays for which, in recent seasons, Mr. David Belasco has been mainly or entirely responsible. Each of them, considered merely as something written by a dramatist, has been a highly artificial fabric, conventional in material and theatrical in development; and yet, because of Mr. Belasco's incomparable skill in stage-direction and his remarkable

gift for getting the most out of his actors, nearly all of them have seemed to the public, and even to a majority of the critics, to be truthful transcripts of life. His plays have been praised for novelty and naturalness, whereas none of them has been novel and almost none of them natural. The great thing is that the public has not found this out, because in a Belasco production the work of the dramatist is so completely veiled by the work of the stage-director. Yet, imagine for a moment how disillusionizing it would be to read *The Girl of the Golden West*! Despoiled of its apparently natural investiture, it would stand revealed as the mechanical melodrama that it really is.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to record that *A Grand Army Man*, by David Belasco, Pauline Phelps, and Marion Short, stands more close to life itself than many others of the alluring Belasco plays. An honest attempt has here been made to conceive character truthfully; and not only Mr. Warfield's part of Wes' Bigelow, but also many other figures in the little drama are simply and sympathetically drawn. To be sure, the plot is conventional and rather thin; we have heard the story many times before: and the play is static rather than dynamic; it sits around (to say the matter crudely) instead of rising up and marching on. But it is of genuine significance as a sketch of character; and its central figure is well worthy of Mr. Warfield's genius for homely and pathetic portraiture.

The other Belasco production of the present season is *The Warrens of Virginia*, by Mr. William C. De Mille. In this play the material is again conventional: there is nothing novel in the story of a patriotic daughter of the Confederacy loving a Union officer, who is forced by his duty as a soldier to betray her family, and thereby (for a time, at least) loses her faith and her affection. The piece has many faults. The first act is wasted in a redundant exposition which unnecessarily repeats itself; and indeed the story scarcely gets started till half way through the second act. But the third act is thrilling with many new theatrical devices. The second act, furthermore, exhibits very truthfully and touchingly the atmosphere of a Southern home, still hospitably sweet amid the trials and alarms of war; and the third act, in spite of the fact that its main interest lies in the surprises of its clever plot, continues to strike many human notes of character.

The Warrens of Virginia approaches much more closely the domain of genuine dramatic literature than anything else that Mr. De Mille has

yet accomplished. In this play, for the first time, he has created certain characters—notably General Warren and his wife—whom it is possible to remember as human beings apart from the story in which they figure; for the first time, also, he has achieved a note of distinction in his writing. The play is interesting in itself, and gives promise of better things to come.

In *The Toy Maker of Nuremberg*, Mr. Austin Strong attempted a very delicate task. He conceived a story of simple loveliness and child-like charm. An old craftsman who has spent his life in making dolls refuses to make Teddy bears instead, and is therefore dismissed by a mercenary master. The toy-maker's son loves the daughter of his father's grim employer, and the course of their true love is ruffled by the rupture. An elder and long-lost son of the toy-maker restores every one to happiness by returning home with a large fortune which he has made in America through the manufacture and sale of Teddy bears.

Mr. Austin Strong's sweet and dainty play suffered considerably from unsympathetic acting. But its failure was due not only to the fact that many of its characters were miscast. The author made the serious mistake of strumming too continuously a single note of half-pathetic and half-humorous sentiment. The play, therefore, lacked relief and contrast. It was all in one mood, and that one mood was the most difficult imaginable for an audience to sustain through three entire acts. Consequently, before the last act was over, the audience gave up the task and seceded entirely from sympathy with the characters.

If *The Toy Maker* had been a one-act play, its lack of variety would not have hazarded its chances of success; but in the three-act form, its linked sweetness was too long drawn out. Some of its characters and some of its incidents should have been made of sterner stuff. But in certain very lovely moments, like a little scene in which the toy-maker cheated his master by giving away a doll to some children who had come to watch him at his work, Mr. Strong accomplished something worthier than may be remembered out of many more successful plays.

Clayton Hamilton.

LITERATURE

A COSMOPOLITAN CRITIC¹

AMONG American teachers of English, Professor Brander Matthews is notable for the breadth of his culture and the openness of his mind. He is a quite different person from the modern Ph.D. product, "made in Germany." The latter is no doubt useful in his way, but his way is not always human, or humanizing. The attitude of Professor Matthews toward literature has always been characterized by two distinguishing features: first, his treatment of literature as a whole, without regard to the language in which it happens to have been written; second, his willingness to treat contemporary authors as definitive subjects of study. In discussing the history of the drama—which happens to be his specialty—he has never insulated any particular nation, but has studied every great dramatist in the light of the world's intellectual life of that particular time. Nor has he ever had a vestige of the familiar academic contempt toward the literary output of our own day. These two qualities have made him a true cosmopolitan in scholarship; for the real scholar should be the broadest, not the narrowest, man in the world. And as literature is primarily written not as text-books but as interpretations of life, it is impossible to write a penetrating criticism of it unless the critic have as keen a sympathy with life as he has with books. Owen Wister's cowboy was not a bad critic of Browning.

Professor Matthews's latest volume, *Inquiries and Opinions*, is well named, for of the twelve essays it contains, nine are on themes too modern to admit of anything like a final word. We do not yet know for certain whether Ibsen is an immortal writer, or merely a person who has had a tremendous influence on nineteenth and twentieth century drama. All we do know is that in the year 1908 he is a vital force that cannot be ignored, and that his effect on the technique of the modern stage is as good as his effect on the moral nature of certain individuals has been bad. A moral anarchist, who believed in only one law—the law of copyright—he showed his age how a play could be made highly interesting without scenic display. Professor Matthews treats him, therefore, not as a philosopher but as a playwright—for we who go to hear Ibsen on the stage have the same reason that the lovers of the Belasco melodrama have—we go not because we are "highbrows" but because we find

¹*Inquiries and Opinions*. By Brander Matthews. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

him interesting, and we should not go if he were dull. Intelligent men and women hate to be bored fully as much as those who are incapable of thought, only both are not always bored by the same things.

The chapter on "The Literary Merit of Our Latter-Day Drama" is in a way a defence of Henry Arthur Jones, to whom the volume is affectionately dedicated. This essay is written with shrewd sense, insisting that literary merit should be something integral and inherent, not something foisted on from the outside. The dramas of Jones and Pinero do not have the same kind of literary merit as the dramas of Tennyson; but they would have far less literary merit if (let us say) *Mrs. Dane's Defence* had been written in the style of Tennyson's *Harold*. Professor Matthews is also right in insisting that what Tennyson desired was exactly the same kind of success as that enjoyed by Pinero and Jones; and that he failed where they succeeded, because their plays had actually more literary merit than his, if we admit that style should be adapted to subject.

The least successful essay in the volume is the one called "The Supreme Leaders." I do not know where it originally appeared, but it sounds as if it were intended for a distinctly lower grade of readers than the rest of the book appeals to, and therefore it seems perhaps out of place here. It is, of course, both useful and entertaining; but it would be better as an address at some high school graduation exercises, or as an article in some cheap and popular magazine. The *tone* of the essay is by no means cheap; quite the contrary, for it insists on what we are all prone to forget, that the masters are few; and it should have a chastening effect on the use of superlatives. Possibly Professor Matthews included it to serve as a counterweight to the essay on Mark Twain, whom he ranks tentatively with Molière and Cervantes. Little fault can be found with his roll-call of geniuses, except that one may query whether Frederick really ranks in military history with Hannibal, Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. And is it not a slip, however trivial, to say that "those who speak French . . . fare no better when we turn . . . to the art of war" (p. 44)? On the next page the Italian descent of Napoleon is insisted upon, but surely "those who speak French" may claim him. At all events, they seem to have done so.

In his anxiety to prove the contrary of the prevailing opinion, which declares that a man of genius is usually not appreciated by his contemporaries, and that he is "discovered" only by future generations, Professor Matthews is possibly a little too positive and a little too sweeping. It is, of course, true that Shakespeare was a popular playwright; that Dickens and Thackeray were immensely admired by their con-

temporaries; that Goethe was adored one hundred years ago. But can we unreservedly assent to such a statement as this: "Those books that survive are always chosen from out the books that have been popular, and never from those that failed to catch the ear of their contemporaries" (p. 16)? What shall we say to Herrick's *Hesperides*? The first edition of Herrick's poems appeared in 1648, the second in 1823! No real poet of his time was more neglected. Suppose Browning had died in 1860. In that year he received a copyright statement for the preceding six months. This proved that not one single copy of *Men and Women*, published in 1855, had been sold during the six months ending in 1860. How about Keats? Still, while it is certain that many exceptions can be found to Professor Matthews's remark, it is no doubt true that he is largely right, and that most of us need his emphasis.

The first paper in the book, "Literature in the New Century," was read in 1904, at the International Congress of the Arts and Sciences, held at St. Louis. This essay is fully worthy of the great occasion that produced it. It shows the breadth of view that always characterizes its author's utterances; it also shows a philosophical grasp, command of material, delicacy of insight, and accuracy of phrase, which make us proud that it is a fruit of American scholarship. Professor Matthews discusses the "four legacies from the nineteenth century to the twentieth: first, the scientific spirit; second, the spread of democracy; third, the assertion of nationality; and fourth, that stepping across the confines of language and race for which we have no more accurate name than 'cosmopolitanism.'" There is not space here to set forth or to analyze these separate portions of the essay; suffice it to say that the book is worth purchasing for this chapter alone. Two other chapters, one on an abstract, the other on a concrete subject, may be briefly noticed. The discussion of "Invention and Imagination" is exceedingly valuable and stimulating, and will be comforting to good writers who lack originality in conceiving situations. Our essayist is wholly right in insisting upon the superior quality of true imagination, as shown supremely by Shakespeare in comparison with more original dramatists, and as shown by Poe in contrast with Conan Doyle. But I am not so sure of the felicity of the choice of Rudyard Kipling to prove the writer's point. Not all readers will agree that Mr. Kipling can be correctly described as a writer "not seeking for originality." It is the strenuous search for originality that has marred so much of the later work of this extraordinarily gifted man. And can we heartily assent to the statement concerning the tales of the *Jungle Book*, even cheerfully admitting their undeniable power and charm? We are told, "They seem as assured of

survival as anything which the nineteenth century has transmitted to the twentieth" (page 106). Is the *Jungle Book* really as good as *David Copperfield*, *Esmond*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Ivanhoe*, not to mention the poetry of Byron, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Tennyson, Browning?

The essay on the concrete subject deals with the work of Guy de Maupassant. Just before writing this, Professor Matthews would have found it profitable to reread Tolstoy's remarkable and powerful discussion of the same author. It is not quite true that Maupassant "began by caring little or nothing for the heart or the soul or the mind, and by concentrating all his skill upon a record of the deeds of the human body. . . . But in time the mind came to interest Maupassant as much as the body." The thing is unfortunately more the other way around. The real tragedy of Maupassant's career is the steady moral deterioration in his novels, which Tolstoy has so grimly pointed out. His early work, as shown in the incomparable *Une Vie*, is full of amazing mental analysis, and is in a way profoundly spiritual; whereas his last novels, *Notre Cœur* and *Fort Comme La Mort*, are given up to sensations rather than thoughts, and are excellent examples of that wholly vicious school of literature, which, in the words of Turgenev, shows us, not how people think, but how they feel. Of course, Professor Matthews has in mind chiefly the short stories, whereas Tolstoy is talking about the novels; but the direction of Maupassant's mind was the opposite from that pointed out by our essayist.

I have had no hesitation in expressing divergent views from those set forth in this volume, not only because the book is in the main so fine, but because its author enjoys honest dissent fully as much as praise. For the benefit of the next edition, one or two minute slips may be mentioned. Simplified spelling, like "the wos of Romeo" (page 90), seems to the present unbeliever not wholly agreeable; but if its object is economy, why say "benefitted" (page 47)? And surely "Hannible" (page 46) is a typographical error. Stevenson's novel, written in collaboration with Osbourne, was called *The Wrecker*, not "Wreckers" (page 118). It is curious to see the old error concerning the origin of the name "Mark Twain" repeated, especially by one who knows him so intimately, and writes so admirably of his work (page 143). *Tom Sawyer* was first published in 1876, not 1875 (page 146). Nor is it necessary to go back four hundred years (page 174) to find a parallel to Maupassant's terror of death. If any one reads my review as far as this closing sentence, he will not need to be reminded of Dr. Johnson.

William Lyon Phelps.

MEREDITH AND HIS EXPOSITORS¹

THREE books on Meredith's work in the space of a few months—here is a fact challenging the attention of those who take account of literary history. I suppose that of English poets only Shakespeare and Mr. Shaw have in the same period been so much written about. Does it mean a Meredith "revival"?—or, if the word is not to be applied to one who has never enjoyed a period of unqualified popularity, is it the sign of a sudden widespread appreciation of a man hitherto deprived of his just dues? Possibly neither. It is true that Meredith has never commanded the popularity of a Scott or a Dickens, but he has never been without his following—a following of substantial proportions since the publication of *Diana*. And the circle of his readers has been steadily, quietly widening. No startling spurt in public interest need be premised to explain the almost simultaneous realization by a number of critics that here was a field comparatively fresh and rich in possibilities. For the group of works beginning with the *Poems* of 1851 and practically ending with *A Reading of Life* in 1901 has established itself as part of the English literary tradition. The weighty praise of such men as Swinburne, James Thomson, Carlyle, the Rossettis, Stevenson, Henry James, forbids neglect. And the essential qualities of these poems and novels, whether one likes them or not, are endlessly suggestive of problems, provocative of discussion.

It says something for the vitality of Meredith's books that it is possible to emerge from the reading in quick succession of these three commentaries with unimpaired zest for their subject. This is not to imply that the commentaries are in themselves bad. On the contrary, two of them are not unworthy tributes to Meredith's genius. But books about books, fascinating as they may be, have their dangers; at the second remove the relationship with reality tends to become strained. It would be unpardonable in this place to stretch the relationship still further by attempting a critical evaluation of the critics. I shall content myself with mentioning cursorily a few of their opinions and judgments which lead back as directly as possible to Meredith himself.

Fortunately, the range of his work is great enough to allow of considerable variety in his commentators. It is notorious, for instance, that

¹*The Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith.* By George Macaulay Trevelyan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Novels of George Meredith: A Study. By Elmer James Bailey. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

George Meredith: Novelist, Poet, Reformer. By M. Sturge Henderson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

his followers are divided into two camps, one lauding him as a poet, the other as a novelist. This initial difference of opinion is reflected in the books before us. Mr. Trevelyan devotes himself professedly to the poems, alluding only incidentally to the novels, while Mr. Bailey, with his eyes on the fiction, practically ignores the verse. Mrs. Henderson plays the part of mediator with her chronological survey of the whole of his work.

Although most readers of the present generation come to Meredith's poetry through his fiction—if indeed they come at all—nevertheless, Mr. Trevelyan's book has a double claim to our first attention. That it happened to be the first of the three to get published is in itself of little moment; it is more to the purpose that Meredith began his career, as he ended it, with the writing of poetry, and that his prose is always a poet's prose. It may be remarked parenthetically that this has been held as a chief grievance against him by those who would mark out once for all the boundaries of the arts, and forbid all commerce between them. There are critics who would banish from literature the most famous chapter in *Richard Feverel* because of its unchecked lyricism. Grant that most of the writing commonly known as "prose poetry" is detestable, it does not follow that all prose is bad that contains the poetic quality. The fallacy is more easily exposed in the converse. We have learned at last to distrust the sciolist—the man from whom Browning and Whitman and Meredith himself have suffered—who can see no poetry where there is thought, and would reserve verse for a holier office than that of expressing an idea. In this day of restless adventuring into new worlds the arts tend to merge. That the man who wrote *The Empty Purse*—a poem with less of the lyric quality than many of Carlyle's outbursts—should also have given us Lucy and Richard in the Enchanted Island, is peculiarly characteristic of the time. It marks Meredith the most modern of novelists, that he is never wholly novelist.

And so there would be undoubted advantage in making acquaintance of him through his verse. To this end Mr. Trevelyan is a safe and judicious guide. He is whole-hearted in his admiration for Meredith without becoming maudlin. He knows the poems thoroughly, but in interpreting them he has not been afraid to leave some things unexplained. He does not indulge in too many generalizations. He notes as Meredith's chief characteristic that in him poetical inspiration and intellectual power are developed in equal degree. Here is the source of his variety; here, too, is the key to unlock that most obvious of critical problems, his obscurity. On this subject Mr. Trevelyan discourses with insight and commendable restraint. The great cause of Meredith's obscurity is in the very nature of his thought. He is a leader in that branch of the advancing army of

human thought which "is straggling into the dimmer shades of intricate psychology, into 'haunted roods,' the birthplace of new aspirations, prophecies, and religions, which can find no expression in dogmatic statement, but only in the inspired language of beauty, suggesting the undefined, and making the unseen felt." When the difficulty lies in his literary methods, it arises from his great condensation of thought, the swiftness of his mental processes, the profusion of his imagery, and that genius for breaking up the stereotyped forms of expression and recreating them from their elements which the French critic, Rémy de Gourmont, happily calls "disassociation of phrase." The accusation of wilful obscurity is, as in the case of Browning, too childish to notice; always the word is freighted with thought. Poetry, it is said, must not be made to bear the burden of philosophy, and therein we hear echoes of the vicious Miltonian dictum that has retarded criticism for two centuries. That tonic triad of qualities, "simple, sensuous, passionate," is the stone on which much noble poetry has been bruised.

Both Mr. Trevelyan and Mrs. Henderson mention as a possible factor in Meredith's obscurity the period of comparative neglect in which he was deprived of the healthy criticism that a poet usually receives. They might have quoted in this connection Mr. Chesterton's witty remarks in his study of Browning. "Outward obscurity is in a young author a mark of inward clarity. A man who is vague in his ideas does not speak obscurely, because his own dazed and drifting condition leads him to clutch at phrases like ropes and use the formulæ that every one understands. No one ever found Miss Marie Corelli obscure, because she believes only in words. But if a young man really has ideas of his own, he must be obscure at first, because he lives in a world of his own in which there are symbols and correspondences and categories unknown to the rest of the world." Elsewhere Mr. Chesterton says: "The works of George Meredith are, as it were, obscure even when we know what they mean. They deal with nameless emotions, fugitive sensations, subconscious certainties and uncertainties, and it really requires a somewhat curious and unfamiliar mode of speech to indicate the presence of these." This is but half the truth, but it is an important half.

Enough has been said to indicate that those who will not concede to Meredith the right to express his views of life in any medium he may choose had better leave him alone. What these views are, what his temper and outlook on the world, Mr. Trevelyan examines in an important chapter. Temperamentally an optimist, Meredith has no place in his creed for the shallow distinctions of optimism and pessimism, realism and idealism. He is "the inspired prophet of sanity." He looks on the

world with level eyes, recognizing the evil clearly and setting it forth sometimes too poignantly for modern sensitive nerves, but never losing his belief that the game of life is its own reward. A great nature poet Meredith is, but for him nature and man are inextricably wrapped up together and react on each other. His greatest nature poems are those that exploit some phase of human personality, the good earth that he loves playing the rôle of a sentient creature rather than serving merely as background. This side of his genius the lovely *Hymn to Colour* and *Woods of Westermain* show at its best. In *Modern Love* the theme is social rather than personal, and so it leads, as Mr. Trevelyan points out, more directly to the novels than any other of his poems. It is, in his critic's eyes, perhaps his highest poetical achievement—a work not without difficulties and imperfections, but of amazing variety, in which “psychology, comedy, tragedy, irony, philosophy, and beauty follow upon each other's heels in such quick succession that scarcely, except by a certain greater master, has a single tune been played upon so many stops”; while Swinburne's comment on it, as “in some points, as it seems to me . . . a poem above the aim and beyond the reach of any but its author,” is quoted with entire approval. Mr. Trevelyan's commentary on this and other individual poems, like his criticism of the poet's general aim and method, is admirably lucid and sympathetic.

Appreciation of Meredith's poetry has, as Mr. Le Gallienne pointed out in his clever study, doubtless lagged behind the acceptance of his novels; so that if Mr. Trevelyan has the fresher subject, Mr. Bailey, in confining himself to the novels, has the theme of wider appeal. The special task he has set himself is to classify Meredith's fiction and trace its literary ancestry—a task which, while not in itself necessarily pertinent to criticism, may be made a harmless and not uninteresting pastime. Unfortunately, Mr. Bailey pursues his end with a grim determination totally devoid of humor, and the result is sad to contemplate. At the outset he arbitrarily divides Meredith's career into three periods—those of the apprentice, the journeyman, and the master-workman—and then effects a further trichotomy of the novels into periods of a decade each, labelled respectively “period of influenced production,” “period of attack upon egoism,” and “period of attack upon conventional ideas of marriage.” In the interest of complete symmetry he assigns four novels to each period, telescoping *Sandra Belloni* and *Vittoria* into one for the purpose. This is, of course, mere childishness, but its ineptitude dwindles to insignificance when Mr. Bailey settles down to displaying Meredith's connections with his predecessors in English fiction. Here is the pursuit of the elusive analogy, the game of hunting literary genealogies, reduced

to its final absurdity. Meredith is indebted to Bulwer Lytton and Sterne, because in *Richard Feverel*, as in *The Caxtons* and *Tristram Shandy*, there is an uncle who has lost a leg; he is a follower of Fielding because he portrays his hero, Richard, as frankly as Fielding set forth the character of Tom Jones; he was influenced by Charlotte Brontë to "the realistic presentation of the natural instincts"; in giving us Bessie Berry he has borrowed Dickens's method "of summing up a person in one grand, all-containing trait"; the relationship with Thackeray is established on a long comparison of the Countess de Saldar in *Evan Harrington* with Becky Sharp; *Rhoda Fleming* was produced "under the direct influence of works by Richardson, Dickens, and George Eliot," and reflects the manner of Charles Reade. If in this condensed catalogue of similarities I have been unfair to Mr. Bailey, I have at least been kinder than I should be in quoting his puerilities at greater length.

No sane criticism is to be expected of a man engaged in this fantastic chase. We might expect to learn from Mr. Bailey that *The Adventures of Harry Richmond* is, "in the opinion of some critics, an improvement upon *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*"; that Harry himself is "a stick"; that Meredith did not look upon "the presence of passion in men and women as working a necessary degradation of character"; that in *The Tragic Comedians* "there is almost a complete absence of the aphorisms and epigrams which readers of Meredith always expect." Such pronouncements have the value only of the horrible example. The only thing of worth in Mr. Bailey's book is an alphabetical list of Meredith's characters, and some statistics as to their number.

Mrs. Henderson, undertaking a comprehensive consideration of Meredith's works in chronological order, has given us the best general survey of them that we possess. Four of the twenty-two chapters, dealing with the poems, are furnished by Mr. Basil de Sélincourt, whose criticism, generally illuminating, sometimes misses its point because of an effort at oversubtlety. This fault cannot in general be attributed to Mrs. Henderson. Her judgment is sober, her admiration tempered by a sense of proportion. In her comparative estimates she has inevitably challenged the disagreement of Meredithians. I do not know that any one has ever cited *Evan Harrington* or *Rhoda Fleming* as the greatest of his novels, but each of the others has its champions. Mrs. Henderson will probably have the majority with her in her high estimate of *Richard Feverel*; on the other hand, she flouts the popular opinion in her rather low evaluation of *Diana*, and it may reasonably be felt that she does something less than justice to *The Egoist*. Acknowledging with more admiration than liking the marvellous energy of *The Amazing Marriage*—surely an unparalleled

achievement for a man close on seventy—she passes over with scarcely a word the opening chapters, which contain some of the most memorable writing Meredith has ever done. Indeed, she might well have found place in her chapter on “Minor Characteristics” for some notice of the novelist’s First Chapters.

But these negative faults are trifling. Mrs. Henderson has devoted some admirable pages to the consideration of Meredith as a critic, a capacity in which his *Essay on Comedy* represents his highest attainment. It is scarcely possible to praise this work too highly, and every one who knows it will surely agree with Mrs. Henderson in her enthusiasm for “the completeness, the precision, the finality of what is said.” It is from her analysis of this essay that Mrs. Henderson proceeds to her most pregnant generalization with regard to Meredith’s spirit and aim. “The main theme of his novels, and indeed of many of his poems, is the purification of rebellious and intemperate youth: a purification which to his mind can only be effected by experience in the main painful to the natural Ego; by an Ordeal which he invariably conceives as fiery.” This is the theme on which, in his greatest works, Meredith looses the Comic Spirit. For Mr. Trevelyan’s assertion that he is “the inspired prophet of sanity” is but another way of proclaiming him the great Comic Poet in English fiction. This is, as it seems to me, the largest possible summing up in a single formula of Meredith’s genius (with the additional advantage that it goes far to explain the limits of his audience). Like all formulæ, it is insufficient; *Richard Feverel* proves this, to say nothing of the very title, *The Tragic Comedians*, which, as Mrs. Henderson remarks, might in itself provide subject-matter for an essay. But it sets at once in the right light the wonderful group of Meredith’s hugest creations: Sir Austin Feverel, Wilfrid Pole, Roy Richmond, Beauchamp, Sir Willoughby Patterne, Sigismund Alvan, and Victor Radnor: characters of infinite variety, differing immeasurably from one another, leaning now to the mere grotesque and now to the downright tragic; but all fulfilling in degree the test of true Comedy, which is “that it shall awaken thoughtful laughter.”

Edward Clark Marsh.

TILLEY’S RABELAIS¹

It was one of time’s revenges that the author of Gargantua and Pantagruel, when once he had passed beyond the ken of his contemporaries, should have been interpreted in the light of his creations. He had not lacked enemies in his lifetime, for there is nothing which so hurts the

¹*Rabelais*. By Arthur Tilley. The French Men of Letters Series. Philadelphia: The J. B. Lippincott Company.

Frenchman as ridicule. This genial giant, this Homer of buffoonery, had laid about him lustily, and the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris were slow to forgive the good-natured scoffer who had amused a century at their expense. They did not even wait until he had departed. They condemned his books; they accused him of heresy. Maître François probably smiled, and with that combination of shrewdness and tenacity which marked him always, withdrew to Metz and prepared another volume in the prologue to which he was dextrously to enlist the sympathies of the king. The large body of his readers showed a strange lack of interest in the life of this unwearying Titan, who, like his contemporary Leonardo, and like the arrow of the philosopher, seemed to find rest in motion, and who was forever changing his habitat in the endless search for truth. After he had died, early in the '50s—we do not even know the exact year, though it was most probably 1553—the making of his biography was given over to the popular imagination. He became the hero of episodes not unworthy of a place in his own humoristic epics. The ardor of humanism was already a fading flame. The Catholic Reaction was once more to mark the limits beyond which “the eternal spirit of the chainless mind” was no more to range at will. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew’s Day was not far ahead, and the Renaissance had already passed its floreat. It is not strange, therefore, that men should have forgotten that Rabelais who had been the reverent disciple of Erasmus and the familiar of the choicest spirits of his time. Neither do we hear much mention of the skilled physician. Yet the learned translator of Plato, Etienne Dolet, who was to die at the stake, had said of him in Latin verses that he could “recall the dead from the very gates of Pluto.” They thought of him as a lover of casks and laden boards, a glutton, a *franc-buveur*, the hero of colossal orgies to whom Sir Toby’s cakes and ale must have been indeed but lenten fare; for when he spoke of wine it was by the hogshead, and the cakes of Grandgosier are proffered in cartloads. There was something in this view to hold the fancy, and it was still taken seriously by a critic no less great than Taine. We quote the brilliant lines from the *English Literature*, where he is contrasted with Swift:

He must not in this be compared to Rabelais: that good giant, that drunken doctor, rolls himself joyously about on his dunghill, thinking no evil; the dunghill is warm, convenient, a fine place to philosophize and sleep off one’s wine. Raised to this enormity and enjoyed with this heedlessness, the bodily functions become poetical. When the casks are emptied down his throat, and the viands are gorged, we sympathize with so much bodily comfort; in the heavings of this colossal belly and the laughter of this Homeric mouth, we see, as through a mist, the relics of bacchanal religions, the fecundity, the monstrous joy of nature; these are the splendors and disorders of its first births.

Rabelais had already been dead three hundred years when in 1857 M. Rathery made the first attempt to write a life which should be based on evidence; and when the unauthenticated tales had once been swept away the remaining data were found to be astonishingly meagre. A very little has since come to light, through the efforts of the French Rabelais Society, which founded in 1903 the *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*. Among these contributions, one of the most important has been that of the president of this society on the Voyages of Pantagruel. All this later work is thoroughly familiar to Mr. Tilley, and he begins his present volume well equipped by his previous studies in the sixteenth century.

Mr. Tilley is not a brilliant writer. He is scholarly, conscientious, exact, erudite, and is deservedly recognized as the best-informed English authority on this period of French literary history. Yet for all his gleaning, the gathered facts make but a very slender sheaf in which much is straw. The positive information which in the present state of our knowledge can be given amounts but to this: We do not know when he was born, nor yet do we know exactly where, whether at Chinon or La Devinière; in any case, it was in this neighborhood, in Balzac's country, that fertile "garden of France" to which the Pantagruelist returns so fondly in his work, and which to him remained ever the ideal land, "more pleasant and temperate than Tempe in Thessaly, scented, smiling, and pleasant as is the country of Touraine." It is here, therefore, that in all likelihood he spent a youth about which it is safest to say that we know practically nothing. He became a Franciscan; was transferred to the Benedictines; and after leaving the University of Montpellier, where he completed the medical studies which he had presumably begun at Paris, we catch at intervals only fleeting glimpses of him, at Lyons, Rome, Paris, Chinon, Aigues Mortes, Turin, and Metz, as he goes vagabonding through his century. Aside from the really treasurable note to Erasmus, very few of his letters have survived, and these show signs of having been tampered with. Most interesting and characteristic is the one written from Metz to Du Bellay, whose physician he had been. It is given in full by Mr. Tilley and we quote but a few sentences:

Indeed, my lord, unless you take pity on me I know not what I am to do, unless in the extremity of despair I take service with some one about here to the detriment and evident loss of my studies. It is not possible to live more frugally than I do, and you cannot make me so small a gift from the abundance of goods that God has placed in your hands [he enjoyed the revenues of five sees and fourteen abbeys] but that I can manage, by living from hand to mouth, to

maintain myself honorably, as I have done up to the present, for the honor of the house from which I came on my departure from France.

One wonders just exactly what the author of *Gargantua* means by frugally. It was an age of sumptuousness and excess. Rabelais's correspondent, this same Jean Du Bellay, when already on the eve of his departure from Rome, had thought best to have a hundred tuns of Italian wine brought to his cellars; and not many years before, as we learn from Symonds, Leo X. and his cardinals had banqueted with Agostino Chigi, supping on ragouts of parrots' tongues and fishes from Byzantium, tossing when they had finished the golden platters through the opened windows into the Tiber. We are quite certain that Rabelais was no ascetic; so much is plain from his works. The vine has never had a devouter worshipper; the solution of the great questions of philosophy lies in the cup, and it is his famous bottle that contains all the mysteries. How much of this was imaginative, and how much the reflection of personal experience, we cannot tell. It does not seem probable, however, that this learned guest of popes and kings had spent any large portion of his years at tavern tables. La Bruyère, that student of character, has recorded the conviction of many a later investigator when he repeated in despair, "He will remain an enigma," and it seems now as if he had spoken for all time.

If the facts are, therefore, few, Mr. Tilley's narrative is unnecessarily diffuse and clogged with irrelevant erudition. We are given, for instance, a paragraph on "Ludovico Ricchieri, better known as Coelius Rhodiginus, a native of Rovigo (Rhodigium), who resided some years in France in the reign of Charles VIII.," etc. The result is what a Frenchman has called *peri-biography*; he is occasionally writing around rather than about his subject, and the life of Rabelais at his hands becomes dull, dry, and heavy. The strictly biographical portion, however, thus comes to occupy a fairly large bulk in his volume. It is followed by long detailed synopses of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, which will interest primarily students unfamiliar with the works, and the book concludes with two chapters on Rabelais's Art and Rabelais's Philosophy.

Ste. Beuve has said that the majority of readers go through their Rabelais with long strides, like one who crosses a square covered with mud. Mr. Tilley is not one of these. His study has been thorough, as we might have expected from the author of the *French Literature of the Renaissance*, and he writes with some sympathy. Readers of French will miss in this volume, however, the grasp, the insight, and the charm of style that mark that excellent work of Stapfer's, *Rabelais, Sa Personne, Son Génie, Son Œuvre*. This book has evidently been of much service to

Mr. Tilley, and it is strange that he should have made no mention of this fact either in his preliminary discussion of his sources or in the body of his work.

In the prologue to his *Gargantua*, Rabelais had already compared his book to the bone, which the dog, if he would suck its marrow, must break, and the question of its interpretation has been an open one from that day to this. His was an age of diverse tendencies and startling contradictions. That king's sister, Margaret of Navarre, to whom one of the books of *Pantagruel* is dedicated, was at once the priestess of Platonic love and the compiler of libidinous tales as gross as Boccaccio's worst and not often redeemed by his art. It was the century of Leo X., of Cellini, of Francis I., Mary Stuart, Brantôme, and Henry III. In Rabelais the mediæval mind of France had escaped from the cloister, from its centuries of bondage, had looked about upon the earth and the body, and found them good; to him, monk and doctor, there was nothing in the spiritual or physical world either forbidden or obscene. He must know the savor of everything; like Ulysses, would drink life to the lees. He was unconscious as nature, and his was the enormous laughter of great waters. He climbed the Apennines for the inaccessible flower, and he lusted for the hidden truth as his friends the humanists for the manuscript unseen. He had followed in imagination that truth over the seas and to the wonderful islands of *Pantagruel*, and now and then he had glimpsed her o'er the flood or in the copse. His work is the record of that search, jumbled, unspeakably monstrous and uncouth often, and again clear, calm, with an epic grandeur and simplicity. Those who have been repelled by his unabashed glorification of the body have turned away like M. Faguet to tell us that there is nothing here. This lover of the *purée septembrale* is a mocker and a mystagogue. Common sense only is his portion; he has no philosophy either original or profound, or even very useful. Mr. Tilley, with other lovers of Rabelais, has looked deeper and has found wisdom. We believe he is right; for one does not spend many years in exile, and loving one's life so immensely, yet live in peril of the stake, for the mere fun, buffoon though one might be, of telling empty, hilarious tales. He was the earth-spirit, and tried as he dared and could to reveal the huge, compelling truth; but that spirit is hampered by its medium, and Rabelais, that radical of the Renaissance, that arch-individualist, was bound and gagged by those conservative forces of his time, and of every time, the Church and the State.

Certain readers will feel, however, that Mr. Tilley has given us a rather too orthodox Rabelais. So frank a questioner could not in that age freely speak his mind and his silence must not always, therefore, be

taken as a mark of acquiescence, for had he been any more explicit than he is in Gargantua he would never have lived to write Pantagruel. It will be remembered that the rule of his delightful Abbaye of Thelema was: "Do as you please, *Fay ce que voudras*."

Christian Gauss.

RECENT BOOKS ON ECONOMICS

IN the following fortuitous group of books on history and social science are found excellent types of the literature that makes up the rather dry annual grist in this department of human knowledge. There is—rarest of all—the book of an enthusiast and a scholar, so clearly and interestingly written as to be attractive to all; the careful, intensive study of a limited but important subject, which will unfortunately find but few readers outside the ranks of specialists; a more popular and discursive treatment of a broader subject by a college professor; a loose and rambling series of lectures by a practical man on the subject he is supposed to know best; a couple of volumes containing what purports to be the result of a thorough investigation by a man with a thesis to prove and determined to make the facts prove it; and finally an admirable, well-balanced piece of historical writing by a well-equipped scholar. Most of the books are exceedingly timely and deal with problems of to-day; judged by this test, complaint cannot be made that the American student is an unpractical recluse. They are of unequal merit, some indeed with but little, but they probably represent fairly the character of work done in these fields to-day.

That the story of successful accomplishment in science is as interesting as that of achievement in exploration, or war, or art, is abundantly proved by Professor Duncan's book.¹ A veritable fairy tale of science is unfolded as the author describes the triumphs of chemistry in the field of industry. *The Chemistry of Commerce* contains an account of the more recent discoveries in industrial chemistry, and has for its double purpose the popularization of this knowledge and to convince the American manufacturer of the applicability of science to manufactures. It will doubtless surprise, and perhaps shock, the average American business man to learn how slow to appreciate and appropriate the discoveries of science he has been and how far behind other nations he has fallen in the struggle for industrial supremacy in those lines in which science

¹*The Chemistry of Commerce*. By Robert Kennedy Duncan. New York: Harper and Brothers.

can be made the servant of manufactures. As a striking instance of this may be cited the manufacture of glass, which, according to Professor Duncan, is "conducted on a basis of crass ignorance" and "is a story of confusion and waste" to such an extent that "it is a fine relief to turn from this chaos of American manufacture to the scientific, orderly practice of the glass manufacture 'across the water.'" On the mechanical side of production, on the other hand, the author accords American manufacturers the highest praise; here they "need acknowledge no peer." The account of the actual achievements of science in industry reads like the story of Aladdin's lamp—only in this case it is true. Of especial interest to the lay reader will be the author's account of the fixation of the free nitrogen in the air for use as a fertilizer in agriculture and in the arts. The making also of artificial indigo and other dyes, of non-breaking incandescent lamps and Welsbach mantles, of artificial rubies, of "thermit," the marvellous welder of broken steel and iron parts, of glass lenses, the production of alcohol and its application to industrial uses, of artificial perfumes, of patent medicines, the use of cellulose in the manufacture of paper, artificial silk, cotton fabrics, flax, and jute—these are some of the wonderfully interesting subjects that are described, so untechnically and simply that they can be understood by one who has had no training whatever in chemistry or physical science. Professor Duncan has been eminently successful in popularizing the secrets of the laboratory, and has been aided by the command of an easy style that carries the reader successfully over a few unavoidable chemical formulas and technical descriptions. The book should have great practical influence as well as popular appreciation.

Investigations have been made in various places of the standards and cost of living, notably by Mr. Charles Booth in London and Mr. Rowntree in York, but none more careful or interesting than that by Mrs. More.¹ She chose for the scene of her investigation that part of New York City known of old as Greenwich Village, and there made an intensive study of two hundred wage-earners' families with whom she was brought into friendly contact by her residence at a social settlement. The results of this study form an extremely interesting "human document," and while statistics abound, they are far from being dry. One sees the constant struggle to meet the unceasing demands upon purse and strength, the thrift and economy, the endeavor to maintain a decent standard of living, and the not infrequent failures as a result of death, lack of employment, or bad habits. And yet the picture is by no means a dreary one. The

¹*Wage-earners' Budgets.* By Louise Bolard More. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

reader has no feeling of utter discouragement such as that with which he concludes the perusal of Rowntree's description of the very poor in York. The average income of these two hundred families was \$851, and their annual expenditure was \$836, leaving an annual surplus of \$15. This is a very slight margin between independence and poverty, and in the case of one hundred and fifty-three families there was either a deficit or no surplus. The families with a large number of small children showed the largest deficits. The sickness of the wage-earner, an industrial depression, or other similar cause may easily bring such a family—industrious, sober, and thrifty—below the margin. Mr. Hobson held that irregularity of employment was the greatest evil of the working classes, and the present study goes to verify that contention. Mrs. More emphasizes a fact which doubtless appealed to her with peculiar force—the importance of the housewife. Through her hands pass about nine-tenths of the average expenditures and upon her character and training depends in large measure the standard of living and of comfort of the family. Mrs. More finds that the wife who has had training in domestic service does best, but all do surprisingly well, though the need of systematic training in sewing, cooking, etc., is woefully apparent. There is no sentimentalism in the portrayal of conditions or appeal to the emotions in this book, which may safely be commended to the thoughtful and well-to-do citizen who wishes to know from evidence furnished by themselves how the other half lives.

The book by Professor Commons¹ is written with his customary vigor; though the author's thesis nowhere obtrudes itself, the object of the work seems to be to prove the desirability of selection of immigration, not merely its restriction. The viewpoint from which immigration is first regarded is that of the political scientist. Democracy consists not merely in equal opportunities before the law; its successful operation requires also equal ability of classes and races to use these opportunities. Lacking either of these, democracy becomes in fact oligarchy. For the success of democratic government Professor Commons holds that three basic qualities must be present: intelligence, manliness, coöperation. How far these conditions have been, or are being, met in our foreign-born citizens is the test which must be applied in judging the whole question of immigration. The author discredits the theory which finds in race ancestry or race intermixture the explanation of American eminence, and finds the reason rather in the choice selection which—at least until recently—has obtained among immigrants, and the opportunities for development

¹*Races and Immigrants in America.* By John R. Commons. New York: The Macmillan Company.

which this country has always afforded. The changed character of recent immigration is attributed largely to the changed character of industry; races that would have failed utterly as pioneers are now able to find places as unskilled laborers in our complex industrial organization. This movement has been induced and fostered by ship-owners and employers of labor. Our attitude towards the question of immigration will be determined, thinks Professor Commons, according to whether we view it from the standpoint of the production or distribution of wealth. If we fasten our attention on the enormous undeveloped resources of our country we will approve of the incoming of additional laborers. If, on the other hand, we regard rather the severe competition, the low wages, and the threatened reduction in the standard of living, then we will favor the restriction of immigration. Professor Commons's attitude is influenced decidedly by the latter considerations, and he advocates raising the standard of immigrants—possibly by the application of a physical test.

In his latest book¹ Mr. Haines tells us he intends to discuss the relations of railways as servants of the public—their privileges and obligations as common carriers. His training and traditional prejudices as ex-vice-president of an important railroad soon prove too much, however, for his good intentions, and he lapses into the orthodox individualistic attitude of a practical railroad man. He attacks, naturally enough, the "cost-of-service" theory as a basis for fixing rates, and proceeds to elaborate a theory of his own which shall be free from the vagueness of the theorists. A reasonable rate, he thinks, should be "an average rate for an average service." How such a rate could be determined, whether it would be reasonable in all cases, and how it could be applied, are left quite unsettled, nor do they seem quite clear to the author. His idea seems to be, however, that somewhere between the cost of service to the railroad as a minimum and the value of the service to the shipper as a maximum, the reasonable rate must exist, "and the most reasonable rate ought to be that in which the profit to each of the parties to the transaction is most evenly balanced." So the difficult question of rates is found after all to be merely a problem in division. Mr. Haines thoroughly approves of the principle of pooling; of federal legislation regulating the railroads he has little good to say, and of government ownership still less. He condemns the wastefulness of the freight service of the American railways because the average speed of freight trains is only twenty-five miles a day, when it might be twenty-five miles an hour, including stops for loading and unloading! Coming from a practical

¹*Railway Corporations as Public Servants.* By Henry S. Haines. New York: The Macmillan Company.

railroad man and engineer, such a statement is astonishing, to say the least. Other similar utterances seem to indicate that the book was hurriedly compiled and failed to receive proper revision; it certainly did not receive adequate proof-reading.

In the two books¹ by Mr. Meyer we have a severe arraignment of government operation of industry. Mr. Meyer leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers as to his attitude toward state ownership, for in the preface he proclaims himself to be "old-fashioned" enough to oppose it strongly. In a previous book, on *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain*, he had pictured the complete failure of municipal trading, and in these two volumes he portrays in like manner the utter inefficiency of the national government in its management of the telegraph and in its treatment of the telephone. Government ownership in England is held up as a terrible example to warn the American public from similar ventures and mistakes. And, as pictured by Mr. Meyer, there is no redeeming feature in the long chronicle of stupidity, ignorance, incapacity, mismanagement, and political intrigue which make up the state operation of these industries. A remarkable feature is the regularity with which intelligent business men and statesmen, so soon as they are entrusted with the management of public affairs, are afflicted with incapacity. They seem to lose all business acumen, and unfailingly reduce the industry to an unprofitable basis. Accordingly, Mr. Meyer condemns the nationalization of the telegraphs, and their subsequent operation by the state, especially the reduction in rates. That the government should manage the industry for any other than a purely commercial purpose is inconceivable to the author, whose sole criterion for efficiency is net profits. But the gravest charge that he brings against the policy of government ownership of the telegraphs is that the existence of a large body of civil servants constitutes a dangerous political force; their chief crime so far is that they have successfully electioneered for higher wages. The story of the telephone in Great Britain is not an account of state ownership, but, according to Mr. Meyer, of the indefensible and unfair restriction of a private enterprise by the government, because its telegraph monopoly is threatened by the competition of that business. After reading the catalogue of misdeeds and shortcomings on the part of the government, one cannot but wonder whether "the failure of public opinion to protect the people from abuse and misuse of power by the state and municipality" is as complete or "the blindness of the British people to their interests as consumers of

¹*The British State Telegraphs.* By Hugo R. Meyer. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Public Ownership and the Telephone in Great Britain. By Hugo R. Meyer. New York: The Macmillan Company.

the services offered by the public-service companies" as astounding as Mr. Meyer would have us believe. As may be imagined, such a black case against government management of industry is not secured without some distortion of facts; statistics abound and give a *vraisemblance* of finality to the discussion, but a careful selection of only those favorable to his case absolutely vitiates the conclusion. It is to be regretted that objectivity and fairness should have been sacrificed so completely to the Moloch of individualism.

In complete contrast with the books just described stands the volume of Professor Dewey.¹ The last published number of the American Nation Series, it fully sustains the reputation of its companion volumes. The author had well qualified himself for his task by writing *The Financial History of the United States*, for in no period of our history have economic and financial problems pressed to the front so completely as during the years covered by this volume. The silver agitation, the tariff, labor disturbances, trusts, and the national supervision of railroads, constitute the subject matter of just one-half of the sixteen chapters in the book. The period was an unsettled one, and no well-defined policies are discernible in the shifting and confused legislation, while the vacillation of the electorate is shown in the fact that in twelve years the Republican and Democratic parties had simultaneous control of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government only two years each. A silver law enacted and repealed, two tariff laws within four years, an income tax law passed only to be declared unconstitutional—all these indicate inconsistency and uncertainty in legislation. On the other hand, portentous labor disturbances, a severe financial panic and depression, and the rise of a new political party of discontent among the farmers of the West, point to unsettled economic conditions. Consequently, the explanation of the political controversies is to be found in the more fundamental economic and social struggle that was going on, and which found such uneasy expression. Of the men who come to the front during this period, Professor Dewey gives unstinted praise to President Cleveland; the latter's attitude to the civil service, to organized labor, to the tariff, to silver and currency legislation, to expenditures, pensions, and internal improvements, and his foreign policy—all meet with warm approval. The characterizations of other prominent men are eminently fair and generally sympathetic. Forces and measures, however, rather than men, call for treatment in the history of such a period, and in analyzing and estimating these Professor Dewey is at his best. The events described are

¹*National Problems, 1885-97.* By Davis Rich Dewey. New York: Harper and Brothers.

of such recent occurrence that it is not easy to view them in the right perspective. Professor Dewey has, however, been fair, critical, impartial, and discriminating in his judgments, and he has given us the best—as, indeed, almost the only—history of this period.

Ernest L. Bogart.

MEMOIRS OF ALEXANDRE DUMAS¹

THE Memoirs of Alexandre Dumas, which were first printed in the original French at a time when Dumas was being widely discussed, acclaimed and abused as a playwright, but had as yet hardly given a thought to those prodigious romances which have carried his name to every corner of the civilized world, are now, after nearly three-quarters of a century, being presented in English in a thoroughly adequate and admirable form. The delay has been a long one; yet there is no reason for expressing astonishment. Vastly interesting as the Memoirs are, they show us a Dumas who was no more the great man of the decade of 1840-50 than the d'Artagnan of the yellow Rosinante, cudgelled by lackeys in the courtyard of the inn at Meung, was the seasoned Lieutenant of Musketeers who conveyed in safety the young King, the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal from the threatened Palais Royal to the Court at St. Germain. To carry on the analogy, it is as if one were to sit down to read of the career of the said Jonas d'Artagnan in a new version of ten volumes and were to find two volumes devoted to anecdotes of the doughty Gascon's doughty ancestors, three or four more filled with stories of his own boyhood pranks and early impressions, and the last chapter of Volume X bringing him, let us say, to the point where, after his sinister experience with Milady De Winter, he is about to set out for the siege of La Rochelle. Very entertaining it all would be, but how about the forty or fifty more unwritten volumes which should have thrown fresh light on the affair at Armentière, told us new adventures of the immortal four during the wars of the Fronde, elaborated the details of their participation in the restoration of Charles the Second and added a deeper poignancy to the chapters dealing with the last melancholy years?

Yet in appraising the Memoirs for what they are, this view of the matter is not even poor criticism—it is no criticism at all. If they do not carry the reader to the point where he can watch the geneses of *M. De Monte Cristo*, *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, *La Tulipe Noire* and *Les*

¹*My Memoirs.* By Alexandre Dumas. Translated by E. M. Waller. New York: The Macmillan Company. Six volumes.

Quarante Cinq, the Memoirs go far toward convincing him that the hand that wrote them was the master hand that moulded the great romances by which the name and fame of Dumas endure. The verve, the invention, the sprightliness, the ease and raciness of dialogue, are unmistakable. Even the very blunders, exaggerations, and misrepresentations carry conviction. In the composition of these Memoirs Dumas was no more conscientious on the score of historical accuracy than he was in the construction of his romances. He was always ready to "play ducks and drakes" with facts, and when he tells of a probably apocryphal conversation between his father and General Napoleon Bonaparte he adds to the cold-blooded method of Livy a riotous invention that is all his own. Yet, as has been said, these very extravagances have a sweeping significance. They tend utterly to confound the charges of his enemies that he always received the credit that should have gone to his collaborators. There is no occasion to question the sound justice of the terms "Dumas Legion" and "Dumas et Cie," or to doubt that in later life Dumas put his name quite unscrupulously to a few hundred volumes with the writing of which he had absolutely nothing to do. But with the really great novels it is another matter. The spirit of these is reflected in the Memoirs as much as it is remote from any of the writings of Auguste Maquet, who in 1856 and again in 1858 brought forward a claim to the right to be declared fellow-author of eighteen of the most famous Dumas romances. Undoubtedly Maquet did something. There seems to be no question that it was to his idea that we owe the chapters of *M. De Monte Cristo* dealing with Marseilles and the Chateau d'If. Dumas had begun the book with the scenes describing the carnival at Rome. Beyond this Maquet made "researches." As Mr. Andrew Lang has pointed out, perhaps he discovered that Newcastle is on the Tweed and that the Scottish army of Charles the First largely consisted of Highlanders. Perhaps he suggested that Charles might wish to hear a mass on the eve of his execution. Perhaps at times he even blocked out a chapter which Dumas out of sheer indolence left standing like that dismal chapter describing Charles the Second at Blois in the beginning of *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*.

The story of the birth and heritage of Dumas is an old story now, so old that its repetition is pardonable only on the ground that the clearest comprehension of it is necessary in approaching the Memoirs. In 1760, Dumas's paternal grandfather, Antoine Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie, sold his property in France, and went to establish himself in the island of San Domingo. There he took to live with him a full-blooded negress by the name of Louise-Cessette Dumas. Whether there

was a marriage or not is doubtful, but of the union was born, in March, 1762, Thomas Alexandre Dumas, the father of the novelist, who, at the age of eighteen, went to France and enlisted in the Queen's Guards. Many tales are told of this mulatto's courage and physical prowess. He seems to have been a kind of dark-skinned Porthos, with a good deal of the giant musketeer's naïveté, obstinacy and directness of character. It was said of him that he could lift a horse by gripping the animal between his knees and seizing a beam overhead with his hands. On one occasion he was charging at the head of his regiment when the way was blocked by a wall. One by one he threw his men over the wall and then climbed it himself. He served with distinction during the wars following the Revolution, rising to the rank of General. In 1792 he married the daughter of an inn-keeper at Villers-Cotterets, and after a few months of quiet life, left his home for another period of tempestuous years. Of his career between 1793 and 1801, the first volume of the *Memoirs* narrates a thousand anecdotes. He served in the Pyrenees, the Alps, Italy and Austria. It was Bonaparte himself who, upon receiving General Dumas after his heroic conduct at the Bridge of Clausen, gave him the title of the "Horatius Cocles of the Tyrol." Later, in Egypt, the First Consul and his General fell out, and Dumas's career as a soldier came to an end. He returned to France, settled down at Villers-Cotterets and at the age of forty, when his son was but a child, died, leaving his widow in straitened circumstances. Madame Dumas went to live with her father and mother, taking her children with her. All the details of these years and the years immediately following are narrated at length in the *Memoirs*. The most trivial episode, a fishing trip, a new book, a village crime, is developed into an entire chapter. Of more importance are the pages dealing with the boy's impressions of political events. Napoleon, after his return from Elba, passed through Villers-Cotterets on his way to Ligny and Waterloo.

He was to set off from Paris at three o'clock in the morning; so he should pass through Villers-Cotterets about seven or eight o'clock.

At six o'clock I was waiting at the end of the Rue de Largny with the most able-bodied portion of the population, namely, those who could run as fast as the imperial carriages. But really the best way to see Napoleon would be where the relays were to be changed, and not as he drove by.

I realized this, and, as soon as I caught sight of the dust of the first horses, a quarter of a league away, I set off for the posting-house.

As I approached, I heard the rumble of wheels behind me coming nearer.

I reached the posting-house, and on turning round I saw the three carriages flying over the pavement like a turbulent stream, the horses dripping with sweat, their postilions got up in fine style, powdered and beribboned. Everybody rushed for the emperor's carriage, and naturally I was of the foremost.

He was seated at the back, on the right, dressed in a green uniform with white facings, and he wore the star of the Legion of Honor.

His face was pale and sickly-looking, as though his head had been clumsily carved out of a block of ivory, and it was bent slightly forward on his chest; his brother Jerome was seated on his left; and the aide-de-camp, Letort, was opposite Jerome, on the front seat.

He lifted his head, looked round him, and asked: "Where are we?"

"At Villers-Cotterets, sire," some one replied.

"Six leagues from Soissons, then," he answered.

Ten days later brought to the little village the story of the débâcle. At this time young Dumas was thirteen years of age. On account of the poverty of the family, his mother had destined him for the priesthood. But, to quote Andrew Lang again, Dumas had nothing of Aramis, except his amorousness, and ran away into a local forest, rather than take the first educational step toward the ecclesiastical profession. After this his education was unsystematic, though in a measure an education that went far toward equipping him for his career. Before he was eighteen he went into a solicitor's office, but, finding the work hardly to his liking, deserted his post, and in company with a friend made his way to Paris. The first few years in the great city were precarious ones. He had already builded fine day-dreams of stage triumphs, but while waiting for the realization he eked out an existence by various clerkships. His first literary work bringing remuneration was the writing of verses to accompany pictures; a task which, about the same period, was being dignified by the example of Mr. Arthur Pendennis. Meanwhile he was writing industriously on his plays and his triumph came with the literary revolution of 1830. With Hugo, Gautier and Alfred De Musset, he was in the thick of the fray. Henri III and Christine made him one of the most prominent figures in Paris, and, in cultivating this position, his abundant vanity led him to extremes which far surpassed the red waistcoats of Gautier.

From this point on the *Memoirs* become a series of pictures devoted to his own glorification and to his impressions of his contemporaries. In a writer of less clarity it would be positive chaos. The story of a single play, such as *Antony*—the birth of the seed idea, the development of the plot, the rehearsals, the misunderstandings with actresses and with managers—is spread over two or three volumes. Above all, there is everywhere the breath of characteristic indiscretion—the indiscretion of a great, generous, unmoral and inordinately vain baby. Beyond the genius, the *Memoirs* show you prophetically the figure of the Dumas of twenty-five years later, fiddling in a Paris restaurant, in order to hold a little longer the attention of a thoroughly sated public.

Arthur Bartlett Maurice.

TWO BOOKS ON ENGLAND

THERE are some interesting points of contrast and of resemblance between Mr. Hueffer's *England and the English* and Mr. Howells's *London Films*.¹ Each author is frankly impressionistic and each is very anxious that the reader should not mistake an account of personal states of emotion for a statement of fact. Accordingly each warns the reader at many points that the significance of the picture is matter for personal interpretation. But the literary purpose of Mr. Hueffer is so strong that he cannot help finding the significant at every turn. Like most recent writers of national description, he is bound to see something symbolical or infinitely characteristic in nearly everything that befalls him. Riding into London on the top of an electric van he sees a steam crane at work on an upper story of a building.

The thin arm stretched out above the street, spidery and black against a mistiness that was half sky, half haze; at the end of a long chain there hung diagonally some baulks of wood turning slowly in mid air. They were rising imperceptibly, we approaching imperceptibly. A puff of smoke shot out, writhed very white, melted and vanished between the house fronts. We glided up to and past it. Looking back I could see down the reverse of the long perspective baulks of timber turning a little closer to the side of the building, the thin extended arm of the crane a little more foreshortened against the haze. Then the outlines grew tremulous, it all vanished with a touch of that pathos like a hunger that attaches to all things of which we see the beginnings or middle courses without knowing the ends. It was impressive enough—the Modern Spirit expressing itself in terms not of men but of forces. We gliding by, the timbers swinging up without any visible human action beneath their motion. No doubt men were at work in the engine-belly of the crane, just as others were very far away among the dynamos that kept us moving. But they were sweating invisible. That too is the Modern Spirit: great organizations run by men as impersonal as the atoms of our own frames, noiseless and to all appearances infallible.

This illustrates, by the way, certain qualities of Mr. Hueffer's style—its verbal superabundance, its insistence on effect and above all its concern with the "Modern Spirit" which typifies itself very obligingly and appears in capital letters on many pages of the book.

Mr. Howells finds aristocracy typified in one of the regular spaces enclosed by low iron barriers in Hyde Park where of a Sunday afternoon very distinguished-looking people whom he felt to be of the highest social value are to be seen.

There was especially one enclosure which seemed consecrated to the highest comers; it was not necessary that they should make the others feel that they were not wanted there; the others felt it of themselves and did not attempt to enter that especial fairy ring, or fairy triangle. . . . Not only the women old and young had the aristocratic air which is not aggressive, the patrician bearing

¹*England and the English*. By Ford Maddox Hueffer. New York: McClure, Phillips and Company.

London Films. By William Dean Howells. New York: Harper and Brothers.

which is passive and not active and which in the English seems consistent with so much that is human and kindly. . . . The spectacle is a condition of that old secure society which we have not yet lived long enough to have known and which we very probably never shall know. Such civilization as we have will continue to be public and impersonal like our politics, and our society in its specific events will remain within walls. It could not manifest itself outside without being questioned, challenged, denied; and upon reflection there might appear reasons why it is well so.

But this is the exception with Mr. Howells. Older than Mr. Hueffer by some forty years he has his lust for the deeply significant under better control. Race traits and the Modern Spirit and the genius of a nation do not buttonhole him on every corner. Indeed he would probably have been embarrassed by the large matters which England told Mr. Hueffer in a burst of confidence. His book is not, like Mr. Hueffer's, "an interpretation," but a very small beer chronicle of a brief London visit varied by some short railway journeys in search of American origins. He tells of the slow London spring, and the delicate greens of the English foliage, and his quest for lodgings and how he liked them when he found them, and the English complexion, and what the women wore, and a day at Hampton Court and a day at Henley, and some poor people he saw, and some polite, and some very dull conversation he overheard.

How should a young couple on an omnibus-top imagine that a stranger in the seat opposite could not help overhearing the tender dialogue in which they renewed their love after some previous falling out:

"But I was hurt, Will, dear."

"Oh, I'm so sorry, dear."

"I know, Will, dear."

"But it's all right now, dear?"

"Oh, yes, Will, dear."

Could anything be sweeter? I am ashamed to set it down; it ought to be sacred; and nothing but my zeal in these social studies could make me profane it.

Whatever may be the social value of this anecdote, no "zeal in social studies" can account for the details of this volume. They must be very exact, these details, for no man's fancy would be at so sad a business as inventing them. But, as we all know, life to Mr. Howells is a very democratic affair and one event is as good as another, and those of us who read his novels will always maintain that it is more exciting to follow one of his women while she buys a hat than most heroes through a single combat. He has too often disproved the triviality of common things for us to blame his choice of subject. But the details of *London Films* remain details from beginning to end, and the question that arises

after reading about each one is, True, but why mention it? It is a diary without any point of view and without the distinction and the agreeable personal quality which Mr. Howells usually imparts to his minutiae. It is accurate observation at its worst—seeing as the hen sees, closely but to no articulate purpose. It is too late now for a book of conventional American pother about London cabs and fogs and restaurants and historic places and literary associations and people “who looked as if they had just stepped out of” some book or other.

In the London shops I did not think women were so generally employed as in our own, or those of the Continent. But this may have been a conclusion from careless observation. In the book stores, to which I most resorted, and which I did not think so good as ours, I remember to have seen but one saleswoman.

It is to escape these things that we instinctively shun the returned American traveller. There is very little of Mr. Howells in the narrative and no more of England than in the average school-teacher's letters home. It is all very disappointing and may be dismissed in Mr. Howells's own words, which he applied to Professor Barrett Wendell's *American Literature*. It consists of material “which a magazine editor would think twice before rejecting, as lacking in a certain final freshness.”

Mr. Hueffer's book, on the other hand, is really amusing. He has compounded for himself a style out of Henry James and other writers. He has a keen sense of journalistic values. Nothing has happened to him in vain—for purposes of publication. His incidents all point a moral, or somehow express the spirit of the people. He is writing, as he tells us, exclusively for Americans, and for that reason, presumably, cares less for what he says than for an impressive manner of saying it. It is in the vein of H. G. Wells's *Future in America*, which put this country in a nutshell in six weeks. In other words, it is of the essence of gigantesque journalism, that curious modern handicraft whereby huge bodies of mankind, grand divisions of the earth's surface, hemispheres and the like are reduced to convenient size, easily grasped by the average reader. Mr. Hueffer's theories about the race are always embodied in concrete instances:

If the Englishman of to-day loves animals, it is because he sees to some extent in every beast a little replica of himself. Other peoples may see in a field-mouse a scientific phenomenon, or in a horse an implement meant to be used. But the Englishman sees in the little creature a tiny replica of himself; he “subjectivizes” the field-mouse; he imagines himself tiny, filled with fears, confronted by a giant. In flowers even, to some extent, he sees symbols of his own chastity, boldness, or endurance; and in old buildings he recognizes a quality of faithfulness, old service,

and stability that he himself aspires to possess. On this account the modern Englishman feels toward these things very definite and quite real affections.

But in this international impressionism the main point is not the source of the writer's emotions, but whether the emotions are entertainingly expressed. Who cares, for example, whether there ever was anything in the visible world at all resembling Henry James's *American Scene*? It is interesting mainly as Mr. James's personal phantasmagoria. Take the single item of American teeth. Everywhere Mr. James went he was beset with the most remarkable rows of beautifully preserved teeth, and at times he could neither see nor think of anything else. Yet the very next traveller reported that whatever way he turned he looked down vistas of the most horrid fangs or gazed into utter toothlessness. Each found the matter typical. That indeed is the essential thing in all writings of this class—whatever is seen must be typical. Mr. Wells met an Oneida manufacturer of chains and plated spoons, who had no other interest than chains and spoons. The type, said Mr. Wells, of industrial America. Matthew Arnold met a Manchester bottle-maker who believed only in bottles. Here, said Mr. Arnold, is industrial England personified. The literary observer is so much more literary than observant that we have long since ceased to hold him to account for anything but our entertainment. When he meets his old friends in a new land he never knows them. He is forever re-discovering human nature and declaring it highly characteristic of the country.

But Mr. Hueffer's book is the result of many years' experience, and experience full of zest and variety. He is a native of England, but partly of alien blood, and swings easily from the insular point of view to the comparative. He seems to have tried a dozen modes of life, and to have pried a little way into every subject that has occurred to his mind, just far enough to form some sort of a theory about it, and then jump to something else. Despite its crudities and epigrams and its preposterous sub-title, "An Interpretation," and the still more preposterous attempts to live up to it, and despite, above all, the author's lack of any sense of humor, the book as a whole leaves a most agreeable impression, a sense of intimacy, and of an eager, candid, youthful spirit behind it all—the sort of person to be liked and laughed at. He is at his best in the chapters on English country life, "Between the Hedgerows," "Across the Fields," "In the Cottages," which are full of stories and little incidents, told simply and with genuine feeling. Reviewers generally have quoted rather unfairly his more tremendous passages, and to redress the balance we present the following:

One gets, if one be at all sensitive, odd little shocks and emotions in the fields.

I have myself dug very late in a potato patch, after many hours in a hot day. There comes a time when one cannot leave work; one goes on as long as light holds, even if it be only the light of the stars. The whitened apple trunks stand out like the pillars of an aisle down by the hedge; the glow of the supper fire dances visible in reflection on the cottage ceiling, the sound of the brook becomes important in a windless dusk. And the air having grown cool after the sun had set, I have thrust my hand into the earth to feel for potatoes and found it flesh-warm. After all the heat seemed to have departed from the world, it was like coming in contact with a living being.

But indeed in the intense solitude of field work the mind exhausts its material topics. And of material topics there are few enough in the country and its cottages; so the mind of the man who is much employed along the hedgerows turns inward very often and exhausts itself in metaphysical speculations. This is more particularly so at dusk, when not only is there less to think about, but less to see. In the countryman's mind there arise superstitions about beasts and birds, theories of life and of the universe, even new religions. He will be extraordinarily callous in the face of death; but he will be wonderful in his speculations as to what will happen after death.

Frank Moore Colby.

SONNETS

BY BRIAN HOOKER

ARS LONGA

Not thy great gifts, O God! I would not be
A prophet honored in an alien clime,
Or send my name trumpeting down through time,
Selling my manhood for a memory!
So should I fade into the shows of me:
My joy become the reason of a rhyme,
My pain, a figure in the pantomime,
My love, a light over an unknown sea.

Give me but what thou givest all mankind:
A little faith in that I labor for,
A friend whose name I daily think to bless,
A woman in whose eyes I seek and find,
Children mysteriously mine—no more
Than common, ordinary happiness!

ANDANTE

Now gently falls the long, sweet summer day
To blossom-breathing dimness. The sharp wings
Of chattering swallows touch with mystic rings
The shadowy pool. The last wide western ray
Glows tawny-crimson. And from far away
Each breeze that stirs the timorous poplar brings
The moan of herds, the call of feathered things,
The laugh and song of little ones at play.

All beauty. Pain and passion seem as far
From this calm spot as yon great city, spread
Behind the smoke-topped mountains, where the breast
Of patient earth sobs to the ceaseless jar
Of steel on stone, the clash of bells, the tread
Of slumberless millions. Here is only rest.

Brian Hooker.

RAVENNA

BY HENRY TYRRELL

I CAME unto that place of old renown,
Ravenna, by the marish-border'd sea—
An immemorial shrine of Italy;
The glamour rests of Rome's imperial crown,
On glittering fane and mausoleum brown;
Of Dante's dream, of Bayard's chivalry,
Of Byron, and of Shelley: Yet for me,
One later memory all these could drown.

Here is the grove of hallowed pines that gave,
In Liberty's most dark and desperate hour,
A refuge to the never-conquered brave,
And peace to one strong heart it could not save:
Here, marked perchance by some red wildwood flower,
Anita Garibaldi's lonely grave.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

WHY FIVE ACTS?

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

IN the eighteenth century, both in England and in France, every stately and ponderous tragedy and every self-respecting comedy obeyed the obligation imposed by long tradition and duly stretched itself out to the full measure of five acts, no more and no less. It felt bound thus to distend itself, even though its theme might be far too frail for so huge a frame, and even though the unfortunate author often found himself at his wit's end to piece out his play's end. Any one who has had occasion to read widely in the works of the eighteenth-century dramatists cannot fail to feel abundant sympathy for the harassed playwright who called plaintively on Parliament to pass a law abolishing fifth acts altogether. This unduly distressed dramatist was an Englishman; but about the same time a Frenchman, weary of contemplating the frequent emptiness of the contemporary tragic stage, sarcastically remarked that, after all, it must be very easy *not* to write a tragedy in five acts.

Yet if tragedy was to be written at all, it had to have five acts, since a smaller number would not seem proportionate to a truly tragic subject. But why five acts? Why was five the number sacred to the tragic muse? Why did even the comic muse expect it? Why does Mr. George Meredith, discussing comedy, declare that "five is dignity with a trailing robe; whereas one, or two, or three acts would be short skirts, and degrading"? Why not three acts or seven? Why was it that any other number of acts was unthinkable—or at least never thought of?

Questions like these seem to have floated before the mind of that learned lawgiver of the drama, the Abbé d'Aubignac; and in the English translation of his treatise, *The Whole Art of the Stage* (London, 1684), we can see that he came very near putting to himself the query which serves as a title for this paper: "Poets have generally agreed, that all *Drammas* regularly should have neither more nor less than Five Acts: and the Proof of this is the general observation of it; but for the Reason, I do not know whether there be any founded in Nature. Rhetorick has this advantage over Poetry in the Parts of Oration, that the Exord, Narration, Confirmation and Peroration are founded upon a way of discoursing natural to all Men. . . . But for the Five Acts of the Drammatick Poem, they have not been framed upon any sound ground."

That this division of a drama into five parts was accepted in every civilized country as the only possible division seems very strange, indeed, when we consider that there is really no artistic justification for it, nor any logical necessity. Like every other work of art a play ought to have a single subject, a clearly defined theme; in other words, it ought to have what is known as Unity of Action. There is no denying that some of the greatest artists have, now and again, been tempted to deal with two themes at the same time, combining these as best they could in a single work at the risk of leaving us a little in doubt as to their intention. Raphael did this in his "Transfiguration;" Shakespeare did it in *The Merchant of Venice*; Thackeray did it in *Vanity Fair*; and Tolstoi did it in *Anna Karenina*. There is no dispute as to the high merit of these works; and yet such a bifurcation of interest is always dangerous. In itself, it might fairly be called inartistic; and it is found only infrequently in the works of the most accomplished artists. In the immense majority of acknowledged masterpieces the interest is carefully centred in a single subject. In the *Ædipus* of Sophocles and in the *Othello* of Shakespeare, in the *Scarlet Letter* of Hawthorne and in the *Smoke* of Turgenev, the action is single and unswerving, sweeping forward irresistibly to its inevitable end.

If, therefore, we accept the Unity of Action as a general rule binding upon all artists, we can hardly deny that the most obviously natural arrangement for the story is to set it forth in one act, without any intermission or subdivision whatsoever—a single action in a single act. Since, however, every action must have a beginning as well as an end, a play in two acts might also justify itself. But it is the play in three acts which we are bound to recognize at once as possessing the ideal form, since it enables the dramatist to show, each by itself, the three parts which Aristotle declared to be essential to a well-constructed tragedy—the Beginning, the Middle, and the End, each presented in an act of its own. No truly logical division of a single subject is admissible except this into the three necessary members of the theme. To put a play into more than three acts is possible only by halving one or another of these three essential parts. In a four-act play the Beginning may be split into two acts; and in a five-act play the Middle may also be subdivided.

The logic of the three-act form, and the convenience of it also, are so obvious that, ever since the tyranny of the Procrustean framework in five acts was abolished in the middle years of the nineteenth century, practical playwrights of all countries have favored it more and more. The young Dumas used it in his later plays; and so did Ibsen, that

consummate master of stagecraft, emancipated from empty tradition, but profiting shrewdly by every available device of his predecessors. If the four-act form is also popular to-day, this seems to be because the modern dramatist, intending a play in three acts, finds himself forced by sheer press of matter to subdivide one of the essential members, as Mr. Pinero had to do in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and Mr. Jones in *The Liars*. Even the opera which liked the large framework of five acts, when Scribe was writing librettos for Halévy and Meyerbeer, is now content with only three, since Wagner revealed his genius as a dramatist in the books he devised for his own musical setting.

Candor requires a record here of the fact that the worthy Freytag in his *Technic of the Drama*, a treatise always a little academic, and now not a little old-fashioned, accepted without cavil the five-act form and even attempted to justify it by asserting that there are in fact five divisions of a tragic action. He symbolizes the arrangement of a drama in a pyramidal structure, declaring that it ascends from the Introduction to the Climax and then descends to the Catastrophe. Obviously, these are only different terms for the Beginning, the Middle and the End. But he vainly imagined two other members, the Rise, which intervenes between the Introduction and the Climax, and the Fall, which he inserts between the Climax and the Catastrophe. Obviously, again, this is an explanation after the event; and it seems to have its origin solely in his acceptance of the five-act form. And he was forced to abandon his own theory when he considered honestly certain of the masterpieces of the modern drama. He admitted it to be "impossible that the single acts should correspond entirely to the five great divisions of the action." He asserted that "in the Rising Action, the first stage was usually in the first act, the last sometimes in the third; of the Falling Action the beginning and the end were sometimes taken in the third and fifth acts." Yet he failed to see that if he made this admission he cut the ground from under his feet, and that there was no longer any acceptable reason for his insistence upon the five-act form.

Freytag had no doubt at all as to the necessity of the division into five acts. He received it with blind faith, as though it had been prescribed by divine authority. Yet, if he had chosen to explore the early history of the drama in his own tongue, he would have found Hans Sachs sometimes extending his plays into six acts and even into seven. And if he had cared to consider the drama of the Spaniards he would have seen that the most of the plays of Calderon are in three acts—a division which the great dramatic poet of Spain had taken over, as he had taken over so much else, from his masterful predecessor, Lope de Vega. In his

interesting and illuminating little treatise on the art of writing plays Lope de Vega gave the credit of establishing the three-act form to Virues. Plays had previously been written in four acts; as Lope puts it pleasantly, "the drama had gone on all fours, like a child; and truly it was then in its infancy."

Freytag ignored or was ignorant of Hans Sachs and Calderon; his mind was fixed on Goethe and Schiller, and also on Shakespeare, upon whom the two German poets had more or less modelled themselves. The tradition of the five-act form might not obtain in the earliest German drama as it did not obtain in the Spanish; but it was firmly established in the later German drama, in the English and in the French. It is easy to see that the later Germans derived it from the French and the English; but where did the French and the English get it? Where could they get it? No such division existed in the mediæval drama, in the mysteries and in the miracle-plays, out of which the drama of every modern language has been developed. No such division existed in the Greek drama, which has served as a standard and as a stimulus to the drama of every modern literature. A Greek tragedy was represented without any intermission in a single long unbroken act; and if a sequence of three plays was sometimes to be seen performed one after another on the same day, and dealing with successive stages of the same story, this trilogy might suggest a division into three parts, not into five. Nor is any hint of the duty of dividing a tragedy into five parts to be discovered anywhere in Aristotle.

And yet we must go back to the Greek theatre if we want to see why it is that the *Femmes Savantes* of Molière and the *School for Scandal* of Sheridan are each of them in five acts. But it is not from a Greek that we get the law that this division was obligatory on all self-respecting dramatists; it is from a Roman, writing at a time when the drama of his own language had been ousted from the stage by pantomimic spectacle and by gladiatorial shows. It is Horace, who, in his epistle on the art of poetry, declares the necessity of five acts:

Ne brevior, neu sit quinto productior actu
Fabula quae posci vult et spectata reponi.

Sir Theodore Martin has rendered this in an English rimed couplet, which does not completely convey the meaning of the two Latin lines, but which will serve to show the rigidity of the rule laid down by the Roman poet:

Five acts a play must have, nor more nor less,
To keep the stage and have a marked success.

But this still leaves us groping in the dark. Why did Horace declare this law? What warrant had he? What put the idea into his head? These are questions answered by a French scholar, M. Weil, in one of his ingenious and learned "Etudes sur le Drame Antique"; he explained that Horace derived much of his theory of the poetic art from the Alexandrian critics, and more particularly from the writings of a certain Neoptolemus of Parium. Probably the Alexandrian authors of tragedy had been led to adopt a division into five acts by following the example of Euripides, whose practice was not uniform, but who tended to reduce to four the number of the lyric odes in his tragedies, thus separating the purely dramatic passages into five parts.

In Athens the drama had been slowly evolved out of the tragic songs. The Greeks did not put a chorus into tragedy, as some of the eighteenth-century critics seemed to suppose; they put a tragedy into their chorus. In the surviving tragedies of Æschylus, the earliest of the three great dramatic poets of Grèce, we discover that the choral odes are more abundant than the dialogue which carries on the plot. In the extant plays of his mighty successor, Sophocles, the drama is seen emerging triumphant, but the lyrical passages are still frequent and important. In the later pieces of Euripides, the third and most modern of the Attic tragedians, we note that the drama has almost wholly disengaged itself from the lyric out of which it sprang. In Æschylus and in Sophocles the number of choral odes and the number of episodes, of purely dramatic passages in dialogue, is never fixed, varying from play to play as the plot might demand. But in Euripides the choral odes are more detached from the drama; beautiful in themselves, they seem to exist rather for their own sake than in any integral relation to the play itself. And apparently Euripides was far more interested in his play, in his plot and in his characters, than in these extraneous lyric passages, so he reduced them to the lowest possible number, to four, serving, so to speak, as exquisite *entr'acte* music, separating the pathetic play into five episodes in dialogue.

The Alexandrian tragedians came long after Euripides, and to their sophisticated taste his pathetic and emotional plays appealed far more than the austerer and manlier masterpieces of his two great predecessors. Seemingly, they accepted his form as final; they may even have left out the choruses altogether; and their tragedies had five separate episodes—in other words, five acts. It is these last Alexandrian tragedies, composed in the decadent days of the Greek drama, which seem to have served as the model for the dramatic poems of Seneca, the eloquent rhetorician, although he frequently took over the theme and often more or less of the structure of certain of the dramas of Euripides.

The tragedies of Seneca are to be considered rather as dramatic poems than as real plays, since they were apparently intended not really for performance by actors in a theatre, before an audience, but for recitation by a single elocutionist in a private house, much as a professional reader of our own time might recite unaided a more or less dramatic poem by Shelley or Byron or Browning. Coming long after Horace, Seneca unhesitatingly accepted all of the restrictions insisted upon by the Latin lyricist, including the purely academic limitation of the number of speakers taking part in any dialogue to three, a limitation absolutely absurd in a poem not intended for actual acting and not forced to conform to the accidental conditions of the Attic stage. Obeying also the other rule which he found in Horace's codification of the laws of dramatic poetry, the Hispano-Roman rhetorician was careful always to cut up his play into five parts. But he saw his profit in retaining the chorus, since this could be made to serve as the appropriate mouthpiece for the elaborate passages of elocutionary splendor in which he delighted.

It is not to be wondered at that the Italian scholars of the Renaissance followed the practice of Seneca and the precept of Horace. They were far more at home in Latin than they were in Greek; and they could hardly help reading into Greek literature what they were already familiar with in the authors of Rome. To them Seneca was as imposing as Sophocles, and Horace was almost as weighty as Aristotle. When an Italian scholar-poet turned from criticism to creation, the tragedies he conscientiously composed obeyed all the rules, and his dramatic poems were as academic as those of Seneca, in that they were intended not for production by professional actors in a regular theatre before spectators who had paid their way in, but only for an occasional performance by the author himself, assisted by a few of his friends, before a little group of cultivated admirers of antiquity, contemptuous of the real public. These soulless dramatic poems intended for declamation by amateurs before a gathering of dilettantes are now seen to be merely literary curiosities, having little connection with the real drama made for the regular theatre with its myriad-minded body of real playgoers.

Just as these Italian dramatic poems were imitations of Seneca, so the French dramatic poems, composed a little later, were imitations of these Italians and also of Seneca, more or less indirectly. They were the imitations of an imitation, aping the outward form of the drama, but empty of all genuine dramatic spirit, artificial in passion and high-flown in rhetoric. And there are early English attempts at this same sort of academic tragedy, more imitative still, since we can see in them the commingled influence of the French and of the Italians immediately,

and also of the remoter Seneca, whom they revered as the exemplar of true tragedy. Such a play is *Gorboduc*, loudly praised by the scholarly Sidney, and even on one occasion acted by main strength. In all these imitations, English and French and Italian, we find the stately chorus abounding in lofty rhetoric; and we find also and always the division into five acts. But in the folk-theatre, which the scholar-poets scorned and out of which the living drama was to be developed, there is no trace of any division into acts. In the mysteries and in the miracle-plays, and in the chronicle-plays which grew out of them, there are numberless episodes each complete in itself, and never combined artificially into acts. The composer of any one of these folk-dramas conceived his story as a continuous narrative shown in action; and he gave no thought to the number of divisions, or of episodes, of separate scenes, or of acts that it might seem to have.

Tragedy has ever been held to be more elevated than comedy and more worthy; and comedy has continually accepted the conditions more appropriate to tragedy. Since the dignity of tragedy demanded a division into five acts, comedy was also subjected to the same rule. So it is that we find the scholarly authors of the two earliest of English comedies, *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, knowing what was expected of them, and giving the five-act form to both of these amusing plays. But these two comedies, almost contemporary as they are with the academic and undramatic tragedy of *Gorboduc*, are far superior to it in adaptability for actual performance. They are not intended only to be recited; they can be acted easily and profitably. As we study them we see that the outward form may be derived from the comic dramas of Plautus and of Terence, but that the inner spirit is that of the English folk-theatre, of the robust mediæval farce-writers, of the unknown humorist who has left us the laughable and veracious scene of Mak and the shepherds.

Scholars as they were, the authors of these two comedies did not scorn the primitive plays of the plain people of their own time. They did not despise the unpretending folk-drama which was then pleasing the populace. They took stock of it, and found their profit in so doing. They saw that to be raised up to the level of literature it needed only to be chastened and stiffened. They accepted the living tradition of play-making as it came down to them; and in this tradition they shaped their humorous fantasies, adding the higher polish and the more adroit plot which they had learned to appreciate in the Latin comic dramatists. They accepted the native play, bare as it was, and they enriched it by bestowing on it as much as it could carry of the finer art of the Romans.

Thus it is that the authors of *Ralph Roister Doister* and of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* may have pointed out the path of progress to the author of the *Comedy of Errors*, whereas the authors of *Gorboduc*, contemptuously rejecting the folk-theatre of their own day and idly imitating the classicist imitations of the Italians, thereby relinquished whatever direct influence they might have had upon the growth of tragedy in England.

Both *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* were probably written for performance by college boys; and they have not a little of the brisk heartiness and of the broad horse-play to which we are accustomed in the college pieces of to-day. It was for performance at court that Lyly wrote the most of his plays, which lack the vivacity and the liveliness distinguishing the two college comic dramas, but which reveal a far better understanding of the drama than was possessed by the authors of *Gorboduc*. Lyly again is careful to divide his plays into five acts. But his contemporaries, Greene and Peele, writing solely for the professional playhouses, were bound by none of the rules which might be expected in college or at court. Whatever their own scholarly equipment, when they wrote for the professional players, they followed unhesitatingly the traditions of the contemporary playhouse. As playwrights they were the direct heirs of the anonymous and ignorant devisers of the mediæval drama. They had a story to set on the stage; they ingenuously chose a succession of more or less effective episodes; and they carelessly cast these into dialogue with little thought of form or of construction. Never do their plays contain matter enough for five full acts; and no such framework was ever in the mind of either of these dramatic poets. In the original editions of their pieces we find no division into acts and scenes; and if this needless and misleading subdivision is to be found in later editions, it is the doing of misguided editors.

In what are accepted as the earliest editions of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, the most widely popular of all the pre-Shakespearian plays, the text is actually divided into four acts. But this division is not structural; it is almost accidental, as though it was an afterthought inserted at the last moment into the copy intended for the printer and never in the mind of the playwright himself when he was preparing the prompt-copy for the actors; and Shakespeare, who followed Kyd in more ways than one, apparently followed him in this also. In the folio edition of his plays published after his death, a division into five acts has been made; but the task has not been done any too skilfully. Mr. William Poel has suggested that it was perhaps left to the printers to do, the influence of

Ben Jonson having been powerful enough to establish the theory that a self-respecting dramatist would never fail to cast his tragedies in the five-act form. Mr. Poel pointed out that no division into acts is to be found in any one of the quarto editions published in Shakespeare's lifetime; and he denied that Shakespeare conceived his plays in accordance with any such subdivisions. Some of them, the *Comedy of Errors* for one, which can be acted in the space of an hour and a quarter, are far too slight for so huge a framework.

The fact is that Shakespeare was a professional playwright and that he had no merely academic theories. In composing his plays he followed unhesitatingly the principles that had guided his immediate predecessors. He was seeking ever to give the play-going public what it had been accustomed to enjoy in the theatre, better in degree, no doubt, but the same in kind. Like these predecessors he kept to the traditions inherited from the mediæval mysteries; and he thought in terms, not of acts and of scenes, as a modern playwright is forced to do, but of a continuous narrative shown in action. There is no reason to suppose that he would have approved of the attempt of the editors of the folio to cut up his plays, each into five acts. There is every reason to suppose that he would have been greatly annoyed if he could have foreseen the way in which later editors have chosen further to subdivide the acts into an infinity of scenes—a subdivision which we may be sure was never his intent.

Nowadays we have been so accustomed to read Shakespeare in one or another of the trim and tidy modern editions, with a division into acts and into scenes, each of which indicates a change of place and each of which seems to suggest a change of scenery, that it is only by a resolute effort of the will that we are able to shake off the prepossessions derived from this misleading and confusing presentation of his text. Probably even to-day a majority of those who enjoy reading Shakespeare would be surprised to be told that there is no warrant whatever for this alleged change of scene and for these superabundant subdivisions of his story. Many of these readers would be taken aback by the unexpected discovery that all this cutting up of Shakespeare's text was the work of his commentators, with Rowe at the head of the procession. Some of these readers would feel as though they were deprived of a precious possession if they had only an edition in which all this useless machinery was swept away.

And yet this is just the edition which is demanded by the present state of Shakespearian scholarship and which is now made possible by our new understanding of the Elizabethan theatre, with its rude plat-

form thrust out into the yard, so different from our modern theatres in which the stage is withdrawn behind a picture-frame. The Tudor platform-stage is wholly unlike the picture-stage of to-day; but it is very like the "pageant" or the scaffold on which the mysteries and miracle-plays were presented. In other words, the theatre for which Shakespeare wrote was mediæval in its methods; it was not at all modern. It was to the simple conditions of the mediæval theatre that Shakespeare adjusted himself, rude as those conditions may now appear to us who are accustomed to the sumptuous picturesqueness of our own luxuriant playhouses.

In accepting the theatre as he found it, and in availing himself of all its possibilities, such as they were, Shakespeare showed his usual common sense. Only by striving to reconstruct for ourselves in our mind's eye, as it were, the playhouse where he plied his trade and earned his living, can we come to any adequate appreciation of his art, of his craftsmanship as a playwright, of his dramaturgic skill. And in any honest effort to understand how his mighty dramas were originally produced by himself and by his fellow-actors in the round O of the wooden Globe Theatre, unroofed, and unlighted except by the dingy daylight of Northern Europe, we need always to keep fast in our mind the fact that all preconceptions are false that may be derived from our memory of latter-day performances in theatres of a type which the Elizabethan dramatists could not foresee and of which the conditions are often the exact opposite of those they accepted without hesitation. That is to say, the most profitable way to reconstruct mentally the Tudor playhouse is to banish from our minds every impression made by our modern theatre with its elaborate complexity and to study out for ourselves the simple circumstances of performance in the Middle Ages. To go back, and then to look forward as best we can, and by means of whatever imaginative effort may be needful—this is fruitful, and this alone will give us a satisfactory perspective. To look back, and to try to read into the past the practice of the present—this is fatal. And as a first step toward the proper standpoint, we must cast out our traditional belief that Shakespeare accepted the classicist formula of five acts, proclaimed by Horace and employed by Seneca.

It may be doubted also whether not a few dramatists writing later than Shakespeare would not have done well to claim the liberty he and Lope de Vega chose to exercise at will. Racine, for one, had sadly to stretch his *Athalie* to fill out the five-act framework which he had accepted blindfold. Schiller, for another, might have gained a swifter compactness for his play if he had left out the needless fifth act of his

William Tell and rolled his fourth act into his third. And Victor Hugo had to manufacture a fourth act for *Ruy Blas*, so slightly related to his main story that it was cut out of the English adaptation.

Brander Matthews.

SONGS AND SONG-WRITING

BY BRIAN HOOKER

WHEN the creative artist sets about the composition of a sonnet or a sonata, his mind is fixed rather upon the expression of his idea than upon the technical laws of the form in which he is to express it. If his form is one already fixed by the usage of his predecessors, its laws are at his fingers' ends, and he follows them subconsciously; if his form is original with himself, or still in the fluid stage of artistic evolution, he is helping to make its laws as he works. But after many artists have written sonnets, and their custom has developed into fixed laws of the form, it is time for the critic to induce and to formulate, from an examination of their work, the laws which govern and define it. In doing this, the inductive critic in nowise presumes to impose upon the artist any arbitrary rules of his own devising. His business is to examine and define artistic species as the zoölogist classifies the species of animal life; to codify the custom of creative artists; and to formulate from the consensus of their successful practice explicit canons of criticism and definitions of form, for the guidance of artists to come.

Definition in this sense begins where the dictionary leaves off. To say that a drama is a "theatrical composition" is merely to guard against misuse of the word; but when Brunetière points out that the essence of drama is the struggle of human wills, he performs a service to all dramatists to come. Criticism is thus the handmaid of creation. Dictionaries pregnantly explain that a song is a short poem intended to be sung. It is the purpose of this essay to examine in detail what such a definition means; to formulate tentatively the laws which appear implicit in successful songs of the past; in the hope that the attempt may suggest some matter of interest both to the few who make songs and to the many who sing or listen.

A song is a sung poem. But the poetry of Isaiah set to the music of Handel cannot be called song without conscious torturing of the term. The "Hallelujah Chorus" is not, in any natural terminology, a song; neither is the so-called "Choric Song" of the *Lotos-Eaters*. Certainly, the one is great vocal music, the other a great lyric poem; but the

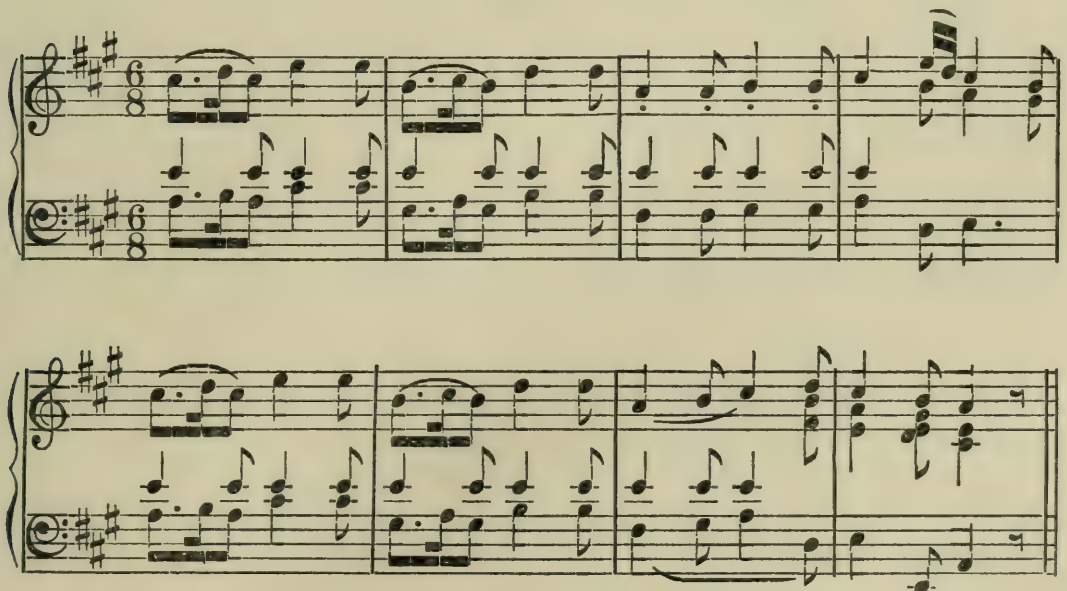
Marseillaise, *O Mistress Mine*, *Annie Laurie*, *The Old Folks at Home*, aside from all question of musical or poetic merit, are just as certainly songs and nothing else. One would hardly speak of Siegfried's *song* in the second act of *Götterdämmerung*; one would hardly speak otherwise of Amiens's songs in *As You Like It*. Evidently there is here some confusion of terms; only the worse confounded by the multitude of generic words literary and musical—*chorus*, *hymn*, *air*, *lyric*, *ballad*, *madrigal*—which in ordinary use distinguish without defining. And the first step in an analysis of song-form must, therefore, be toward a reasonable restriction of the term.

Now, the song, unlike any other art-form—except, perhaps, Gothic architecture, or the painted statuary of Hellas—is inherently a union of two arts. It is at once literature and music, most perfect in its kind when it most perfectly weds the two. The words of the *Lohengrin* march are of as little moment as the music of *May Margaret*; for the one primarily is musical, the other literary. But that setting of perfect music unto noble words which is the ideal of song is the very symbol of ideal marriage. Song, then, is naturally most musical of literary forms, most literary of music; the intersection, so to speak, of the two arts; in approaching which, either art foregoes something of its own particular quality, to take on, so far as may be, the nature of the other. This is reflected in our indiscriminate use of literary and musical terms in speaking of the lyrical, and again in our recognition of the song-quality in poetry or music alone. I do not know that Rossetti's *Plighted Promise* has ever been set to music, or Mendelssohn's "Consolation" to words; but it is as natural to call both songs as to call Hamlet a man or Ophelia a woman.

Song, then, is a dual art. Historically, indeed, we know that it has everywhere been at once the earliest form of music and the earliest form of literature; that from this original compromise each developed, evolving into difference. To understand, therefore, the nature of the compromise involves consideration of the basic and fundamental difference between the art of tones and the art of words. In song, literature and music are most nearly alike. Where they are most characteristically unlike, what is the specific distinction between them?

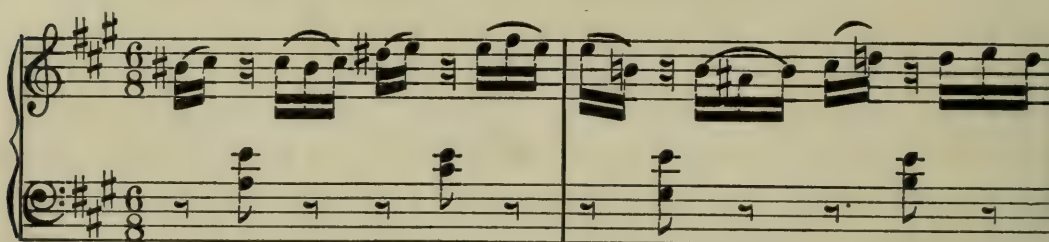
In a word, the distinction is this: Literature is thought emotionalized; music is rationalized emotion. That is, the literary idea is in its conception intellectual: a theorem to be proved, or an abstraction to be embodied. Thus Retribution is the theme of *The Scarlet Letter*; *Paradise Lost* is an assertion of eternal Providence; Iago's warning against Jealousy is humanly emotionalized in *Othello*. To say that vaulting ambition

overleaps itself is to propound a theorem; to dissertate intelligently thereupon, as Bacon does in his essay, is still to remain upon the arid borderland of literature; to make it incarnate in human passion is to create *Macbeth*. Whereas the musical idea is in conception emotional: a *feeling*, utterly apart from any concrete or sensuous image, purely subjective, to be expressed through abstract relativity of form. This is a far more difficult matter to illustrate or to expound; precisely because musical ideas are so unbodied, and musical form so abstractly intellectual, that it is hard to speak clearly of them in words without offending the musician. Lanier's metaphor "Music is love in search of a word" says the thing; but the reader may well complain that it is indefinite, the musician that it is crudely concrete. Lanier the poet speaks of the concept, the *idea* of love; Lanier the musician means the emotion of love. And here musical expression has a shading and an immediacy wholly beyond speech. Who shall distinguish in words between the messages of Mendelssohn's *Wedding March* and the march in *Lohengrin*? And who can fail to *feel* the distinction? To talk of the Emotion of Reverie is a verbal silliness; but whoever has day-dreamed knows what Schumann found no vagueness nor difficulty in saying. That intellectualizing of emotion which is the art of music may, however, be at least suggested by example. Here is the idea of the first movement of Mozart's Ninth Sonata:¹



¹I quote, as sufficiently illustrative, only the first eight measures, from which the whole theme is derived.

Listen to it. It means something—spring sunlight through baby-leaves, perhaps, or autumn afterglow, or child-woman—twenty musicians would give you twenty different metaphors, or, better still, refuse to say crudely in words what is definitely and precisely said in tones. I am quite sensible of the inadequacy of my own suggestions. At any rate, you understand it already in your own way. Now, the intellectual development, in this extremely simple movement, consists merely in saying over in different ways what has already been said:



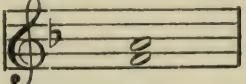
And so on. Here again, in another rhythm:



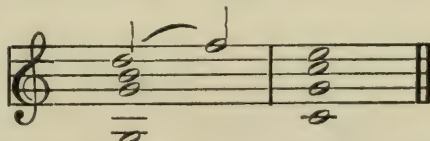
And again, and again, through six variations. In all, the harmonic scheme remains unchanged, the curve of the melody is the same, the key is unaltered—the development is entirely through variety of rhythms; as simple, in its way, as the tale of the *Three Bears*. To consider that the same melody might have been variously harmonized, or given successively to different parts; or that another air might have been erected on the same harmony; or the whole carried through related tonalities; or that a contrasted theme might have been introduced, in another key, and the two developed successively or together in any or all of the above ways, and finally brought back to the original key of A—this is to form some conception of that intellectualizing of an emotional idea which constitutes development in musical form.

It follows from all this that whereas the whole genius of literary form is kinetic, the genius of musical form is static. Literature develops a succession of images, a train of thought; music develops various phases of one idea. The writer expresses an intellection by saying one thing

after another, where the musician expresses an emotion by saying the same thing variously. The literary atom is a sentence of two words: *it is*;

the atom of music is a concord of two tones:  strike

them successively and the musician still hears a major third. To him, moreover, and in some degree to every one, melody implies harmony; for example, one can hardly hear the upper voice of these two measures



without imagining the sound of the supporting chords, whether he knows their names or not. We read a book horizontally, a score vertically; and the literary quality of a novel inheres in an intricate succession of events, ideas, images; while that which is characteristically musical in a symphony is the simultaneous sound of several tones, timbres, and rhythms. The whole matter is curiously illustrated in this: that the iteration in altered phrases which in writing is the very shibboleth of the bungler, is in music a touchstone of structural skill. "He doesn't *get* anywhere," we say disgustedly of the writer who repeats himself, sentence after sentence. But for Beethoven to write over a hundred variations on a single theme is a technical triumph; and conversely, for the composer to run out of iterative resources in his developments, and to progress constantly to new material, is to show precisely the same poverty which the literary tyro betrays by too much iteration. Literary form moves in an open curve like the parabola; musical form in a closed curve like the ellipse.

I have dwelt upon this distinction at the risk of tedium, lest I should proceed to a conclusion upon insufficiently expounded premises. And the reader has doubtless come near to anticipate an application. The Novel or the Epic, elaborately consecutive, is absolute literature, just as the Fugue with its intricate polyphony, or the Symphony with its manifold simultaneous relativity, is absolutely musical. Approaching their union in song, both arts become lyrical. Now, the term *lyric* means to the poet a short poem in strophic form expressing a single subjective emotion; to the composer, *lyric* means a short composition personally emotional, and in form primarily melodic. For melody is the literary, the consecutive, side of music; strophic verse is the phasic, the musical, side of literature; and the revealing of personal emotion is the only common ground between the two.

But literature is full of lyrics, and great lyrics, which may in nowise be called songs. The line must be drawn more closely to include only

the inner class. And here the restriction of performance, no less binding upon the song than upon the drama, comes to the fore. There are great novels and great poems which have ever been caviare to the general. Neither Meredith nor Milton may please the multitude; but a great play or a great song without popular appeal is a contradiction in terms. This principle has been so thoroughly discussed and accepted as applying to the drama that I need only point out the parallel. Like the play, the song must touch its hearer not because he is educated but because he is human. For *Lycidas* may live by the estimation of the judicious, while the songs in *Comus* are never sung. A song, to live as a song, must live in the common heart; and from the fiat of popular appreciation it has no appeal. Ben Jonson's "See the Chariot at Hand Here of Love" is forgotten but for the scholar, while "Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes," vastly inferior as lyric poetry, is sung by thousands who never heard its author's name. Evidently, therefore, the finely specific and intellectualized emotions, which, indeed, are hardly lyrical, are out of the question in song. So, too, with all themes delicately personal to an unusual nature. On this rock Browning split; Keats never wrote a song; Shelley and Byron out of a score of endeavors each produced but one success: *The Indian Serenade* and *Maid of Athens*. Yet Burns, Tom Moore, and a host of lesser poets of commoner feeling and more obvious form have easily achieved. For a true song must be simple in expression of a communal theme.

This is almost to say that only a few themes are possible for song. The communal emotions are not many. Every one, by virtue of common humanity, understands something of Love between man and woman; of Patriotism; of Worship; of the Joy to live; of Motherhood; of the Ache of Separation. But the emotion of the *Lotos-Eaters* or *On a Grecian Urn* is no common heritage of humankind; wherefore these and like poems are great lyrics, indeed, but not songs. And the whole range of song may be denoted in a few phrases. It may possibly be unsafe to say that every song is a Love-song, or a Dirge, or a Hymn, or a Drinking-song, or a War-song, or a Lullaby, or a Lampoon. Yet I can call to mind no famous example which emotionally does not fall under one of these heads: *My Heart's in the Highlands* and *Oft in the Stilly Night* are both songs of bereavement; *Hark, Hark! The Lark* is a drinking-song of the wine of life; and the barbaric chants of the football field are nothing different from the *Marseillaise*. Certainly, if any great song is or will be, whose theme is not some phase of one of the foregoing, it must be some feeling equally human and equally communal.

As to form, moreover, the song-lyric is conditioned by the necessities

of union with music. It gives up, as far as possible, the peculiarly literary quality of progression; and it adopts the musical development of phase and iteration, by dwelling variously upon a single mood, by simple and recurrent stanzas, or by the literal repetition of phrase, chorus, or refrain. In other poetry these musical devices easily grow irritating; they are beautiful in song, precisely because they are musical. *On a Grecian Urn* is unified emotionally and written in stanzas; but, subject aside, its thought moves onward throughout, and its subtly varied stanzas are elaborated out of all echo. On the other hand, *Sweet and Low* merely says differently in its second stanza what was said in the first; and the whole is compact of echo and repetition upon an emotion as old and world-wide as motherhood. Therefore, like all good songs, it sings far better than it reads.

The demands of music impose another condition, more difficult and more technical, upon those languages in which, as in English, the native prosody is accentual. For since musical rhythm is quantitative, depending upon relative duration of notes, every song must be written in quantity. Our spoken verse is, of course, an intensity-rhythm; relative length of syllables is an accessory, important in imparting sonority and smoothness, but unessential. Browning, for instance, habitually disregards it. But the quantities of an English poem intended for music must be as strictly ordered as in classic Greek. It is here the accent which is only accessory and may, within reason, be harmlessly overridden by the quantitative rhythm of music and words. Now, the laws of quantity in English are extremely complex. It is doubtful whether more than three or four of our poets have consciously and intellectually comprehended them; and after some ten years of more than occasional study, I am quite unready to challenge the suckling science of modern phonetics by attempting their formulation. But fortunately there is no need here of that tedious temerity; since any person with a good rhythmic ear, who hears the difference between duration and stress,¹ who remembers that a short vowel becomes common before a liquid and long before two *separately pronounced* consonants, and who has not been scientifically trained to the confusion of vowels and consonants alike in one delirious bedevilment of diphthongs, may readily write and understand English quantitative verse.

In *Sweet and Low*, as always in Tennyson, accent and quantity go hand in hand. Any one will notice how the long² first syllable of *silver* balances two syllables in the corresponding line; and the slight crowding

¹In the work *ánōde*, for example.

²By position.

of consonants in "come from *the* dying moon, and blow," which is the one imperfection of the song. But how of this?

Come away, come away, death,
And in sad cypress let me be laid;
Fly away, fly away, breath—
I am slain by a fair cruel maid.
My shroud of white, stuck all with yew,
O prepare it!
My part of death, no one so true
May share it.

Read aloud, that is, accentually, the rhythm is very ragged, and the second stanza is confusingly different. Now read by quantity:

— — — — —
Come away, come away, death,
— — — — —
And in sad cypress let me be laid;
— — — — —
Fly away, fly away, breath—
— — — — —
I am slain by a fair cruel maid.
— — — — —
My shroud of white, stuck all with yew,
— — — — —
O prepare it!
— — — — —
My part of death, no one so true
— — — — —
May share it.

The rhythm is quite simply regular—a trifle rough here and there, as Elizabethan verse often is—and the correspondence of the second stanza is perfect. The spoken verse, even of the tragedies, shows no such carelessness of accent as this. But here Shakespeare was writing for music; and in ordering his quantities he very properly threw accent overboard. In modern popular songs this license is sometimes much greater:

John took me round to see his mother,
His mother—his mother—
When he introduced us to each other,
She weighed up everything that I had on;
She put me through a cross-examination—
I nearly died of aggravation—
Then she shook her head,
Looked at me, and said:
"Poor John—poor John!"

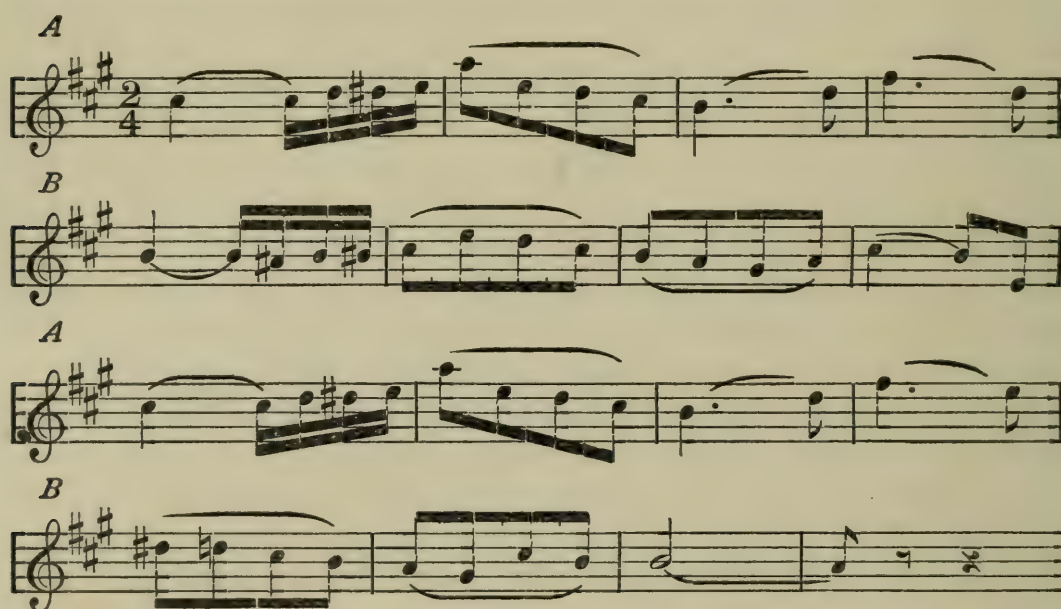
I defy any one to read these lines aloud rhythmically. They simply will not scan. But hum them over to their impertinent little melody, and the quantitative rhythm flows as smoothly as oil. Charity would avoid discussion of the poetic or musical merit of this piece; as a song, it is just now deservedly successful.

In this connection should be noted a few minor technicalities of practical importance. The song-writer does well to disregard accent no more than need be. Quantity is imperative; but the perfect song combines it with accent-rhythm, doing no violence to either. Again, position should be used cautiously, and the long syllables depend upon natural length of vowels. Indeed, since it is impossible to sing a consonant, the fewer of them and the more singly they occur, the better. The connection between the vowel-scale and the musical pitch should also be considered. It is hard to sing the word *feel* on one's lowest tones or the word *roam* on one's highest, without burlesquing their pronunciation. Thus it was by no figure of speech that Tennyson called his "*Claribel*" a melody; for to a nice ear the sequence of its vowel-tones clearly suggests the curve of the melody to which it should be set. Finally, the song-lyrist should preserve a more rigid balance between rhythmically parallel lines and stanzas than in any other lyric form would be either necessary or desirable; for too fanciful a variety in this regard would needlessly embarrass the composer.

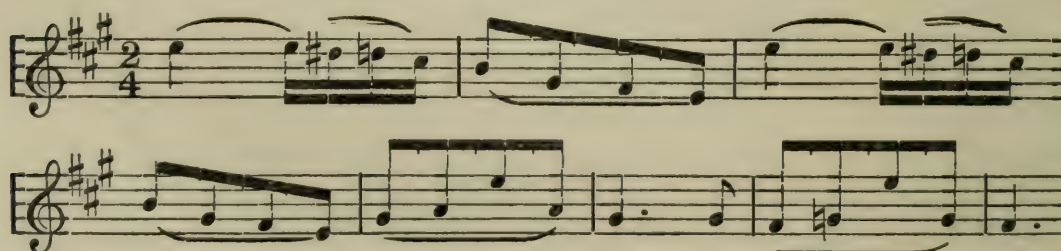
All that has been said of the content and character of the song-poem necessarily applies to its music; for both are alike conditioned by their common ground of lyric emotion and by the need of communal appeal. It is not, indeed, imperative that a song shall demand neither an unusual voice nor any training on the part of the singer; but certainly if the many cannot sing it, they will not; and this is a heavy handicap upon its chances of life. Some very beautiful songs have been kept alive for a century or two in the concert-room; but these are neither so elaborate that the multitude may not easily appreciate them, nor so difficult but a singer may everywhere be found. Even so, their vitality is that of hothouse flowers compared to the vigorous eternal youth of innumerable folk-melodies. Other music, like other literature, may live among only its own votaries. The *Well-Tempered Clavichord* may rest quietly under many drums and trappings, and come again to its own; but song is either the most ephemeral of music or, if it endures, the most enduring. *Ein feste Burg* is no older to-day than it was when Bach was born, and our colleges are still singing the Latin student-songs of the Middle Ages.

In form, song-music concedes to literature conversely as the song-poem concedes to music. Foregoing so far as may be the purely musical development of contrasted phrase and rhythm, the static relativity of harmony and counterpoint, the intricate variety of iteration, it becomes lyrical; that is to say, primarily melodic; that is to say, consecutive. But this is not all; for no more is every vocal or lyric composition song-

music than every lyric poem is a song-poem. A violin solo may be lyrical, but its melody is too extended, too intricately voluble, too wide in compass, for either words or voice. The song-melody must be so predominant over its harmonic support, so simply balanced, that its consecutive structure is clearly apparent. Composers think naturally in four parts; the song-writer must think in one part accompanied. Even in part-songs melody must preside, and the successive relation of period and phrase remain obvious to the ear. The *Songs Without Words* were named from that lyrically melodic quality which is common to them all; but some, like the "Funeral March," are thoroughly instrumental, impossible to set or sing; while others, like the so-called "Consolation," are true songs. Analysis of the familiar "Spring-Song" may serve to illustrate the boundary-line between song and musical lyric. The first fifteen measures (which in a song would become sixteen by the lengthening of the penultimate *B*) form a perfectly consecutive song-melody.



This is perfectly singable, and its alternate balance of phrase implies and fits a simple alternate-rime stanza-form. Follow eight measures of paired phrases:



These are musical couplets. If now we return to the original melody, repeat literally its last eight measures, and so make an end, we shall still have a pure song-form. But now the balance of phrases becomes irregular; the rhythm varies; the iteration becomes more frequent, more elaborate; and the harmony, which at first was merely a graceful support, assumes the leadership. The interest shifts from melody to modulation; and when at length, after twenty-six measures, the theme returns, it is only to melt away unfinished into new phases of entirely musical development. The "Spring-Song" as a whole is thus not merely a song without words, but a delicately instrumental lyric to which words could never be united. One may hardly draw a sharp demarcation and say: "At this point song begins. Whatever is less melodic, less consecutive, is not song-music." But the line lies here or hereabout. In music as in poetry many beautiful compositions inhabit the debatable ground; and for these the only criterion is the voice of the people.

It now becomes clear wherein various great forms of vocal music are distinctly not song. The choruses in the *Messiah* are not songs because their form is not melodic but contrapuntal; and in that opposition of rhythm and period which is the essence of counterpoint, words are inevitably lost. The half-heard phrases to which the *Messiah* is sung lose all literary character and become a mere gloss to the music. So are the Wagnerian operas not song-sequences but music-dramas, in which the literary element is only a programme of the combined music and action. The Aria also, and with it a great body of vocal lyric in which the trained human voice is used essentially as a musical instrument, have with song no more than an accidental and remote relationship. Here is no union of music and literature; it is pure music, whereto the words are merely an index of mood and a means of vocalization. This, of course, must not be understood as an appraisal of such forms. To dissect is not to compare. It would be absurd to claim any superiority for either the Elizabethan or the Italian sonnet; but if a man would write or appreciate either form, let him clearly distinguish between them.

Song, therefore, is an equivalent and a balanced union between musical verse and literary music. It is thus inherently a hybrid and a compromise. To write songs greatly, poet and composer must yield up, for the advantage of the singer, each what is most fundamentally the genius of his own art. And both, for the sake of communal appeal, must forego their own personalities to become mouthpieces of mankind. "You may make the laws of a people; I will make its songs," is a very different saying from "I will write its novels" or its symphonies. For the singer's is a selfless art; he may not express himself; humanity must sing through

him. This, perhaps, is the reason why most great songs have not been written by great poets nor set by great musicians, but by lesser artists, oftentimes unknown. It is hard for a creative genius to subvert his mighty personality or to compromise the native scope of his particular art. His very greatness is in being individual, not one of many, but one out of many; and his expressive power is transfused with the technique of his own medium. Beethoven is too deeply a musician, Milton too deeply a poet, to sing with Schubert and Burns. Most of the national hymns, most of the great old songs of love and wine and worship are the work of men forgotten. No one knows who wrote the drinking-song in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*; but that is no great matter. It is the soul of old Merry England singing itself down the ages; and the *Marseillaise* was truly written not by Rouget de Lisle but by France.

The merit of a song thus inheres not alone in the beauty of its poetry or of its music, nor even of both; but rather in the communal quality of each and in the perfect mutuality of their union. *Annie Laurie* is rather conventional in sentiment and phrase, rather obvious in implied harmony. As the modern critic loves to object, it "says nothing not often said before." But it is great precisely because of this obvious quality in its beauty, precisely because while all sing it, each heart recalls a different name. The songs of Tom Moore are neither great music nor great poetry; but because the two mediocrities are one spirit and one flesh, they are great songs. Indeed, the song-writer who, like Moore, is at once poet and musician, has thereby an enormous advantage. He is the less likely to excel greatly in either art; but such genius as he has is likely to be the more communal, and his verse and melody are one creation. Where this is not the case, it is better that, contrary to the almost universal modern procedure, the music be written first. For with equal skill it is far easier to set words to music than music to words. A melody already made imposes only an emotion and a rhythm, and the poet has but to express that feeling in that metric form. Whereas the setting to music of a finished poem involves both these restrictions in more concrete rigidity, and a host of irritating details besides. The definite imagery of poetry is a constant temptation to reflect harmonically single phrases at the expense of the whole. In a word, the musician setting a poem is liable to all the vices of a translator, while the poet writing to music is merely adopting rhythm and idea. Nor is this a merely theoretical precept. For the majority of great songs have been written in this way. Burns always wrote so; the airs of many Elizabethan songs antedate the familiar words; and the folk-songs of every land are full of beautiful settings to melodies whose antiquity is unknown.

Partly to this cause, perhaps, is due the rarity of successful song-writing at the present day. More important drawbacks are the ignorance or disregard, by lyrist and composer alike, of each other's technical necessities; and the want of communality in both. To apply Macaulay's theory and say that this is too sophisticated a time for singing is at once evasive and fallacious. The society of Moore was no less remote from Arcadia than is our own. Modern drama has just suffered an eruption of Morality-Plays. It is always jejune to pretend that the present world has outgrown an art-form. Possibly this is not a great age of English poetry, and doubtless what worthy poets we have tend toward a highly personal and introspective refinement of emotion. Modern polyphony, moreover, modern harmonic research and display, the modern tendency to agonize tonality and to explore the uttermost possibilities of music, are all antipathetic to song. But the great difficulty, in our present need of comprehending all things critically, is simple lack of mutual understanding between the arts. Therefore, we have introspective and unpronounceable lyrics fondly written for music, and exotically exquisite compositions neither singable nor communal. While, since the multitude will sing, myriads of vocal vulgarities are circulated which it would be blasphemous to call either music or poetry, but which at least are truly song. Nothing can better illustrate or imply all I have been attempting to say than the pathetic survival of much old music and poetry otherwise forgotten, in these tawdry contemporary pilferings, debased, it is true, but no less popular. For the multitude will always take the best within their reach. Cattle in a land where only flesh is fit to eat must be satisfied with sour hay. Great songs, so they be songs indeed, will now no more than ever fail of appreciation. And the modern intelligent specialization of the arts offers no necessary obstacle to song, but rather the contrary; for thoughtful and willing compromise is not yielding, but union; and conscious popularization in a naturally communal art-form is not baseness but humility.

Brian Hooker.

THE ART OF DRINKING

BY LOUIS WINDMULLER

A GOOD cup of coffee has more invigorating strength than almost any other beverage; when we rise from slumber, it braces our spirit, when we finish our dinner, it digests our food. Coffee conquers the natural craving for alcohol and subdues its influence. It accelerates the circulation of blood and expels flatulence. More coffee is consumed in

the United States than anywhere else and Americans have become the strongest nation.

Coffee

About a billion pounds, twelve pounds of coffee to inhabitant, are brought here annually; the greater part of these beans, small in size, strong in flavor, comes from Brazil. Consumption of the more expensive Java beans, which are larger but milder, ranks next. Since the Spanish war West Indian beans from Porto Rico and Cuba have become fashionable. President Roosevelt drinks Porto Rico; excellent coffee comes from Bogota.

The recipe for making good coffee is in civilized countries practically the same. Procure the best fresh roasted beans; the drum should be agitated while the beans are roasted, to obtain them of a uniform light-brown color and crisp; grind them fine, only as many as you need at the time; the quantity is graduated by the required strength; after you have placed it into a strainer over the pot, let boiling hot water filter twice or thrice slowly through this ground coffee into the pot and you draw all the strength it has. That the same coffee should never be used a second time, and that after every use the strainer must be as carefully cleaned as the pot, goes without saying. Good coffee is recognized by its aromatic fragrance and flavor; the darker the color, the stronger is the liquid. The French want it black, strong and hot for their after-dinner cup—"Chaud comme l'enfer, noir comme le diable." But their "café au lait" is seldom equal to our own. Only the Austrians make "milch kaffee" better than ours; when topped with whipped cream—"kaffee mit obers," Austrians call it—and taken with crisp Viennese rolls, it becomes a royal good breakfast, whether sipped on the Ring, in the "Prater" or railway station.

German women find a weaker concoction more economical and sufficiently palatable. As they sit under a rustic bower exchanging the gossip they call "Kaffeeeklatsch," they keep the hostess busy filling cups which they drain with relish.

Coffee originated in Turkey and is still made by Mohammedans in their old-fashioned way. For one good cup, a tablespoon of ground coffee with a teaspoonful of sugar is placed in a small brass kettle and only water enough is added to fill one cup. After this has been boiled and bubbled up twice or thrice over burning charcoal it is poured, grounds and all, into the cup; the grounds are nutritious and apt soon to become palatable. Each cup is made fresh by itself. Before he bids you welcome, indeed, before the Turkish merchant opens his mouth, when you enter, you first must drink and smoke. The Moslem trader will offer his own Tschibouk filled with Persian, the most soothing of all

tobaccos; you draw the blue clouds from the broad mouthpiece and puff them into air, the smoke having first passed through a bowl of fresh water and then through a long leathern tube. If his visit was welcome the parting guest will, before he leaves, receive similar attentions.

The writer has enjoyed these luxuries in the public coffee houses of Smyrna, Constantinople and other oriental cities. If the tobacco was stronger and the coffee weaker, the host showed more interest in his entertainment and made us feel that we were under no obligation to court his favor.

These coffee taverns in Turkey are generally kept by Armenians, who do not seem bloodthirsty; if they have political ambition, it is veiled by the mantle of Christian devotion. But they are after your piasters and know how to get them. They make the best coffee and tell the best stories; one related at a social gathering how the virtue of coffee was discovered. A sheik noticed, when his horse had munched a seed pod from a tree, where he rested, that the steed became fiery. Examination disclosed the seed-pods on one of those pyramidical "qähwe" trees which are indigenous to Arabia and Abyssinia. On their horizontal branches they bear evergreen leaves and fragrant white flowers, which form the clusters containing these seeds. The sheik took some pods home; they appeared sweet and grateful to his taste. When, after several indifferent experiments, he dried them in the sun and roasted the beans they contained, he found that, when ground to the powder, they made a delicious drink. The beverage not alone quenched his thirst but allayed his hunger. News of his discovery soon spread, and as soon as the quality of the berries was appreciated the cultivation of coffee trees became remunerative.

Coffee houses in London, Paris and other cities increased the popularity and induced the planting of coffee trees in other adaptable tropical countries, in Brazil more successfully than anywhere else. Coffee plantations have become in South America the best paying farms in the world. But no coffee has an aroma so fine nor a flavor so delicious as the product of Yemen. This is attributed to a custom Arabians have of allowing the fruit to ripen and of gathering the pods from the ground after they have fallen or been shaken from the trees. Other coffee growers pick the pods before all the beans mature and are not careful to separate the unripe. Of Arabian beans, the choicest are reserved for the Shah of Persia and the Sultan; the harems of other Moslem dignitaries come in for the next best and nearly the entire balance of the crop is consumed by the people of Turkey. What little is left goes to France and to the United States through the port of Mocha. The Turks be-

lieve they owe their remarkable strength to coffee. The endurance and courage of their soldiers are attributed to the coffee rations they get. It takes the place of alcoholic beverage, which the Koran prohibits, and moving the bowels, it replaces medicine, which may in hot climates irritate the digestive organs. In coffee Arabians find the consoling comfort they seek in times of grief.

As long as the supply was limited and the demand urgent, high prices prevailed and many substitutes were used; they included acorns. With increased production prices decreased and one adulterant after another was abandoned; now only chiccory remains and that is used to a limited extent. This root was originally cultivated near Magdeburg, in Germany; to discourage the adulteration of coffee, which is free of duty, chiccory was taxed here two and one-half cents per pound, so that the cost of the substitute with duty and freight added equals the cost of some common coffee. Then farmers in Michigan began raising it for home consumption, and they continue to make money by the cultivation, although they furnish it to coffee packers below the cost of imported chiccory. It is chiefly put into packages, the pretentious names of which should induce no good judge to buy for coffee. The man who wants real coffee and has no coffee mill should insist on seeing the roasted beans ground in his presence and take them home himself; then he is sure to get a pure article. Chiccory boomers say that some connoisseurs like the taste and that famous restaurateurs buy it for the sake of its flavor to mix with the coffee of these fastidious customers. But the writer has been unable to find the chef of any fashionable restaurant willing to confirm the slander.

In shape and color the perennial evergreen plant that produces tea resembles a camellia; but the leaves are shaped like broadened eyelashes and the pinkish white flowers emit a balmy odor. Orientals first cultivated the plant for the sake of its beautiful form and delicious perfume. The discovery that a drink concocted from the leaves had a tendency to dispel lassitude and to concentrate thought made a profound impression on the popular mind and originated the following weird legend that continues to find credence in China: "A Buddhist priest made a vow not to sleep till his sermon was completed; when weariness overpowered the strength of his will, he shored his eyelashes from their sockets and threw them to the ground, where they rooted and gave birth to the tea plant. Its virtue was long kept secret and the tea cultivated for the use of literary Celestials.

Tea

During the early part of the seventeenth century an agent of the East India Company, while entertained by a mandarin, accidentally perceived the animating influence tea had and he knew how to profit by his discovery. Foreseeing what revenue it could bring, he opened tea rooms and induced the leaders of London society to dispense the beverage in exclusive circles; thus tea parties were created.

Ladies of quality became fascinated by the drink because, without clouding their perception, it intoxicated their imagination. The tendency to find gratifying substitutes for alcoholic beverages encouraged and increased its consumption. The more appreciated it was, the larger became the demand. The East India Company had to thank a poor clerk for millions his foresight brought to their coffers.

The Chinese provinces alone could not supply the demand; cultivation extended and flowery tea plantations soon covered sunny hillsides of all suitable territory of the Orient. Efforts to raise tea elsewhere were less successful; amongst our States, South Carolina has yielded a considerable quantity. But the cost of labor is too great and the soil not adapted to raise the choicest quality.

The best wine grows along the river banks of France and the finest tea on the mountain slopes of northwestern China. As ripe grapes of good vintage are selected for the table wine of French noblemen, so velvety leaves, culled on a spring morn by dainty Chinese girls, under balmy skies, from the lower branches of young tea plants, produce leaves which when sun-dried are placed by mandarins before their favorite guests.

The largest quantity of the best tea is consumed by the Chinese; they use annually some two thousand million pounds and export only some three hundred million. Some of the best is brought on camels' backs over many thousand miles from Russia's consumption to Novgorod, where, because of this method of transportation, unaffected by ocean air, it is known as Caravan tea. Aside from the Orientals, inhabitants of Russia alone appreciate and make tea properly. The polished "Samovar," steaming over burning charcoal, greets us in the parlor of the hospitable "datcha," the summer home of Russians. Boiling water drawn from faucets is spread over the leaves long enough to cleanse and moisten them, removing simultaneously their astringency. When this water has been drained and the damp leaves given time to settle, they are steeped in and remain in fresh, boiling water five minutes; the liquid assumes a golden hue, and is poured into transparent delicate tumblers. For flavor Russians are in the habit of using a slice of lemon and a lump of sugar. A delicious fragrance from the steaming glasses penetrates

the cheery atmosphere of the room and arouses the convivial spirit of the guests.

Tea is the popular drink of the Moscovites; you call for a glass of tea in Russian taverns as you ask for beer at American bars.

Having learned during his visits to enjoy Caravan tea the writer bought in Moscow some of the best he could find. As the original flavor had not deteriorated when he opened the air-tight canister he used the contents to arrange Russian tea parties in his Long Island home. Similar measures could be taken to provide equally pure leaves for others.

The Russian Government controls the sale of tea, in stamped and sealed packages, which show that the tax was paid, that the quality of the contents was tested and found pure. We could import natural tea in sealed tins and use similar precautions. Americans would cheerfully pay as much as the Russians do for an equally good quality.

Amongst the hundred million pounds of tea we annually import the proportion of sun-dried tea leaves is insignificant. The flavor of the tea would suffer if it were transported beyond the sea in natural condition, without protection better than ordinary caddies afford; exhalations of salt water, spice and similar odoriferous merchandise would spoil it in transit. For this reason Chinese exporters dry tea leaves with artificial heat to harden them and they use artificial scent, like jasmine, to restore some of the natural aroma lost in firing; they use artificial colors, like Prussian blue, to improve the appearance.

The exclusion of tea that contains more than eight per cent. of foreign substance has prevented other dried leaves formerly imported for tea leaves from coming here, but it has made no perceptible improvement in the quality we get.

If vigilant guardians of food were delegated to examine almost any tea offered in the market they would discover adulterations, which have either escaped the watchful eyes of appraisers when they arrived or which have been mixed in by unscrupulous American "tea doctors" after they landed. These "artful dodgers" manipulate the tea placed in their care to reduce the price by the admixture of clay and they change the color by aniline; their clients can then palm it off on confiding consumers beyond its value.

Large consumers who want good tea must follow dealers' example and employ tasters to select a suitable quality. Tea tasters sacrifice everything for the glory of becoming experts; then their judgment of an invoice of tea is final, but before reaching this proficiency their health is generally shattered. Small consumers depend on the confidential grocer from whom they expect the quality they are in the habit of buying

under their favorite brand. This tea when fairly pure would be enjoyable if it were well made and deliberately taken.

The consumption of tea in Great Britain is five times greater than in the United States. While the quality of their leaves is not better the quality of their beverage is superior. The English use more Ceylon, the Americans more China tea. But the English women are more careful in the preparation, especially by using fresh leaves every time they make tea. Some American housekeepers believe they can save fresh tea leaves by allowing the old to remain in the pot. But the extract from the old leaves contaminates what is drawn from the new and spoils the contents of the whole kettle.

Keepers of our railway restaurants are more parsimonious; they consider it extravagant to add fresh leaves to their constantly boiling tank; as long as the liquor remains dark they consider it good enough for the thirsty passengers who have no other alternative but to take it. Instead of assimilating food, the astringent quality of such a beverage, consisting largely of tannin, hinders the flow of gastric juice, retards digestion and constipates the bowels. Fresh tea should be made on the arrival of every train, as on Russian railways.

Some professional men, as, for example, physicians who do not know when they may be needed to respond to the sudden call of a suffering patient, cannot get fresh tea; it boils by their bedside, and while dressing they gulp the contents of a cup to collect their senses.

Many others who get fresh tea abuse it to increase the productive power of their brain. Among the writer's friends is a busy lawyer who studies all night to prepare the brief he must present the following day. His faithful daughter sits by his side and makes a fresh cup as he calls for it. When finally sleep overmasters his body, theine keeps his mind active, it carries him in his dream to court, where, after the brilliant delivery of his convincing argument, he is horrified to hear the judge decide against him. Dragged by force from his couch in the morning, he discovers that under the spell of a nightmare his mind had been wandering; after the fresh stimulus of another draught, he staggers into court, still dominated by the influence of tea, delivers his plea with the consummate skill of his dream and wins his case. Fully aware that exertions, made possible by unnatural stimulants, will end in a destruction of his mental faculties, he repeats the experiment whenever he must snatch from the hours needed for rest the time to work. These repetitions have resulted, some in success, others in failure. But the strain has begun to tell on his system. The minds of all literary persons who burn the midnight oil and who acquire this tea habit to forbear sleep become gradually enfeebled; it matters not how they prepare the drink.

Among Anglo-Saxon authors who have thus recommended tea, Lord Byron and Motley have followed the English custom of taking it with cream. French neutralize the theine by adding cognac. Both Victor Hugo and Balzac found sleep more peaceful and dreams more pleasant after mixing their tea with brandy. German men of letters add rum. Heine's charming verses, which follow in the original German below, disclose, besides his own predilection, his contempt for Hamburg's hypocritical "Philister" who preached tea, and drank rum, hidden in teacups. The Russian preparation of the beverage, which prevails also in China, is the most natural. But it should be taken for pleasure. If we take it occasionally to finish a task imposed on us we may be inspired by a sense of duty, but when we allow it to become a habit we commit a crime against nature.

If we want to live long and well, we must never forget Juvenal's advice to retain a clear mind in a sound body—"Mens sana in corpore sano."

Die Göttin hat mir Thee gekocht
Und Rum himeingegossen;
Sie selber aber hat den Rum
Ganz ohne Thee genossen.

From Heinrich Heine, "Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen."

Long before history was written fermented grape juice had been used to make wine. Homer names it the luscious drink of the gods, and all other poets have praised it; zealots only despise it. While the habitual use of stronger drink weakens the intellect, wine sharpens the fervor of our perception. Wine is the best antidote for malarial poison. Take coffee for breakfast, sip tea with conversation, and drink wine to enjoy your dinner.

Americans are too much inclined to bolt their food and worry it down with chilled water while their thoughts dwell on the work they left behind and the task that is before them. The labor to digest such fare creates despondency and engenders dyspepsia. But when we moisten the solid food we take with wine, we promote digestion, and the gratification of our appetites creates that natural sensation of pleasure which is indispensable to good health. If we want to forget the real for an ideal world and exchange sordid greed for lofty ambition, we turn to the nectar from the vineyards of Burgundy.

France produces as much wine almost as the rest of the world; the French drink more than any other nation, and in literature and art they occupy a foremost rank. For digestion a "Lafitte" from the River

Gironde is preferable. The mellow "Chambertin" from the Côte d'Or has of all wines the richest flavor, and inspires the gayest conviviality. Because, like the sun, it dispels depression, Burgundy should be called the bottled sunshine of the golden hillside. Good wine improves, poor wine deteriorates, with age.

A large quantity of good wine is raised in the old French province of Champagne. The greater part, a still, dry wine, is consumed at home and hardly known abroad. The effervescent, sweet wine which comes chiefly from Rheims and Epernay, in the Department of Marne, is the only wine known here as Champagne. It is substantially made for exportation, comparatively little being used in France. We consumed more Champagne last year than we drank of all other kinds of imported wine; some three hundred thousand dozen bottles of Champagne, against about one hundred thousand dozens of other French wines. By sweetness and effervescence Champagne has become popular, but it is not a natural and seldom a wholesome beverage.

When bottled this wine is artificially fermented and charged with carbonic acid gas, which, on removal of the cork, becomes disengaged; sugar is added in the must to suit the prospective customer's taste. A glass of Champagne after dinner is pleasing to the palate and grateful to the stomach, but when taken immoderately throughout a dinner of many courses it causes, not a temporary "Katzenjammer" alone, but lays a foundation for gout and ruins the constitution.

The experienced traveller finds amongst the wines of almost every country the "vin du pays" that agrees with his taste and helps to convert his food into chyme. Red wine should be tepid, white wine cold when served. The natural fermentation of grapes' juice turns the greater part of the sugar they contain into alcohol. Good table wine should contain no more alcohol than about twelve per cent., nor more sugar than naturally remains after fermentation. A temperate drinker will eschew stronger wines; their habitual use will cloud his perception and create a propensity for ardent spirits.

Of Liqueur wines, such as grow on the Spanish Peninsula, Port, Sherry, and Malaga, a glass for dessert, where no Champagne is served, is recommended. But "Val de Peñas," grown in the heart of Spain, on the plains of Ciudad Real, is an excellent table wine. In northern Italy "Chianti" is recommended; in Austria, "Vöslauer"; in Hungary, "Ofener"; all of them wholesome red table wines. Good white wine called "Yvorne" is served at table d'hôtes in Switzerland.

But the best white wines grow in Germany. Charlemagne introduced viticulture by transplanting choice vines from his vineyards in Burgundy

to the borders of the Rhine and Moselle. No other nation appreciates the juice of golden grapes more than the Germans; none have praised it as much in folklore as the happy dwellers on the Rhine. Martin Luther said, "A fool is he, and fool will be, who does not love wine, woman, and glee."

The brands which by choice location and careful treatment have become noted are as numerous in Germany as the famous wines of France; the better the quality, the finer are flavor and bouquet. But the best are difficult to procure, unless you can buy from growers on the spot. When they pass through dealers' hands they generally are mixed or blended until they lose their individual character. Low and medium grades are sold under famous brands, such as "Liebfrauenmilch" and "Marcobrunner." False labels would condemn the contents when they come here, if our food inspectors were competent to judge. But their test can hardly decide if the beverage is wholesome and the production natural; to discover that takes the ablest chemists. If it can find the ways and means, the German Reichstag will prohibit the use of false labels in Germany.

The ways of adulterators are dark and their tricks are vain. The writer knew a fugitive German vintner who made, in dingy American cellars, from Spanish raisins and water artificially fermented and skillfully drugged, any brand of Rhine wine his customers ordered. In color, taste, and flavor it was equal to real wine, but after it was taken caused heartburn.

When the cheap California wine came into the market his occupation was gone. Because the climate of California is even and free from unseasonable change of atmosphere, it is adapted to wine culture. California vintners strove formerly to raise the largest possible quantity of wine in the shortest possible time. When they placed grapes in the vats they did not separate the ripe from the unripe, allowing decayed grapes to remain. They did not remove accumulated dust, which tainted the wine with a taste of earth. They barely gave the must time to ferment; before it could settle they clarified the beverage with isinglass and put it on the market.

Chalky ground mixed with silica, the best soil for successful viticulture, exists in many parts of California. But vintners did not pay sufficient attention to putting the right grapes into the right soil. Hence the crude taste that continues to cling to the sweet fortified vintages of Southern California.

A few years ago some grapes, celebrated for their flavor, were imported and grafted on native resistant vines. (This appellation is given

to native California vines because they resist the Phylloxera. When the French vineyards were threatened by this disease with destruction thirty years ago, indigene California vines grafted on French grapes saved them.) As in France, unfit berries are now carefully removed, and more time is given for the wine to ripen.

Wherever such care is bestowed on the details of viticulture the wine has improved. Sonoma County, for instance, produces a table claret now which is not only good enough to interfere with the importation of doubtful or fictitious foreign wines, but has satisfied the palate of some critical connoisseurs. All efforts further to encourage the production of good California wines should be made.

In the hotels of other wine-producing nations guests may drink with their meals all the "vin du pays" they want without charge. A similar custom prevails in French restaurants in California, New Orleans, and New York. Why should not the owners of the Palace Hotel, the St. Charles, and the Waldorf-Astoria in these cities follow this example? The expense would be small compared with the commendation such a practice would give to the hotels. Our rich people now go abroad to learn the art of drinking; they might then serve their apprenticeship before they leave.

American boys, when in our collegial cities they meet for recreation, may learn, while they sing American songs, to moisten their throats with American wine. It would sound well to hear to the melody "Am Rhein, am Rhein, da wachsen unsere Reben," the words, "On the coast, on the coast our grapes grow, blessed be our coast." If a spirit should prevail here such as some of us have met at a student's wine "Commers" in Heidelberg or Bonn, we would soon have and appreciate "gemütliche Deutsche Weinkneipen" in strenuous American cities.

The merits of viticulture deserve every encouragement; the first English colonial governor of New York abolished the excise on American wine, and in consequence wine was made in Delaware. More than two hundred years have elapsed, yet for an internal revenue license twenty-five dollars must be paid when American wine not raised on the premises is sold by the glass. To this the burdensome city tax, one thousand dollars p. a. in San Francisco, for instance, must be added. No tax should be paid for selling pure American wine which contains less than twelve per cent. of alcohol, where the sale of other alcoholic beverages is forbidden. Such a law would reduce the sale of whiskey, diminish intemperance, and the increased consumption of American wine would advance the cause of American civilization.

Since it began to export fruit California has become the orchard of

the world; California prunes sell where French prunes were formerly sold.

Our vineyards may never become as successful as our orchards are, but we can and must increase their importance.

Since Germany has found that good Rhine wine becomes scarce and expensive, the German Government has encouraged viticulture in their African colonies, and it expects to introduce African wine in the Rhenish provinces. When San José fruit growers sell prunes in Bordeaux, why can our vintners not steal a march upon German enterprise and sell California wine on the Rhine?

Louis Windmüller.

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The Forum

APRIL, 1908

AMERICAN POLITICS

WILLIAM H. TAFT WITH THE FIELD AGAINST HIM

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

THE political situation can be briefly and accurately epitomized as follows:

On the Republican side, William H. Taft, of Ohio, leads in the contest for the Presidential nomination, with the field against him.

On the Democratic side, Mr. Bryan's nomination at Denver, in July, seems assured.

Some eight or ten months ago, before there had been much apparent activity in the direction of Mr. Taft and before there was any crystallization of popular sentiment, Vice-President Fairbanks unquestionably occupied the most advantageous position in the Presidential race. He was beginning to create a nucleus of votes in the South and he seemed to possess something of an organization. It is now true, however, that in the very section where it was believed that he would secure a large proportion of the delegates his strength has slipped away from him and has gone over to Mr. Taft. It is equally true that so far as outward indications may be considered, the movement in favor of Mr. Fairbanks is quiescent. He has secured the Indiana delegation, of course, but no other State has yet declared for his candidacy. It is difficult, perhaps, to explain this condition of affairs, unless it be that Mr. Fairbanks suffers from a persistent misrepresentation. He is characterized and cartooned as of an icy nature, without magnetism and lacking in forcefulness and individuality. He may not, it is true, be as self-

Mr. Fairbanks'
Real
Character

assertive as others, but those who know him intimately will testify that he does not lack geniality and responsiveness. I have been acquainted with Mr. Fairbanks for many years and could cite innumerable instances to prove that he is by no means the cold and indifferent man which those who do not know him delight to picture him. For instance, not long ago, I was conducting through the Capitol at Washington a party of prominent railroad officials. They were first welcomed by Speaker Cannon, who, in his frank and open-hearted way, gave them a cordial greeting, threw his arm around the neck of the visitor nearest to him, related a story or two and then extemporized a graceful address. The reception in the room of the Vice-President was equally spontaneous. Mr. Fairbanks recalled the first name and even the initials of more than one member of the party and then, seated upon his broad mahogany desk and surrounded by the visitors, he talked for more than a quarter of an hour in most genial fashion. His attitude and personality were a revelation to the railroad men, who knew him only by the popular view of his frigidity, and they went away charmed by their visit. It is not, perhaps, a very important matter thus to portray Mr. Fairbanks's apparently unknown character; but if the relation of the incident is read with the same surprise that its actual occurrence occasioned, the narration will not be without its value. It will be impossible, however, to remove wholly the almost universal impression and Mr. Fairbanks will continue to suffer unjustly at the hands of the sarcastic fun-makers until they either learn really to know him or tire of their baseless jests.

There has been a wane, also, in the consideration which three months ago attached to the name of Governor Hughes. This is not due to the fact that he has faded out of the public eye. On the contrary, he has done much of late—noticeably by his determined antagonism to race-track gambling—to keep him prominently in the foreground. His sterling qualities still appeal to a large proportion of the population, but the fact is that the politicians who manipulate primaries and control committees do not know where Governor Hughes stands with regard to them and they do not waste their sweetness on the desert air. Mr. Hughes is non-committal on the subject of the Presidential nomination and his passive receptivity does not attract the men who play the political game for its emoluments and rewards. These men would rather attach themselves to the candidate who seems determined to win. We do not find, therefore, that any Congressional districts are electing Hughes delegates, nor is it to be believed that the New York delegation, even if it be instructed for him, will give him more than perfunctory support—unless,

indeed, a deadlock should develop in the convention and Governor Hughes's nomination be made possible as an outcome of the struggle. As the case now stands, Governor Hughes, with nothing behind him but his own State, can hardly expect to be a real factor in the convention.

Excluding Mr. Taft, Speaker Cannon is now making the most aggressive fight of all the candidates in the field. He has his own State solidly and enthusiastically behind him, and there is a large contingent of the Republican majority of the House that would, if they could, influence their districts in his behalf. The chief manager of his campaign is Representative McKinley, of Illinois, a rich manufacturer who is generously devoting both time and money to Mr. Cannon's cause. The fact remains, however, that he is struggling against adverse odds.

If, therefore, considerable space is devoted in this article to Mr. Taft and his candidacy it is because he stands at the present writing in the most favorable position to secure the nomination. Already he can show to delegates of wavering and uncertain mind something in the way of substantial accomplishment. First of all, he won the contest in his own State, defeating a veteran and experienced fighter like Senator Foraker, and his victory was so pronounced and emphatic as to present only the slightest semblance of a struggle. Missouri, with thirty-six votes; Nebraska, with sixteen votes; Kansas, with twenty votes; Iowa, with twenty-six votes, and New Jersey, with twenty-four votes, have already declared in their State conventions for Mr. Taft, and the State committees of Arkansas, Alabama and other States, have, in formal session, taken the same action. As will be shown later, the West and Northwest is claimed for Mr. Taft, but allowing for exaggeration or even omitting all States which have not yet formally adopted Taft resolutions, the fact remains that Mr. Taft's list of actually chosen delegates presents a very encouraging nucleus which the other candidates do not enjoy.

What manner of man is Taft? He is of hefty build, keeping his weight below 250 pounds only by most assiduous effort. He is above the average height, so that his weight is distributed over a large frame, and the appearance of a powerful physique which he presents is not belied by his actual condition. He has a constitution of great ruggedness and can endure any amount of travel or fatigue. Like most large men he is of genial nature, a characteristic which is reflected in his attractive countenance. In manner he is thoroughly democratic; and more than once the writer has seen him at the counter of a popular oyster house in the national capital enjoying his lunch with the utmost abandon. He

**Mr. Taft
in the
Lead**

laughs heartily, has a keen sense of humor, and his delight in good-fellowship is shown by the fact that he is a member of all the leading clubs in the capital. He is one of the kind of men who make friends with ease, attracting them by the heartiness and magnetism of his manner.

Still in the prime of his life—he celebrated his fiftieth birthday last September—he has, nevertheless, already accomplished as much as most men achieve in an entire lifetime. He was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Ohio when he was twenty-three years old and was an assistant prosecuting attorney when he was twenty-four. It is a curious fact that his first position on the bench was due to the man who later became his rival in the contest for the control of their State, for in 1887 he was appointed by Governor Foraker to be Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. He became identified with the National Government when, in 1890, he was chosen by President Harrison to be Solicitor-General of the United States, resigning this position two years later to become United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Judicial Circuit. Then he went to the Philippines, where he became civil governor, and returned to the United States to accept his present position as Secretary of War. He has travelled around the world, and made other visits on important government missions to Rome, Cuba, Porto Rico and Panama. In all of the places where destiny has placed him he has acquitted himself with ample credit, demonstrating his ability and tact.

This hasty review of the life of the man who will for the next few months be most prominently before the public affords some idea of his many activities. He is, first of all, a lawyer and a judge, and if it were not for his ambition to be President of the United States, he would at this time be on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, for the high office of associate justice was actually offered to him by President Roosevelt and declined. He is, moreover, more than a lawyer, for in executive positions he has demonstrated the possession of aptitude for business management. In his present campaign his chances have been tremendously aided by the fact that his candidacy has been openly espoused by President Roosevelt, who, despite the Wall Street point of view, still commands a large popular following throughout the country. Mr. Taft, on the other hand, has not hesitated to express his determination, if elected, to continue Mr. Roosevelt's policies, so that the President and his cabinet officers have coöperated with a complete mutual understanding. It is almost an anomaly in American politics, and, in

**His Life
Briefly
Sketched**

fact, an unknown occurrence in recent times, for a President to make no secret of his desire practically to designate his successor. Mr. Roosevelt's administration, however, has been a notable one in the matter of establishing precedents, and we now accept with the utmost nonchalance actions and events which a few years ago would have created a genuine sensation. The President's undisguised interest has resulted in some criticism and especially has it led to condemnation of the activity of federal office-holders in Mr. Taft's behalf. The President has sought to neutralize this criticism by warning these office-holders to refrain from active participation in the struggle. Notwithstanding this fact, a recent issue of the *Arkansas Gazette* publishes the fact that as a result of the visit of the United States District Attorney for Arkansas to Washington, where he conferred with President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft, the Arkansas delegation to the Republican Convention will be counted among Mr. Taft's adherents. At the Ohio Republican State Convention, composed of Mr. Taft's friends, the presiding officer was Mr. Taft's cabinet colleague, the Secretary of the Interior. It is likely, therefore, despite President Roosevelt's endeavors to the contrary, that considerable activity in Mr. Taft's behalf will continue to be displayed by administration office-holders throughout the country.

Mr. Taft has also been fortunate in the fact that his ambition to be nominated for and elected to the office of President of the United States is earnestly supported by his brother, who has a fortune sufficient to defray in large measure the expenses of the preliminary campaign. Remarkable stories are current in Washington as to the amount already expended in the effort to add delegates to the Taft column, and the statement is made that by the side of this outlay the cost of Mark Hanna's effort to secure Mr. McKinley's nomination will fade into insignificance. This assertion seems beyond the pale of reason; for certainly the McKinley ante-nomination campaign was the most remarkable ever undertaken in this country. The writer can testify from personal knowledge as to the character of that campaign, for in a score of State conventions the impress of astute and generous management was visible, in one city even the decorations for the hotels and the badges which made the street look like a field of poppies having been supplied by a private car which arrived on the eve of the convention's session. Mr. Taft's bureau is unquestionably extensive and well equipped, but up to the present time there has been no evidence of undue extravagance. Mr. Arthur L. Vorys, of Cincinnati, has charge of the Western end of

**The Campaign
and its
Outcome**

the campaign, while Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock, recently first assistant postmaster-general, has resigned that office to assume charge of the Eastern bureau in Washington. Mr. Vorys is unknown in national politics, but Mr. Hitchcock was identified with the Republican National Committee in the last Presidential campaign, and has developed considerable ability as a political manager. It is evident from the manner in which the Taft campaign is being conducted that his managers believe that what is worth having is worth working for. In any event, the activity which they display, the industry with which they are pursuing their work, and the thoroughness with which they are building up their organization are in marked contrast to the apparent inactivity of the other candidates. It reminds one of the campaign of 1896, when McKinley got the delegates and the nomination, while his rivals stood afar off and ridiculed General Grosvenor's figures.

Some idea of the confidence which fills the breasts of Mr. Taft's managers may be gathered from the fact that they now claim their candidate's nomination on the first ballot, even conceding that New York will vote for Hughes, Pennsylvania for Knox, Indiana for Fairbanks, Illinois for Cannon, and Wisconsin for La Follette. Without undertaking to vouch in any way for their accuracy, the following figures of the vote which Mr. Taft expects to receive on the first ballot may be given:

Alabama	22	Massachusetts	16	Oklahoma	14
Arkansas	18	Michigan	21	South Dakota	8
California	20	Minnesota	22	Tennessee	18
Connecticut	8	Mississippi	14	Texas	36
Florida	10	Missouri	36	Virginia	24
Idaho	6	Montana	6	Wyoming	6
Iowa	26	Nebraska	16	Alaska	2
Kansas	20	New Hampshire	4	Hawaii	2
Kentucky	14	New Jersey	24	New Mexico	2
Louisiana	18	North Carolina	18	Philippines	2
Maine	6	North Dakota	8		
Maryland	16	Ohio	46	Total	529

It will thus be seen that Mr. Taft expects to secure about one-half of the entire New England delegation; New Jersey and Delaware; the entire South, with the exception of a few scattering districts; the Western and Northwestern States and the Pacific Coast territory. In other words, they expect the Taft column to include every section of the country. It should be added, of course, that these claims are disputed by the managers for the other candidates; but there is still no escape from the convincing fact that up to the present time Mr. Taft has secured a large

preponderance of all the delegates elected and he is the only candidate with several State delegations actually instructed for him.

The fly in the ointment is the fact that, after all, the complexion of the convention may be largely determined by the Republican National Committee. It is the programme of the opposition to Mr. Taft to create contesting delegations in all the Southern States, the first step in this direction having been taken when the Florida Republicans assembled. There is now every reason to believe that when the national convention meets next June we shall see a repetition of the scenes witnessed at St. Louis in 1896, when contesting delegations from Southern States carried their disputes before the national committee for adjudication. In that case a majority of the committee was pledged to McKinley, and the delegations favoring McKinley's nomination were seated. If Mr. Taft's friends control the present national committee and can compel the admission of all the Taft delegates from the South, the Ohio candidate will have a tremendous lever of advantage, for the Southern States aggregate over 250 votes in the convention. If, on the other hand, the committee is hostile to Mr. Taft and the latter's delegations are ejected, the situation will be a serious one for him. It will thus be seen that the national committee may play a most important part in determining the outcome of the convention. The committee is said to lack a majority of Taft men at the present time, but the Taft managers are thoroughly alive to the importance of securing the requisite majority.

It may be that all uncertainty will have been removed before the convention assembles; but if not, the first vote in the national committee upon the contested cases will be an index of peculiar interest and significance.

Mr. Taft's position on public questions has been presented at various times with great directness and force. He is not a "stand-patter." On the contrary, he favors a revision of the tariff, action to be postponed, however, until after the Presidential election. He is not a high protectionist in the sense in which that term is applied to Representative Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, for instance; but believes, of course, in the principle of protection. In the matter of railroad rate regulation, the prosecution of illegal monopolies, the restriction of over-capitalization, and, in fact, all the other policies inaugurated by President Roosevelt, he is in thorough and hearty accord with the chief executive. His address before the Merchants' Association of Boston, it will be remembered, was an elaborate defence of President Roosevelt against the charge

**Views on
Leading
Issues**

that the administration was responsible for the panic of 1907. Regarding the relations between capital and labor, Mr. Taft's views are of especial importance because it is with the laboring element that he will have to reckon largely if he is placed in a position where he will need their votes. Some of his decisions while on the bench in Ohio have been resurrected and quoted against him as indicating hostility to organized labor. It was for the purpose of making clear his position on this subject that he recently delivered before the Cooper Union in New York City a carefully prepared address and then for nearly an hour underwent a catechism from the audience. This address emphasized the dependency of capital upon labor and *vice versa* and was in effect a plea for a more conservative and conciliatory attitude on both sides. "Labor needs capital to secure the best production," he said, "while capital needs labor in producing anything;" and he added that the laboring man should be the last to object to the rapid accumulation of capital in the hands of those who use it for the reproduction of capital. "The thoughtful and intelligent laborer," he asserted, "has, therefore, no feeling of hostility toward combination of capital engaged in lawful business methods." It is greatly to the interest of the workingman, from Mr. Taft's point of view, that corporate capital should be fairly treated. He summarized his argument on this point in the following paragraph:

The conclusion I seek to reach is that the workingman who entertains a prejudice against the lawful capitalist because he is wealthy, who votes with unction for the men who are urging unjust and unfair legislation against him, and who makes demagogic appeals to acquire popular support in what they are doing is standing in his own light, is blind to his own interests, and is cutting off the limb on which he sits. It is to the direct interest of the workingman to use careful discrimination in approving or disapproving proposed legislation of this kind and to base his conclusion and vote on the issue whether the provision is fair or just, and not on the assumption that any legislation that subjects a corporation to a burden must necessarily be in the interest of the workingman. What I am anxious to emphasize is that there is a wide economic and business field in which the interests of the wealthiest capitalist and the humblest laborer are exactly the same.

Mr. Taft expresses friendliness for labor unions. "The effect of the organization of labor, on the whole," to quote his own words, "has been beneficial in securing better terms for employment for the whole laboring community." He does not believe in strikes, although he will not assert that they are illegal, and he denounces the boycott as "a cruel instrument." He favors arbitration whenever practicable, but admits that compulsory arbitration does not seem to be a perfect solution of the problem. He prefers "the remedy by injunction," characterizing the writ of

injunction as "one of the most beneficial remedies known to law." He would not, however, have *ex parte* injunctions issued, proposing an amendment to the law so as to provide that no temporary restraining order in this class of cases shall issue until after notice and a hearing; and he advises labor unions, if dissatisfied with the tenor of an injunction, to take the case up to the court of last resort.

Such, in brief, is Mr. Taft's position on issues which will be foremost in the next campaign. Whether he can be elected if nominated, is a question which need not be discussed here, although the politicians in the national capital are already speculating as to the danger of a large defection in the labor and negro vote. There will be time enough to consider Mr. Taft's chances of election when his nomination shall have been assured.

There has been little or no change in the Democratic situation during the past three months. If any organized opposition to Mr. Bryan's nomination is in progress, no activity in that direction is apparent upon the surface. Mr. Bryan remains firm in his previously expressed determination to abide by the will of the convention—in other words, to undertake the campaign if his candidacy is desired, or, on the other hand, to work with equal vigor in the ranks if the honor shall be bestowed elsewhere. His nomination is, however, so generally conceded, that there is little consideration of any other outcome.

**Mr. Bryan
and his
Chances**

Two events have created a ripple on the otherwise placid surface of a foregone conclusion. The first was the election of ex-Governor Bradley, of Kentucky, as a Republican United States Senator by the combination of four Democratic votes with the Republican strength of the legislature; the other was the action of the Democratic State Committee of Minnesota in endorsing Governor Johnson for the Presidency despite the opposition of Mr. Bryan's friends. The Kentucky incident was emphasized by Mr. Bryan's enemies because Mr. Bryan had expressed a personal interest in the success of Governor Beckham, the Democratic candidate for the senatorship, the assertion being made that Governor Bradley could not have been elected unless the Democratic defection was based upon a desire to rebuke the Nebraska leader. This would seem to be a far-fetched conclusion, inasmuch as all the Democrats remained loyal to their party except four. There is much more food for thought in the fact that in 1896, when Mr. Bryan was first a candidate, Kentucky went Republican; that in 1900 the generous Democratic plurality of former years was reduced to less than 8,000, and that Judge Parker car-

ried the State by a larger plurality than Bryan had been able to secure. The fact is, however, that whether Mr. Bryan or any other Democrat be the candidate, the so-called border States, which were formerly reliably Democratic, must now be placed in the doubtful column. Maryland, for instance, seems to have gone permanently into the Republican ranks, while in Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, the record of the ballots shows that Republican strength has materially increased during the past few years. A contributor to a recent issue of *Harper's Weekly* discussed in detail the political situation in the South and pointed out that the Republican party was finally securing in that section a decent and effective organization. This change has been due largely to the elimination of the negro vote by State constitutional amendments, and while the possibility is remote that the lower tier of the Southern States will give their electoral votes to a Republican Presidential candidate, the fact remains that the political conditions in the South are undergoing a change for which Mr. Bryan cannot be held responsible. In so far, therefore, as it relates to the national situation, an undue prominence has been given to the Kentucky episode.

With regard to the developments in Minnesota it is claimed by Mr. Bryan's friends that an exhibition of devotion to Governor Johnson was naturally to be expected on the part of the Minnesota Democrats. While this is true, it is also certain that if Governor Johnson could have had the advantage of a shrewd and well-equipped political manager, if a thorough campaign in his behalf could have been inaugurated months ago, he would have been ere this a formidable factor in the Democratic contest. As it is, he is not without considerable following, although it seems very doubtful whether at this late day his scattered support can be effectively organized. Nearly a year ago the availability of Governor Johnson as a Presidential candidate was pointed out in THE FORUM and some space was then devoted to a consideration of his life and his opinions. If the general esteem with which he is regarded could have been crystallized, there might to-day have been two Richmonds in the field; and even now, when the Bryan momentum seems to be irresistible, there are many Democrats who believe that it can be checked by some one of the record and attainments which Governor Johnson possesses.

The platform adopted by the Nebraska Democratic State Convention, which is reported to have been very largely Mr. Bryan's own work, may be accepted as his expression of the Democratic campaign issues, while the declaration of the Ohio Republican State Convention is to be regarded with equal emphasis as the concrete position of the administration. The

curious fact is that both enunciations contain much in common. The Ohio Republicans, for instance, favor "the prosecution of illegal trusts and of monopolies and of evildoers, both in the public service and in the commercial world, together with the enforcement of all wholesome measures which have made safer the guarantee of life, liberty, and property."

**Party
Platforms**

The Nebraska Democrats favor "the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against trusts and trust magnates, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for private monopoly to exist in the United States." Upon the suppression of illegal monopolistic combinations, the development of inland waterways, the completion of the Panama Canal, the enactment of a constitutional employer's liability act and a modification of the law relating to the issuance of injunctions, both declarations practically agree.

There is also no dispute as to the wisdom and necessity of revising the tariff, although the distinction between the manner of such revision is most emphatic, the Republicans desiring to maintain "the true principle of protection," and the Democrats asserting that the tariff shall be levied for revenue only. On the part of the Democrats, however, any promise to revise the tariff is mere *brutum fulmen*. It is a pledge which cannot be redeemed. We might as well expect the heavens to fall as to believe that a Republican Senate would ever agree to a tariff-for-revenue-only, and, as has been shown previously in THE FORUM, the Republican supremacy in the Senate is certain to remain undisturbed during the next four years. The tariff, therefore, can hardly be an issue in the campaign, unless those who seek to avert a revision should labor for Democratic success, and inasmuch as this vital issue is removed and there is no real difference on any other essential point, it seems probable that the next campaign will be a contest between men rather than issues.

Mr. Bryan's platform does not include any reference to government ownership of railroads or the initiative and referendum, which are the two subjects wherein he may be said to lack the solid support of his party, but it does incorporate nearly everything else which might be regarded as appealing to the Democratic heart. The use of federal authority as an addition to and not as a substitute for State authority, the election of United States Senators by the people, the absolute security of depositors in national banks, the assurance of independence to the Filipinos when a stable government has been established, a trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt of court—on all these points there is substantial Democratic agreement. The Nebraska platform, in fact,

skilfully avoids topics which would tend to create factional differences in the party and serves as an admirable model for the declaration of the national convention.

Referring again to the tariff, it is worth while to note that if the Republicans are successful in the next campaign they will revise the tariff in the good old way and not entrust the Congressional prerogative of schedule manipulation to a tariff commission. The latter idea is advocated by Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, who has introduced a bill embodying his ideas and has also expressed his views upon the subject at some length. He believes that a body of experts should be appointed to find out all facts in relation to the tariff and should make a classification of articles to which Congress can plainly and accurately fix customs duties. He emphasizes the absurdity of rating nails with electric dynamos, of compelling automobiles and bull's-eye lanterns to pay like duty, and of similar incongruous classifications. "Compared with the scientific, clear, accurate classification of the German schedule, for instance," he says, "our classifications are confused, uncertain, chaotic. The German classification reduces confusion to a minimum; our classification raises confusion and doubt to the maximum."

**Tariff
Revision**

Congress has indulged in a session of masterly inactivity. President Roosevelt has thundered in vain at its doors with messages of serious import, presenting vital questions which ought, in his opinion, to demand legislative attention. The programme is to confine the work of the session to the passage of the appropriation bills, and this programme is being religiously observed. Even Senator Aldrich's financial bill, which proposes to cure occasional financial stringencies by providing an elastic currency, is still dragging its slow length through the Senate and if it is finally enacted into law will apparently stand as a lone monument of accomplishment. Whether President Roosevelt will stir the lethargic legislators into action or whether he will rest contented with having embodied his views in vigorous messages, remains to be seen.

In the consideration of the appropriation bills much stress has been laid upon the necessity for economy and the committees charged with the preparation of the various budgets have been burdened with the necessity of reducing the expenditures to the lowest amount. These instructions as certainly indicate the approach of a Presidential campaign as the

**The Usual
Plea for
Economy**

blossoming of an orchard testifies to the approach of spring. Once in every four years the party which happens to be in power—and both are alike in this respect—is seized with a spasm of retrenchment and the appropriation bills are scaled down to the lowest possible limit, while public building bills and river and harbor improvements are not even mentioned in a whisper. The pages of the *Congressional Record* are heavy with elaborate pleas for economy, while expenditures which in other years would not excite a moment's attention are held up in the glaring light of criticism. It is a quadrennial performance of amusing interest.

It is difficult to determine whether this ante-election economy really has any effect upon the country, because there is no record of the influences which make the deepest impress upon the voters' minds. It seems, however, as if the legislators in Washington greatly overestimated the vote-getting quality of their spasmodic pruning of the funds provided for federal maintenance. Unwise and flagrant extravagance would, of course, be condemned; but the writer cannot recall that any proper expenditure was ever criticised, and the people have generally been content with their representatives in Congress. It will be recalled that when the Democrats endeavored to make political capital out of the Billion Dollar Congress the effort did not meet with hearty response. On the contrary, the people seemed to think that if a billion dollars was necessary, a billion dollars should be appropriated. For years and years the Senators and Representatives declined to increase their salaries for fear of arousing a storm of criticism and protest. When they finally screwed their courage to the sticking point and enacted the necessary legislation, there was but little comment and nearly every expression was commendatory. In short, the people do not want deficits created and they will not approve foolish expenditure, but beyond this it is doubtful whether the quadrennial spasm of economy affects an average of one vote in every township in the country.

Allusion has already been made to the reported antagonism of the negroes to Secretary Taft. There is some foundation for the fear of a defection. When the bishops of the African Methodist Church convened recently in Washington, they adopted a strong anti-Roosevelt and anti-Taft resolution, as follows:

**Discontent
Among the
Negroes**

We, the colored ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal churches of the United States, in conference assembled in the city of Washington, do hereby raise

our voices in stern and solemn warning to the coming Republican National Convention not to put in nomination for the Presidency either President Roosevelt or Secretary Taft on pain of having arrayed against either of those gentlemen at the polls next November the almost solid colored vote of the North.

In addition to this resolution the bishops in the convention indulged in interviews which expressed bitter hostility to the President and Secretary Taft, some of them asserting that leagues of negroes would be formed in the Northern States to defeat Mr. Taft if he should be nominated. Their grievance is mainly the Brownsville incident. They characterize the dismissal of the negro soldiers, "without honor or trial of any kind and merely on a suspicion of their guilt," as a grave injustice and assert their determination to show their resentment at the polls. It seems absurd to believe that the negroes will do otherwise than vote for the Republican ticket and for this reason the Republican anxiety does not appeal to the practical mind. At the same time, there is no doubt that a genuine fear prevails in high Republican councils and the complimentary negro plank in the Ohio platform was inserted with a definite purpose. One instance quoted in support of the necessity of appeasing the negroes is the recent election in New Jersey, where, according to reports received in Washington, the negro voters were kept in line only after the most strenuous appeals and the fact that the Republican candidate for governor had manifested his friendliness to them in unmistakable fashion. In Ohio, too, the negro vote is a factor not to be disregarded. As a matter of interest, the negro population in the Northern States where it is large enough to exercise a political influence is presented in round numbers as follows:

Connecticut,	15,000	New Jersey,	69,000
Illinois,	85,000	New York,	99,000
Indiana,	57,000	Ohio,	96,000
Kansas,	52,000	Pennsylvania,	156,000
Missouri,	161,000	West Virginia,	43,000

It may be added that Secretary Taft's reference to the negro race in his speech at Greensboro, North Carolina, is another thorn in the side of the colored brethren. They may, before election, recover from their indignant state of mind, but certainly at the present time their attitude causes some concern.

Asserting that the word "Democracy" defines no doctrine and that the word "Republican" expresses no principle, Mr. William Randolph

Hearst has definitely divorced himself from his former political affiliation and announces that his Independence League will hold a national convention. The new organization represents all the radical ideas to be found either in the Democratic or Republican articles of political faith and adds public ownership of public utilities as an additional attraction. In some quarters there is an evident disposition to regard the formation of the League as a menacing factor in the approaching Presidential election. An analysis of the situation, however, fails to afford ground for this belief. Certainly if Mr. Bryan is nominated, not one of his followers will support any candidate named by the Independence League, while the defection from the ranks of the Republicans would hardly be appreciable, no matter who might be the Republican candidate. Mr. Hearst undoubtedly expects to rally to his standard all the Socialists and, perhaps, all the Populists in the country, although the Populists have not of late years maintained anything like an effective organization and would not be likely to name a candidate if Mr. Bryan be chosen at Denver. The Socialist vote has, it is true, somewhat increased in the last ten years, but is still far below a figure which makes it worthy of consideration. From present indications the League will be a mere side-show, its performers possibly interesting and amusing the public, which, nevertheless, will find its way under the canvas of the tents of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The wave of reform still sweeps over the country. The warfare against race-track gambling in New York is being duplicated at the national capital and President Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan are alike lifting their voices against gambling in stocks. The prohibition movement continues with unchecked energy and developed unexpected strength in the recent elections in Massachusetts and Vermont. Congress is being deluged with petitions in favor of prohibition and a better observance of Sunday in the District of Columbia. The awakened conscience of the American people is still tender and every effort to achieve public righteousness by legislation meets with applause. It may not be long before party platforms will be gauged by their moral declarations rather than by their reference to national or political affairs.

Henry Litchfield West.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WAS FRANCO MADMAN OR UNSUCCESSFUL GENIUS?

BY A. MAURICE LOW

IN closing the quarter's *résumé* of the world of international politics in the last number of this Review, it was suggested that King Carlos of Portugal was in danger of losing his crown and that before long the world might witness the birth of another republic. It was little dreamed that in a few short weeks the King and his son would fall beneath the hand of assassins, for assassination is such a terribly crude weapon to employ in a day of advanced civilization. One can understand a revolution that brings about an entire change in the system of government—that shows sense and courage—but the assassination of the head of the state means nothing. A king dies, but the state lives, and there is always an heir to the throne. Carlos was killed and with him went his son, the Crown Prince; and Manuel, a youth, comes to the throne. In what way have the regicides profited?

The difference between a heaven-born genius and a madman is success or failure. A man may do anything he pleases, and if he succeeds he is hailed as a genius, for he was wise enough to see success where little minds could only fear failure; but let him fail in his undertaking and he is a madman. At the door of Franco, the ex-premier and the ex-dictator, are laid the deaths of the King and his son; and mad they pronounce the man who trampled upon the constitution and attempted to govern without the aid of Parliament. Mad no more than a genius, but nevertheless a man of parts, a man of courage up to the time when physical violence was not to be seriously feared, and then his nerve broke and he sought safety in flight. Franco sneaking out of his palace and fleeing through the dark to find asylum in Paris is not a heroic figure; it would have been better had he remained even to meet the fate of his royal master, for a bullet has canonized more than one sinner.

Was the late King simply a very stupid and indolent man, who was too lazy to trouble himself about the real state of public opinion in his kingdom, or was he under the hypnotic spell of his prime minister? It is not easy to find an adequate answer. There is good reason to believe in the authenticity of the statement made public since the assassination that some time ago the King of England warned King Carlos of the dangers he was facing by ignoring the safeguards of the constitu-

tion, and he was urged in a friendly way to convoke the Cortes. To this excellent advice he paid no attention; probably he was incapable of appreciating its importance; and he permitted Franco to govern while he, the King, was content to reign. That is an excellent arrangement when it meets with the approval of the people, but fraught with dangerous possibilities when they are in rebellious mood.

Franco has been accused of exercising hypnotic power over his sovereign. It was probably the same hypnotism that a dominant master mind always has over a weaker; it was the force of personality. Had the King been a less easily influenced man he would have curbed the authority of his minister and brought about a return to a more normal state of affairs, but he was content to let things drift under the guidance of the dictator. Franco, some of the European newspapers have pointed out since his downfall, was attempting the impossible task of trying to serve two masters. He was a monarchist, and as such did everything to increase the power of the King; he was a revolutionist when he adopted revolutionary methods. But he was not logical; he turned Parliament out of doors even as Cromwell did, but Cromwell brought a Stuart to the block and made himself Protector, while Franco simply made a Braganza a target for the assassin and fled for his life. A sorry figure Cromwell would cut in history if, after having given his celebrated command, pointing to the mace, to "take away that bauble," he had slunk off to Paris. But perhaps the real explanation of the short-lived dictator is that constitutionality means as little to him as it does to the Czar, and that he really believed he was doing his country a service by governing it out of hand. He undoubtedly brought about reforms, but some reforms, even those vitally necessary, can be purchased at too high a price.

In the days when "painless dentistry" was first beginning to make itself known there is a story told of a quack who advertised to extract teeth without pain. When a patient was unlucky enough to fall into his hands he gave a mighty wrench and pulled out a tooth, to the accompaniment of the howls of his victim. "Ah," said the quack coolly, "that's the way that wretched bungler Brown up the street would pull a tooth." Then he adjusted his forceps, gave another wrench, again his victim howled and the quack remarked with indifference, "That's the way that old foggy Jones works." And having driven the helpless sufferer almost into unconsciousness by the extraction of half a dozen sound teeth, he finally extracted the right one, triumphantly remarking, "You see, you felt no pain; that's the way I work." There is a moral for reformers in this little story. An infallible remedy for curing an aching

tooth is to cut off the patient's head, but most people prefer the agony of toothache to decapitation.

It is only the dramatic taking off of Carlos and his son that makes the Lisbon tragedy of international importance. Had the King and the Crown Prince died from typhoid fever or from any of the ordinary ills that are the common lot of mankind, their deaths would have attracted scant attention, for Portugal no longer plays any part in the great affairs of politics or statecraft. Manuel may manage to retain his hold on a tottering throne, or the throne may be overturned and on its ruins rise a republic, and the world will go its way unconcerned. There is no European monarch so rash as to attempt to thwart the will of the people. There is no country that has any selfish interest in the future of Portugal. King or President, it makes little difference to Europe, for Portugal is merely the memory of a people who once exercised an influence on the world's destinies.

British Ministers for Foreign Affairs are notoriously careful in their official utterances, and Sir Edward Grey, who is the present head of the British Foreign Office, has never been accused of being an alarmist or indulging in a jingo policy. When therefore Sir Edward Grey, speaking in his representative capacity as his country's foreign minister, tells the House of Commons that a certain situation is very grave, it is warning enough to thinking men to be prepared in the near future for an even more serious announcement. That the long looked-for and dreaded war in the Near East is imminent is the belief of many European statesmen.

In the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, King Edward called attention to the condition of Macedonia and the delay of the Sultan in putting in effect those reforms that the great European Powers declared to be necessary. It was supposed that the Powers were working in harmony and there was no discord in the Concert of Europe, although it was known that the German Emperor was reluctant to put pressure upon the Sultan. The Emperor has cultivated close and friendly relations with the Sultan, which have been for the advantage of German trade. In the opinion of the Kaiser the monopoly by Germany of the trade of the Levant is worth a good deal more than Macedonian reforms. And from the standpoint of the bookkeeper's balance sheet he is undoubtedly correct.

It has become a cardinal principle of European diplomacy that the only way by which the Sultan can be brought to submission is by

joint action on the part of the Powers. The converse of this Abdul Hamid, one of the most astute politicians in Europe, recognized long before his opponents. He was able to defy the world because he played one Power against the other and worked on their jealousies and suspicions. His strength was the weakness that came from common distrust. So long as there was no unity of purpose he had little to fear, but the moment they stood united it behooved the Sultan to walk with great circumspection.

For a long time Austria has been endeavoring to connect her railroad system through the Turkish district of Novibazar to Salonika on the Ægean Sea, which would be of enormous advantage to her, both commercially and strategically. It was the opportunity the Sultan wanted to destroy the Concert of Europe, the very thing for which the Concert of Europe was created by Bismarck after the Congress of Berlin revised the Treaty of San Stefano, when it seemed as if the dream of Russian ambition was to be gratified and Constantinople was to fall into the hands of Russia. The prize for which Russia had so long intrigued and warred was almost in her grasp, her troops were in sight of the minarets of Constantinople, her guns commanded the city, when Great Britain called a halt. Turkey was spent and worsted in the fray, Russia was bleeding from every pore as the result of that desperate struggle when Lord Beaconsfield executed his dramatic *coup*. A British fleet was ready to pass through the Bosphorus, and native troops were brought from India to fight for Islam against the white man. Russia saw and paused. Better to hold to what she had already gained and win a victory at the council table than to risk the loss of everything.

The Treaty of Berlin, to which all the great Powers of Europe were signatories, was signed at Berlin on July 13, 1878. The twenty-fifth article provided that

**The Treaty of
Berlin—and
After**

The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The Government of Austria-Hungary not desiring to undertake the administration of the Sandjak of Novibazar, which extends between Serbia and Montenegro in a southeasterly direction to the other side of Mitrovitz, the Ottoman Administration will continue to exercise its functions there. Nevertheless, in order to assure the maintenance of the new political state of affairs, as well as freedom and security of communications, Austria-Hungary reserves the right of keeping garrisons and having military and commercial roads in the whole of this part of the ancient vilayet of Bosnia. To this end the governments of Austria-Hungary and Turkey reserve to themselves to come to an understanding on the details.

To make effective the agreement "to come to an understanding on the details" a supplementary treaty was executed between Austria and Turkey by which the former Power garrisoned the district of Novibazar, but at the same time pledged herself not to interfere in any way with the civil administration of the district, and the authority of the Sultan was to remain supreme. No other Power than Turkey would have submitted to such an arrangement, and nowhere else in the world could it have been effected except in the Balkans, but Turkey was helpless and she was forced to submit.

Why did Austria attach so much importance to the occupation of this little strip of territory, that drives a wedge between two Slav states of Servia and Montenegro? The Austrian explanation was very simple. It was important, from the Austrian standpoint, that communication should be kept open between Austria and Turkey; otherwise Turkey would find herself ringed round with semi-nominally independent states completely under the control of Russia. It will be remembered that the myth of Russia's military prowess was then implicitly believed in. The terms of the political testament of Peter the Great no European statesman was allowed to forget. The destiny of Russia was Constantinople, and Russia played the rôle of the protector of the Christians of the Balkans against the oppression of the Father of the Faithful. The greater the pressure that Russia could put on the Porte through the medium of the Balkan states, the sooner the crescent would be replaced by the cross. But the crescent still waves defiance and the cross of St. George still remains unfurled.

Austria's enemies saw another reason for her desire to be placed in occupation of this territory. William Miller, an Englishman, who has travelled much in the Balkans and is an authority on that little known part of the world, thinks it is important for the peace of Europe that certain safeguards be erected to prevent Russian control of Turkey, and to prevent that, he writes, "the ultimate—I do not say immediate—and from the material standpoint the best, solution is that Austria-Hungary should 'run down to Salonika' and occupy Macedonia, as she has already occupied Bosnia and the Herzegovina, to the general advantage of mankind. If ever the line be completed, the Austrians will be masters of the situation. . . . Salonika will become the greatest port in the Near East, and the quickest route to India will be through the Valley of the Vardar. Macedonia will then become what Bosnia now is, and the thorniest of thorny questions will be solved by Bismarck's old prescription—that of converting Austria into a real *Oesterreich*, or Eastern Empire."

What this observant writer and traveller saw some years ago Austrian statesmen were also wise enough to see. Let Austria occupy Salonika and her importance is not only enormously increased but the calculations of some of the other Powers are greatly disturbed. And there is Macedonia, which has been a thorn in the side of Europe for many years, and which Austria would be only too glad to extract, and like the skilful physician find profit in the operation. It is easy enough to see why Russia should object to what would be of such advantage to Austria, and it is equally easy to comprehend that the Sultan saw once more a new lease of life. For the Powers were getting very close together and were ready at last to take some decisive steps to bring about a better state of affairs in Macedonia. And all that Abdul Hamid needed was to set them by the ears, and in their jealousy of each other it would not be difficult for him to obtain a reprieve.

Russia immediately asserted that Austria had violated the Russo-Austrian agreement that neither Power should attempt to extend its influence in the Balkans without the knowledge of the other, and Russia, further assuming the rôle of the protector of the Christians of Macedonia, reproached Austria for concluding a separate treaty with the Porte and by acting independently of the other Powers making these reforms more difficult of realization. Somewhat significantly the semi-official *Rossia* says: "It needs no particular diplomatic experience to understand how much the isolated claim of one Power for separate privileges has increased the obstinacy of Turkey, which always reckons on the disturbance of the unity of the Powers. This clearly proves the existence of a connection between the railway policy of Austria-Hungary and this reform question."

When it was learned that Austria had secured this valuable concession from the Sultan, public sentiment in Russia demanded that equivalent concessions must be granted by Turkey to Russia. "The Austrian press," the *Rossia* says, "seeks to attribute the excitement among the Russian public to envy at Austria-Hungary's politico-economic success, but this is absolutely false. Russia looks for no successes or personal advantages. With full consciousness of her historic and national mission Russia desires only a due and gradual development of the Balkan states, which owe their political existence to the efforts and sacrifices of the Russian nation during centuries. Russia sincerely wishes to live in peace with her Turkish neighbor, with whom she has maintained the most friendly relations for over thirty years.

**The
Macedonian
Thorn**

**Russia the
Friend of the
Oppressed**

In the task of carrying out the reforms for the welfare of the Christians in Macedonia, Russia has no idea of attacking the integrity or the independence of Turkey. On the contrary she seeks only a means of averting possible complications which would be dangerous for the whole of Europe. In this direction Russia has acted in the most loyal manner in common with Austria-Hungary, and is still prepared to follow this path with her as well as with all other Powers when their efforts are directed toward the same end. The near future will show to what extent each of the Powers forming the Concert of Europe is animated by such aims and the practical direction of the Macedonian policy of Russia in the future will also become manifest."

So intricate are European politics that it is never safe to rely from week to week on the effectiveness of informal alliances, as self-interest is the controlling motive. For years it has been the duty of the British ambassador at Constantinople to thwart the intrigues of the Russian ambassador, and *vice versa*, and the Austrian and British governments have generally worked in accord, but now England is opposing the Austrian scheme and is giving Russia her support. Since the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement respecting Persia those Powers have reached a working basis. One reason why England is now opposing Austria and supporting Russia is to be found in the belief that Germany is unwilling to bring pressure to bear upon the Sultan to compel him to make those reforms in Macedonia to which the Concert of Europe pledged itself. For some years the German Emperor has been the one European sovereign who has maintained friendly relations with the Sultan, which has enabled Germany to increase her trade in the Near East at the expense of other nations. It is not the policy of the Emperor to throw away any trade advantages. On the broad ground of humanity Germany should be acting in concert with the other Powers to ameliorate the lot of the Christians in Macedonia, but as a matter of business it is wiser for Germany to remain the friend of the Sultan while the other Powers make his life miserable. And those persons who see in the policy of Germany the methods of Machiavelli are not surprised that Germany should encourage friction between Russia and Austria. War is lightly written about in newspapers and more seriously discussed by responsible ministers, and while war is not probable it is not impossible. The Kaiser like the Sultan has nothing to lose by a war between two great European Powers. If the war should result in the defeat of Russia she would less than ever be a menace to

**Germany the
Friend of the
Sultan**

Germany and still less be seriously relied upon by France to come to her assistance in case Germany should make an aggressive move; if Austria should be brought to her knees it would be easier for Germany to acquire Germanic Austria at the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph (which Europe believes is Germany's purpose) and victorious Russia would be staggering under a fresh load of debt. Decidedly a great war would do no injury to a benevolent neutral. Meanwhile Austria's railroad hunger may cause a general scramble among the Powers for similar concessions, which the Sultan would view with ironic humor. When the Christians fall to fighting over the spoils, Islam can sleep in peace.

In addition to watching Austria, Russia is keeping an eye on Turkey. Recently Turkish troops crossed the Persian frontier and in the manner of Turkish troops from time immemorial committed depredations. Under the Anglo-Russian agreement the invasion was within the Russian sphere of influence, and on the refusal of the Sultan to withdraw his troops Russia at once began the concentration of a strong force so as to be prepared for eventualities. The Douma was appealed to for a credit for the maintenance of an army of 60,000 men, which was immediately granted. The Turkish reserves, it is reported, have been called to the colors, but matters have not yet gone beyond the diplomatic stage. It is safe to assume that the Sultan will not fight Russia single-handed. Things are really in too good shape for him at the present time to disturb them by fighting.

That it is the desire of the British cabinet to improve the relations with Russia was frankly admitted by Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, in a notable speech made in the House of Commons a few weeks ago. Both in the Commons and in the Lords the Anglo-Russian agreement respecting Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet had been attacked by the Conservatives, the usual cry of the opposition being raised that England had made a bad bargain. With great lucidity Sir Edward pointed out the advantages that were gained by coming to an understanding with Russia, and he closed his speech with these significant words:

The chance of Persia working out her own problems in her own way without interference by constitutional means and establishing a stronger, purer, and less corrupt administration has been greatly improved by this agreement between

Russia and ourselves. Again, if we had not come to an agreement what would have been the effect on Anglo-Russian relations? Certainly in Persia it would have led to increased friction, and in the long run probably to conflict between the two countries. It would have been impossible to maintain an equilibrium of relations which must have got either better or worse. Under the agreement there is every prospect of their getting better. Without the agreement I believe they must have got worse. There are turning points in the relations between nations, and if we pass one of those points it may be a long time before we reach another. We cannot command opportunities, and if we neglect or reject them we may not have them again. I believe that I saw an opportunity of improving the relations between the two countries, and if in time to come any one who has been in my place had made the admission that when in office he had seen an opportunity of turning distrust and suspicion into feelings of friendliness and confidence and had not taken advantage of that opportunity he would have been deserving of the severest condemnation. Lord Lansdowne initiated the policy of making other nations whose interests touch ours believe that our friendship was possible and that it was worth having. We have done our best to make other nations realize not only that our friendship is possible and worth having, but that it can be depended on, and I can say with a good conscience that if our predecessors were to return to office to-morrow they would find the friendly relations which they established with other Powers not impaired but strengthened by our handiwork, and that while the position of this country has been strengthened by the convention it has materially improved the prospects of peace.

In 1855, after the Crimean War had settled certain things in regard to Russia, Great Britain and France entered into a treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Sweden and Norway, then a united kingdom. Last year a treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Norway was signed by Russia, Germany, France and Great Britain. These Powers offered to enter into a similar treaty regarding Sweden, but she declined the offer. Recently France and Great Britain have been somewhat disturbed by rumors of negotiations between Russia, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, the so-called Baltic Powers, looking to a declaration that the Baltic is a closed sea and under their control and to be treated by them as they may see fit in time of peace and war. The effect of this declaration, if acquiesced in by the other maritime Powers, would make the Baltic a Russo-German lake, the navigation of which was subject to their will. Naturally neither England nor France could subscribe to this doctrine. The attempt to treat the Baltic as a *mare clausum* would be to the advantage of Russia and Germany, but hardly to that of Sweden and Denmark, who would be at the mercy of their more powerful neighbors. But recent official statements have shown that following the precedent of England and Spain in the exchange last year of declarations for the preservation of the territorial *status quo* in the

The
Baltic
Question

Mediterranean and in that part of the Atlantic Ocean which washes the shores of Europe and Asia, there has been an interchange of notes between Sweden and Germany and Sweden and Russia for the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*. Whatever agreement is reached between the Powers in question will not affect the rights of other nations to the free navigation of the Baltic when the world is at peace; in time of war the rights will be on the side of the nation which possesses the largest navy.

Diplomatic denials to the contrary, what Russia is aiming at is the control of the Baltic with an understanding with Germany. Russia is anxious to be permitted to fortify the Aland Islands, which form an archipelago lying at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia and could be made a most important Russian naval base. Russia, by the Treaty of Paris, was prohibited from fortifying the islands, but if she were now permitted to do so she could with a comparatively weak squadron become complete master of the Northern Baltic. Obviously Sweden has no desire to see a nation so powerful as Russia brought almost within hand-reach of her coast. The Aland Islands are only six hours' steaming from the Swedish capital, and to guard against the constant menace of a possible hostile neighbor Sweden would have to make heavy expenditures for fortifications.*

In everything that affects the peace of Europe and the balance of power the hand of Germany is now seen, and it is common belief that it was Germany who made the suggestion to Russia that she try to obtain the right to fortify the Aland Islands. At the present time Russia has no fleet worthy of the name in the Baltic, but recently plans for the rehabilitation of the Russian navy were prepared, and it was stated that Russia proposed to begin the construction of a modern navy, a considerable portion of which was to be stationed in the Baltic. Now if Germany and Russia have reached an agreement in regard to the Baltic it is easy enough to understand that the Russian naval programme will be arranged so as to make the new vessels useful to Germany in case of emergency. That is to say, Russia and Germany will act in conjunction in the Baltic, with the ultimate possibility that Russia may in certain circumstances be left to guard the Baltic for Germany, while Germany's fleet is free to act in other waters. In other words, in the event of Germany going to war with England it would relieve Germany of a good deal of anxiety if she knew Russia was the sentinel of the Baltic, and the fortification of the Aland Islands by Russia would be greatly to Germany's interest.

Just as Germany is anxious to rupture the Concert of Europe in its

relations to the Near East she is anxious to prevent a *rapprochement* between Russia and England. Idealists might find in that cause for condemnation of Germany on the ground that whoever causes friction between nations is an enemy to humanity. Theoretically that is true, but the interests of nations are selfish and they must do that which appears for their own interests. It was in the interest of England to isolate Germany and to endeavor to bring about better relations with Russia; now it would undoubtedly be in the interest of Germany to detach Russia from England. And the future will determine whether the people or the court rule in Russia. The people, the intellectual Liberals especially, are in favor of friendship with England because it offers promise of liberal and constitutional methods of government, while the pro-German party among the autocracy has always been more inclined toward Germany than England and believes that Russia's interests can be better served by making Germany a friend rather than an enemy. Russia is really at the parting of the ways in her foreign policy, for the Japanese war had far-reaching effects on her external relations. Russia is so situated that she cannot stand alone and must have allies. If she throws in her lot with Germany her future policy will be very different from what it will be if she reaches a complete understanding with England. The course that Russia pursues in regard to her new navy may serve to indicate her future foreign policy.

A few months ago it looked as if the nations were all engaged in beating the sword into the ploughshare and outrivalling each other in the laudable attempt to raise the largest brood of peace doves, and now it looks as if the nations were rapidly converting the ploughshare back into the sword. The dove of peace has hastily withdrawn from the Balkans; Russia is threatening Turkey; Japan is conducting diplomacy with China with the mailed fist; France is still meeting resistance in Morocco. The Hague Conference is an ironic background, and the Nobel peace prize, which owes its existence to the fortune made by its founder from explosives used for military purposes, is a grim reminder of the tenuous thread that holds war in check.

The relations between China and Japan are strained. Since Japan defeated Russia and all Asia felt the thrill of race pride, China has shown a disposition to assert herself and not tamely to submit to being bullied by any nation that felt she could be cuffed without danger of resistance. China now is no more willing to be bullied by Japan,

Asiatic though she is, than by the European Powers; and although it is common belief that there is a race affinity between the Chinese and the Japanese, as a matter of fact the Japanese have much the same dislike for the Chinese that the Caucasian has for the Asiatic, and in the eyes of the Japanese the Chinese are an inferior race. There are restrictive laws against the Chinese in Japan, because the Japanese fear Chinese competition. It is possible for a Chinaman to support himself on much less than a Japanese; the Japanese bring the same charge against the Chinaman that the American does, that he dislocates the labor market by his willingness to work inordinately long hours for a wage on which his industrial competitor would starve but on which he grows fat and can save.

There are several questions in dispute between the Chinese and Japanese governments, although none of them seems serious enough to be incapable of adjustment through the ordinary machinery of diplomacy. China proposes to parallel the existing South Manchurian railway from Sin-ming-ting to Fa-ku-men, but the Japanese Government promptly vetoed the scheme as being in violation of the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth and destroying the railroad monopoly now in Japanese hands. What China complains of is that the war has meant for her simply a change of masters, that whereas in the past Russia exploited Manchuria for her own benefit and regarded it as Russian territory, although the world recognized it as an integral part of the Chinese Empire, Japan is now doing the same thing and has evidently set her foot in Manchuria to stay. By the Treaty of Portsmouth Japan recognized the principle of the open door and bound herself to observe it, but China asserts that the door is gradually being closed, and that advantages are given to the Japanese at the expense of other nations, which is one reason why Japan will permit no competing railroad. Japan denies this, she has reaffirmed her adherence to the open door, and she has most positively declared that no preference is given to her subjects; that no obstacles are thrown in the way of free competition in Manchuria, and that if Japan is increasing her Manchurian trade it is simply because of the energy and enterprise shown by her merchants.

Under the terms of the agreement made between Japan and China in 1905 it was provided that timber in the forests on the right bank of the Yalu should be exploited by the two countries under regulations later to be agreed upon. China asserts that she has been unable to reach an agreement with Japan, but despite this Japan is granting concessions for lumbering, and the rights of China are ignored. There are other minor matters, such, for instance, as the possession of certain small and appar-

ently valueless islands in the Tumen River, which forms the boundary between Korea and Manchuria; and the prohibition of the exportation of cereals to Kwantung Province so long as it remains a leasehold of Japan; but the most serious matter in dispute at the time of writing is the seizure by the Chinese Government of the Japanese steamer *Tatsu Maru* on the ground that she was carrying arms and ammunition to be used by Chinese rebels. The Japanese claim that the vessel's cargo was legitimate and that the seizure was unwarranted, and a demand was made for the surrender of the vessel and the payment of an indemnity. The Chinese Government professed its willingness to surrender the steamer, but refused the payment of an indemnity, and it offered to submit to the decision of the British admiral on the China station or to The Hague. Japan declined arbitration and insisted upon the payment of the indemnity, and a proper apology for the insult to the flag. If the facts are as stated, Japan is unquestionably entitled to due reparation for the affront to her national dignity.

That the tide is running against the dominant party in Great Britain no one not blind to palpable facts could for one moment dispute, and if the recent by-elections are indicative of the sentiment of the country at large, the fight for tariff reform, which is the English expression for a protective tariff, is measurably nearer. At the recent election in Mid Devon, a Liberal stronghold, the Unionist and protective candidate was elected by a handsome majority over his Liberal and free trade opponent. The vote cast was the largest in the history of the constituency and showed a falling off of about nine per cent. of the Liberal vote and an increase of thirty-seven per cent. of the Unionist, as compared with the last general election, when the Liberals carried the constituency. The contest was made on the straightout issue of protection versus free trade. The constituency is largely agrarian. The conclusion to be drawn from the election is that labor looks with less suspicion on protection than it did a couple of years ago, and that the farmers see the virtue of protecting the home market. If these two elements of the electorate can be won over to the support of protection it will not be long before the fabric that Cobden wove into the economic policy of the English people is simply a tattered memory. The Conservatives say they can win the next election on tariff reform, and they expect the trial of strength to take place within three years. Some of the more optimistic cut it down by one-half, but probably a longer time will elapse before Great Britain irrevocably commits herself to the principles of Hamilton. But no one

**The Liberals
Losing
Ground**

can doubt that eventually protection in some form will be engrafted on the British fiscal system.

Following Mid Devon came Worcester, where the Unionist candidate increased the majority of two years ago by 1,100 votes in a total poll of a little over 7,000. Here also the issue turned on free trade and protection, and it was practically the one topic discussed by the rival candidates. Mid Devon is largely a rural constituency, while Worcester is urban, and the appeal was made to the laborer by the Unionist candidate that protection meant an increase of wages and a general betterment of his condition. The workingman in Worcester, like the agricultural laborer in Mid Devon, was influenced by the argument.

There are some victories that are worse than defeat, and the Liberal victory at South Leeds belongs to this class. In 1906 Sir John Lawson Walton, the Solicitor-General, carried the constituency by a majority of 4,074 over the Conservative candidate, who ran third, and 2,200 over the Labor candidate. This year the Liberal candidate scrapes through by a narrow plurality of 359, who distances the Labor candidate by 2,500 votes. These figures show an amazing change in sentiment in the last two years and give every encouragement to the Unionists, who believe the constituency could have been carried had their candidate been more outspoken in favor of tariff reform. The election also indicates that there is serious division in the ranks of the Labor party, and that the programme of the socialist wing is displeasing to the Conservatives.

The latest by-election to be held was at Hastings, which is a Unionist seat, and which the party retains. Here also tariff reform was pushed to the front, the successful candidate in his election address beginning his appeal to the voters by declaring that "I am opposed to the policy of the government, and maintain that the most urgent problem demanding attention is that of fiscal reform."

On January 29th King Edward, for the eighth time since he ascended the throne, opened Parliament, and in the speech which it is customary for the King to read on that occasion, and which is really the ministerial programme of the session, announced that bills would be submitted to provide for old age pensions, to amend the licensing law, to regulate the system of public education (it was this bill that the Lords refused to pass last year), to regulate the hours of labor in coal mines, and to amend the law relating to the protection of children. It is evident that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman appreciates the importance of the alliance with labor and is prepared to go as far as

**Old
Age
Pensions**

he can to satisfy its demands. A party that is able to place on the statute books a scheme that would give to every workingman on reaching a certain age a pension paid out of the national treasury might well expect to hold the grateful affection of labor, and it would undoubtedly prove a greater bribe than any promise of higher wages held out by the opposition through the adoption of protection. It is not necessary in this place to discuss the merits of the legislation or to argue whether it is the duty of the state to provide for those who through no fault of their own are incapacitated from work by the infirmities of age; but to a great many persons, among whom are numbered several Liberal members of Parliament, the scheme smacks of socialism and is paternal legislation pushed to dangerous limits. As to the education bill, it will in all probability meet the fate of its predecessor unless it is materially modified, and the Lords will be quite ready to test the courage of the Liberals to ask vindication at the hands of the people. If the Liberals should be sustained and returned to power by a majority emphatic enough to demonstrate that they were sustained by the country, the House of Lords, under the unwritten constitution of Great Britain, would feel bound to accept the measure sent up to them by the Commons.

It has been commented on as curious that the King's speech contained no reference to the reform of the House of Lords, which the Premier last session declared to be necessary so as not to deprive the people's representatives of the power of government. It was expected that with the opening of the present session would begin a vigorous campaign to end or mend the House of Lords, which would have brought about an extremely interesting contest, but evidently Sir Henry sees the futility of engaging in that kind of fight and prefers to make it one of his campaign issues when he next goes to the country.

The fate of the licensing bill introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be watched with a good deal of interest because it is one of the greatest blows ever struck at "vested interests" in Great Britain, and it is an attempt to suppress intemperance by decreasing the opportunities for intoxication. In substance, what the bill proposes is to reduce the number of public houses by some 30,000, to recover to the state a monopoly "which has been improvidently allowed to slip out of its control," in the words of Mr. Asquith in introducing the bill, and to put into effect local option. The licensing of saloons in England is in the hands of the local justices, who are supposed—as in point of fact they do—to reissue the licenses from year to year in case there has

**To Make
England More
Temperate**

been no flagrant violation of the law by the holder, but who seldom issue a license simply to create competition. The result is that a license is a monopoly, and an exceedingly profitable one, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech said had an estimated value of from £100,000,000 to £150,000,000. Under the bill it is proposed gradually to reduce the number of places in which liquor is sold, the basis being one license to every 750 people in the towns and one license to every 400 people in the country. The value of a license extinguished is to be estimated and the holder is to be compensated, and fourteen years is given as the time in which the reduction is to be made. The community will at the expiration of that term, Mr. Asquith added, "recover complete dominion over licenses and unfettered freedom of dealing with them. In that unfettered freedom I include the power of the locality by a popular vote to deal either by way of prohibition or reduction with the state of things for the future." Mr. Balfour asked whether the bill provided for the establishment of local option, to which Mr. Asquith replied that the bill did, and while it would be impossible to lay down the precise conditions and the machinery to govern fourteen years hence, "the right itself is clearly stated in the bill." The British people, it has been noticed for some time, are drinking less beer than formerly, and this bill if enacted into law will still further operate in the interest of temperance. The brewers, as might naturally be expected, are opposed to it, and as they are both wealthy and influential the Liberals will have to count upon the brewing opposition at the next election.

Mention the Kaiser to the man in the street in London and it is a good deal like flaunting the matador's red cloak before the bull in the arena. The London *Times*, which sees red whenever Germany is concerned, recently fired the patriotic heart by revealing the momentous information that the Kaiser had written a private letter to Lord Tweedmouth, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who corresponds to the Secretary of the Navy in the United States. At the time I write, the text of this letter has not been made public, but the *Times* accused the Kaiser of having endeavored improperly to influence Lord Tweedmouth by attempting to persuade him that the British naval programme, which is nowadays directed with an eye on Germany, was unnecessarily large because Germany was animated by only the most peaceful intentions. The Kaiser was denounced as having written the letter, and Lord Tweedmouth was censured for having regarded it as a

**The Kaiser
Stirs Up
England**

private matter. Now whatever else may be said about the German Emperor he is no fool, nor is he lacking in experience, and only a crass idiot would attempt in such a bungling manner to influence the policy of another nation. Probably it was indiscreet for the Kaiser to have written at all, for letters are always dangerous; but that is the worst that can be said. The Kaiser's letter to Lord Tweedmouth is said to have been prompted by a letter to the press from Lord Esher defending Sir John Fisher, the First Sea Lord, in the course of which Lord Esher wrote, "there is not a man in Germany, from the Emperor downward, who would not welcome the fall of Sir John Fisher." Perhaps it was not unnatural that the Kaiser should have been provoked into committing the indiscretion of defending himself.

An extremely interesting and important speech was made by M. Delcassé, the former French minister of foreign affairs, defending and explaining his policy in regard to Morocco.

M. Delcassé M. Jaures, the socialist leader, frankly admitted that
Lifts the the Moroccan problem was too difficult for France to
Veil solve and that she should retire from the enterprise. It was to combat this suggestion that M. Delcassé spoke, the first time that he has publicly discussed foreign affairs since his retirement in 1905. At the time when Delcassé retired it was said that Germany demanded it; he must either retire or Germany would make war over Morocco. It was never denied that the threat was made, and now comes M. Delcassé publicly to confirm what everybody in touch with European politics has long known. After explaining that Germany suddenly raised objections to France acting as the protector of Morocco in accordance with the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 and that she demanded an international conference, the former foreign minister said that Germany was annoyed at the progress France was making in the goodwill of other Powers and was alarmed to see Europe escaping from her hegemony. "In this liberated Europe there was France, around which were gathering all the peoples having the independence of Europe at heart and desirous of consolidating that independence." M. Delcassé said he was opposed to the German proposal of a conference, but the French believed its rejection meant war. "No, it did not mean war," M. Delcassé said, but as a patriot he retired rather than insist upon a policy which he believed to be right.

He then showed that his policy had always been by pacific means to make France more powerful and more respected. With that peculiar art of the Frenchman to make a few words express everything, M. Del-

cassé described the position of France at the close of the war with Germany and the way in which that nation had diplomatically made her position impregnable. "Thirty-seven years ago a nation lay, mutilated, bled to the white, alone, oh! quite alone. Who could fear her? It is the victor who deems it advisable to surround himself with alliances. He makes an alliance first with one Power, then with a second. Then he contracts a reinsurance with a third, and he gains the sympathies of a fourth. To such effect that Europe finally gravitates around him. Who considered France's position enviable?" Then M. Delcassé described how friendly relations had been established with England, with Spain, with Italy, while the alliance with Russia had been a guarantee of peace. His conclusion was an appeal to France to have confidence in herself.

The speech created a great impression not only in France but throughout Europe. "It has found an echo in French hearts," the London *Morning Post* remarks, "and will contribute to the strengthening of France. It will not embarrass M. Clemenceau." M. Pichon, the minister for foreign affairs, replying to M. Delcassé, made it plain that the foreign policy of France would remain unchanged, that she would continue her work in Morocco and remain loyal to the agreements made with other Powers.

The possibility of trouble in the Balkans causes speculation as to the position of Italy in the event of hostilities. Italy is a member of the Triple Alliance, on paper the ally of Austria, and theoretically devoted to her interests, but the Austro-Italian alliance is like one of those marriages in which the wife is more interested in the fortunes of a man other than her husband. The Austro-Italian alliance was not only a *mariage de convenance*, but it was also a sacrificial marriage, it was a union to prevent war. At the time of the formation of the *Dreibund* Italy was in none too pleasant a position. She was between the vice of Austria and France, and at any moment the mailed jaws might close and squeeze her to death. The creation of the *Dreibund* was at one time supposed to have been Bismarck's invention as an offset to the Franco-Russian alliance, but it is now known that it was Crispi who originated the idea, who feared an attack from France and was always suspicious of Austria, and who therefore secured himself against France and disarmed Austria by entering into partnership with her and Germany.

That was twenty-five years ago, but in the intervening time much has happened to change the European political situation. There are alliances between nations that are as unnatural as unions between individuals, that

Italy
and her
Allies

entered into purely for selfish reasons bring no sense of satisfaction. The fact that the Italians and the French are Latins furnishes a national sympathy, which does not exist between the Italians and the Austrians. Trade in modern times is the great bond between nations, and the commercial line of least resistance from Italy runs in the direction of France rather than toward Austria. France, on her part, appreciates the importance of the Italian market. The old Italian fear of an attack by France has long since been forgotten. Italy no longer fortifies her French frontier or disposes her navy with a view to check French aggression, but, on the other hand, she strengthens her defences which, if they mean anything, are to defend her from attack by a Power who is her ally by treaty.

For many years after the Russo-Turkish War Russia and Austria were regarded as the only European Powers having any great stake in the Balkans, but in the last ten years Italy has displayed a vigorous interest in the affairs of Albania and Macedonia, which is not surprising considering their relationship to the Adriatic. It must be apparent to Austria that when next the Concert of Europe meets in solemn conclave to administer on the Balkan estate she will have to reckon with Italy.

**Should
Germany and
Austria Fight?**

Both Austria and Italy have to consider what their positions would be in case of an Anglo-German war, which Europe believes is always a possibility. "On the day when Great Britain and Germany find themselves in a serious difficulty—if such a day ever arrive—the Triple Alliance, so far as Italy is concerned, will be merely waste paper," an English writer recently remarked. Possibly the wish is father to the thought, but it may have even greater foundation. "The Italian people will never fight for Germany against Great Britain—a fact of which the Germans appear to be well aware. Germany is not an altruistic country; in that she follows the Bismarckian tradition, summed up in the maxim *do ut des*. Prussia's real but selfish service in 1866 weighs nothing against the warm sympathy and disinterested help accorded by Englishmen to Italians during the War of Independence. Moreover, the German Emperor is suspected of coveting Trieste, and the German press at times dictates terms to Italy. If it be true that in the last renewal of the Triple Alliance the clause exempting Italy from her treaty obligations in the event of an Anglo-German war was omitted, then that omission constituted a serious menace to the League of the Three Powers. In other words, the Triple Alliance will last so long as it is not put to the test."

So complicated and curiously involved are European politics that while on the one hand there is a possibility of a breach between Italy and Austria, on the other hand there may be reasons to bring them in a much closer alliance than they are now. Justly or unjustly, Austria fears that with the death of the reigning monarch, which in the ordinary course of nature cannot be much longer postponed, an attempt will be made by Germany to annex the German-speaking portion of the Dual Monarchy. In that case what would Italy do? Would she acquiesce in this act of spoliation or would she join with Austria in fighting Germany if that country put the issue to the test of war? The natural inclination of Italy would be to resist German overlordship of Austria, because that would be a far greater menace to Italian interests than the maintenance of the *status quo*, while in the event of a successful war, Italy would undoubtedly receive her reward by the cession to her by Austria of Trieste, the loss of which the Italians have never ceased to regret.

Persia in
Chaos

Late in February an attempt was made on the life of the Shah of Persia, which proved unsuccessful because of the precautions adopted for his Majesty's safety. While visiting a town near the capital and passing through a narrow street two bombs were thrown at the royal procession from a house top. Three members of the suite were instantly killed, but the Shah escaped unhurt. The would-be regicides expected the Shah to be in a closed automobile, but anticipating an attempt might be made to assassinate him the automobile was occupied by members of his entourage and he occupied a carriage some distance in the rear.

Whether the attempt on the life of the Shah is due to the dissatisfaction of the people who have been demanding a constitutional form of government or was simply the irresponsible act of anarchists is not known, as in the confusion that followed the attempted assassination the men concerned in it escaped, but it is believed that the affair can be traced to the demands of the constitutionalists, who are determined to strip the Shah of his autocratic power and place Persia in the line of modern progress. The reactionaries bitterly opposed the constitution and managed to bring the Shah under their control, which led to great disorder. The struggle between the reactionaries and the constitutionalists is still in progress and may lead to the interference of England and Russia.

A. Maurice Low.

FINANCE

THE RECOVERY FROM THE RECENT PANIC

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

THE last number of THE FORUM was published at a time when visible evidences of panic were still to be seen throughout the banking system of the United States. Cash payments to depositors were still restricted throughout the whole of the United States; a premium was bid for currency on the principal markets of the country; gold was still being bought at a similar premium on foreign markets for import to the United States.

This condition of things, which had already lasted longer than any one had expected at the outset, came to an abrupt and immediate end with the opening of January, and it is the subsequent three months, under the process of slow restoration of normal conditions, which we have now to review. Like all periods of the sort, the three months in question have been characterized mainly by uncertainty and indecision. On both financial and industrial markets, alternations of feeling have carried the popular mind from the depths of depression into something like momentary enthusiasm. Superficially, the course of events has warranted each state of mind, but looking back at the three months which have now elapsed, it should be possible to judge the movement of events in a broader way and to draw from them some deductions as to the probable sequel to the panic of 1907.

It was natural, with a people whose habit is to keep their eye constantly on the future, that the question as to the term of duration which should be fixed for the period of depression should have been a matter of active discussion, even at the crisis of the panic. That there would be such a resultant period of dull times, if not of actual hard times, no one thought of doubting. Even after the relatively insignificant financial setback of 1903, it was a full year before either the financial markets or the country's leading trades had resumed the position which they occupied before the financial troubles.

In the closing days of 1907 there were published numerous forecasts from practical financial experts dealing with this very question. As a rule, these judgments were conservatively optimistic. Judge Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, after pointing out that it required some

courage to make specific predictions in this matter, stated his opinion that "the depression ought not to be long continued," and set as the date for a visible improvement in the situation the middle of 1908. Mr. M. E. Ingalls, of the "Big Four" Railway, concurred in this judgment as to the probable shortness of the period of depression, and indicated that, in the natural order of events, its end should be seen by next November's Presidential election. Mr. George E. Roberts, formerly Director of the Mint, predicted "a comparatively early recovery, repeating the experience in 1903-4." Carroll D. Wright, formerly United States Commissioner of Labor, and an economic expert of high standing, gave as his judgment that the depression would be merely temporary and that "the recent financial flurry cannot be dignified by the designation 'financial panic.'" Mr. James Speyer—expressing rather a hope, however, than a judgment—indicated that the business contraction might not be so long continued as many people seemed to fear.

Against these optimistic opinions there were published numerous judgments of a somewhat different sort, some of them from high economic authorities. M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the veteran French economist, flatly predicted that the duration of the period of depression "must be from eighteen months to two years"; Comptroller Ridgely stated that "we have a long period of readjustment and recuperation before us"—though he qualified this by the opinion that it would not be so long as after other panics. Among practical bankers whose opinions were made public, two of the weightiest were to the effect that curtailment in trade activity was bound to prevail at least during the next two years.

It will be seen then that the judgment of the experts was by no means agreed on this question of how long the sequel to the panicky collapse must be, and the difference of opinion throughout the community was equally great. Probably it may be said that the underlying conviction has been that it will be at least a year before any considerable return of trade activity will be witnessed. Large allowance must be made, in judging all predictions on this matter, first, for the habitual optimism of the American business man, and, second, for the general feeling, under conditions of depression, that the man who endeavors to cheer up his associates is doing better service than the man who even states discouraging or unpalatable news.

When, for example, the steel mills, which had almost stopped work during the currency famine and suspension of credit in November and

December, got to work again on orders at the opening of the present year, there was widespread assertion that the trade was now rapidly returning to its great activity of six or eight months ago. When, toward the end of the first month of the year, the New York drygoods market, which in the two preceding months had all but suspended business, was suddenly invaded by a host of buyers from the West and South, and when, in response to a cut of twenty per cent. or thereabouts in the price of staple goods, these visitors made substantial purchases, similar statements found their way into the press to the effect that an actual commercial boom was in the beginning. Even on the Stock Exchange, prices once more advanced with great rapidity, and with the volume of business rising again to the million share day, people began to assert that the active "bull speculation" of 1906 was about to be resumed.

Such notions were not well-grounded and the hopes encouraged by them, if any such hopes were actually encouraged, were fallacious and misleading. Nevertheless, it will be my effort to inquire just how much of legitimate basis there may have been for such expectations if extended to the longer future. When this question of the duration of after-panic depression comes up for discussion, one natural recourse is to consult the records of previous periods of the sort. Speaking in a general way, and ignoring the minor ups and downs of finance and industry on its lowered scale of activity, it may be fairly said that the panic of 1873 was followed by something over five years of virtual depression, and that four years elapsed after the panic of 1893 before the financial markets and the country's general trade began to show evidence of return of permanent activity and prosperity. In the case of 1857, depression certainly existed during the two succeeding years; after which period, all financial and economic considerations were overshadowed by the political crisis involved in the struggle for disunion.

On the basis, then, of simple precedent, it would be concluded at once that four or five years must be set as the period for which the after-panic depression must continue. When we begin to look more closely into the circumstances of the recent panic as compared with those which existed in previous panic periods, there are both favorable and unfavorable inferences to be drawn in this regard. That we have at present a sound currency system, as we did not have in any of the great preceding panics of our history; that the Treasury is in a strong and well-intrenched position, as it certainly was not in 1893; and that the West, which was almost bankrupt in 1893 and was a helpless debtor of the East in 1873 and 1857, is the strongest element of financial strength at the present time, are three facts in the situation which are not open to denial, and which are bound

to exert a very great influence in resisting the influences of financial demoralization and thereby hastening the return of normal good times. On the other hand, when comparison is made with previous outbreaks of actual panic, it cannot be denied that the violence of the shock, the duration of the period of suspension of bank payments, and the magnitude of the phenomena which marked it, were more formidable in 1907 than in any previous period of the sort. It would not be safe to discard altogether the argument that this itself may be a sign of a situation economically weaker than that of the other periods under review. Similarly, it is not open to question that the financial excesses in the use of credit, the abuses of an over-exploited prosperity, and rashness in the use of capital—which are the cause of all such financial crises—were practised on the eve of the panic of 1907 as they never were before, with the possible exception of 1873. Here, then, are the elements by which the general problem already stated must be judged. It will now be in order to consider in their sequence the events of the past three months.

On the last day of 1907 the premium on currency at New York had fallen to one-fourth of one per cent. It had been as high as four per cent. in the crisis of November, and had continued for a period of exactly two months. Here is the first sign of a severer strain in 1907 than in preceding panic years. In 1893, the currency premium at New York lasted one month, or only one-half the period during which it prevailed last year. In 1873, the premium disappeared five weeks after it was first quoted. This seeming indication of weakness may be partly explained by circumstances which came into view at the opening of December. It is now a well-recognized fact that interior banks as a rule were ready to resume full payments at or shortly after that date, and that they hesitated merely because of their unwillingness to begin full payments until New York had set the example. It is also true that up to the very last days of November, it was the common expectation in New York itself that full cash payments to depositors would be resumed at the opening of December. Naturally, it was partial suspension of such payments which made a premium on currency possible, so that resumption of payment would of itself involve the disappearance of the currency premium.

Why was resumption so long delayed on this occasion as compared with previous panic periods? It was alleged, in New York particularly, that the trouble was caused through unjustified hoarding of cash by interior banks, and the figures of the Comptroller of the Currency, after

the call for national bank reports of December 3d, were cited as proof of this contention. These figures showed an apparently large percentage of reserves to deposits held by these inland banks. Galveston, for which a reserve ratio of $48\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. was reported, was one instance frequently quoted; Kansas City, Missouri, with $31\frac{1}{8}$, was another; Portland, Oregon, with $36\frac{1}{2}$, was a third. There were numerous similar instances, chiefly among what were known as the country banks. The banks of Kansas as a whole showed a reserve ratio of $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., when only 15 per cent. was required by law, and when New York City at the same time, where 25 per cent. was legally required, was able to show only $21\frac{1}{8}$.

This seemed a reasonably clear case. But there is this to be observed of these interior bank returns. In the first place, the ratios of reserve just given referred not alone to the actual cash on hand in the institution's vaults, but to that portion of its reserve which, under the terms of the National Bank Act, was lodged with deposit institutions in distant cities. Take, for instance, the case of banks in the State of Kansas, with their $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ratio of reserve. The Comptroller's figures apparently stated the figures of their reserve fund at \$17,438,000. But, when one looked a little further into the report, he found that the actual cash on hand in the vaults of the institutions footed up only \$5,722,000. In other words, by far the greater part of the reserve which made up this seemingly large ratio was actually in the vaults of other banks and was not available for the use of the Kansas institutions. Even so, it would doubtless be contended that, since the National Bank Act stipulates only fifteen per cent. of all deposits as the ratio of reserves for such country banks, and since it allows the banks to deposit with reserve city institutions three-fifths even of that fifteen per cent., the ratio still must have been excessive.

But in regard to this contention, it must never be forgotten that these country banks, equally with the city institutions, had to prepare themselves to meet runs by their depositors. Reserves deposited by such country banks with banking institutions at St. Louis or Chicago or New York serve well enough in the ordinary course of trade, but they were a very doubtful reliance for the purpose of meeting a run of home depositors. These Western banks, it must be remembered, were the very banks which in the panic of 1893 went down in a rapid series, simply because of inability to procure the funds to meet the first applications by their frightened depositors. There were numerous cases, at that time, of banks which closed their doors when the currency was actually on the way to them from their reserve depository in another city. It arrived too late. Certainly it cannot be deemed surprising, nor, in my judgment, can it be

criticised as a mark of unwarranted fright or greed, that these institutions, when confronted last autumn with another crisis of the sort, should have fortified themselves as they did not do in 1893.

Nor, when the question is more carefully examined, does it seem to me that the abnormally long duration of the period of suspension can be fairly ascribed to this action by the inland banks. I

**New York
and
Interior** have already shown that the period might have been shortened by probably a month if the New York banks had been ready at that time to resume full payments on their own account. Why were they not thus ready?

The answer, in my judgment, is that the New York banks, during the recent years of over-expanded credit and of wild exploiting of the stock market and allied enterprises in New York, had accumulated and loaned out such a mass of demand deposits belonging to the Western banks that it was flatly impossible to respond to the demands of these institutions until panic had wholly disappeared. It is an open secret that the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, investigating this question of interior deposits at New York during the excited money market of 1906, found that no less than \$400,000,000 was thus placed. The Comptroller's compilation of the reports of national banks in the United States in the month before last October's panic showed that out of the 6,544 national banks in the system, 6,178 were the "country banks," three-fifths of whose reserve, under the National Bank Act, may be kept with banks in other cities. Of the reserve of these 6,178 country banks, amounting to \$621,000,000, no less than \$420,000,000 was reported as being lodged with other institutions and only \$201,000,000 kept on hand. Neither in 1893 nor in 1873 did there exist any such liability to the banks of inland cities as existed in New York last autumn.

That this condition was a powerful factor in making the restriction of cash payments inevitable and in prolonging the period of suspension, admits, I believe, of no doubt whatever. It is possible to set up a reasonable argument for the theory that but for this mutual entanglement of the banks with the reserve money of one another, neither restriction of payments to depositors nor the use of Clearing House certificates would have been necessary at all in the United States during the recent panic. The inference is inevitable that the clause of the National Bank Act, permitting such redeposit at a distant point of three-fifths of the reserve money which is supposed to guard an institution against such a run of depositors, is a dangerous and vicious law.

Whether the New York banks might not, with entire safety, have

resumed full payments to depositors before they did, is an open question; there are many good authorities who would answer this question in the affirmative. The absence of any run of depositors on the savings banks when the "sixty day notice" clause expired in the last days of December was one indication of the fact that if the city banks had shown full confidence in themselves the country banks would equally have shown confidence in them. Similarly, the result of resumption of payments was itself a proof of what might have been expected earlier. When cash payments were resumed in full and the currency premium disappeared, the New York Associated Banks reported a deficit under their twenty-five per cent. required ratio of reserves to deposits amounting to \$11,500,000. Within a week after that resumption, cash holdings of the banks had increased \$18,000,000, and a surplus reserve of \$6,000,000 was reported; within three weeks the cash fund had increased \$68,000,000 from the opening week of January and the surplus reserve had risen to \$37,000,000. This was plain evidence that immense amounts of hoarded cash were only awaiting the removal of the restriction of payments to depositors for their own redeposit in the banks. The deficit in New York bank reserves, which ended with the report of January 11th, had continued for eleven successive weeks. This was the longest consecutive deficit period in our banking history. In that respect it resembled the abnormal continuance of the premium on currency. The panic of 1873 was marked by an exactly equal deficit period, from September 13th to November 22d; the deficit following the panic of 1893 continued only for nine weeks, from July 8th to September 2d.

A word must be added here in regard to the issues of Clearing House loan certificates. For the first time since this emergency expedient was adopted by New York banks, nearly half a century ago, the New York institutions made during the recent panic no statements regarding such issues, as to how many of such certificates were at any time outstanding. The facts did not come to light until near the close of January, when the retirement of the loan certificates had already begun. The amount outstanding reached its high level in the third week of November—the week when the banks reported their maximum \$54,000,000 deficit in reserves. In all, \$100,000,000 of loan certificates were issued at New York during the recent panic, but the maximum outstanding at any one time was \$84,000,000. This maximum compares with \$38,280,000, the highest figure in the panic of 1893, and with \$26,565,000 in 1873.

In the matter of loan certificates, as in the matter of the bank

deficit, all precedents of the past were broken. The banks were dealing with large figures in the recent panic; their deposits, cash reserves and loans were as much greater in volume than they were in previous panics as the deficit and the amount of loan certificates issued were large in comparison with the same previous episode. By the middle of January, the amount of loan certificates outstanding had been cut down \$20,000,000; by the close of January only a trifle over \$4,000,000 were outstanding. A few have not yet been retired at this writing, owing to the insolvency of certain banks which took out these certificates. Just as the volume of loan certificates makes unfavorable comparison with other panics, and just as the duration of the bank deficit and of suspended payments was longer than in 1893 or 1873, so the life of the loan certificates issued in 1907 has been longer than in any previous panic. The following table shows the length of time which such certificates have remained outstanding on the nine occasions when they have been employed at New York City.

	When issued	When cancelled	Total issue	Maximum issue
1907.....	Oct. 26	*	\$100,000,000	\$84,000,000
1893.....	June 21	Nov. 1	41,490,000	38,280,000
1890.....	Nov. 12	Feb. 7	16,645,000	15,205,000
1884.....	May 15	June 6	24,915,000	21,885,000
1873.....	Sept. 22	Jan. 14	26,505,000	22,410,000
1864.....	Feb. 29	June 13	17,728,000	16,418,000
1863.....	Sept. 15	Feb. 1	11,471,000	9,608,000
1861.....	Sept. 16	April 28	22,585,000	21,960,000
1860.....	Nov. 23	Mar. 9	7,375,000	6,860,000

*Nearly all by opening of March.

This shows that, whereas the eighteen weeks' duration of their issue in 1893 was the highest previous record, their ultimate life has covered some twenty weeks on the present occasion.

Looking back at the past season's experience with the loan certificates, there are several questions to be asked. I have hitherto called attention to the fact that, during the period of prosperity which ended with the panic of 1907, New York bank officers were almost unanimous in declaring that the banks would never again resort to the loan certificate. How mistaken this judgment was, we have already seen. It still remains to be asked, however, whether the loan certificate device is or is not an expedient which ought to be relied on in the longer future. My personal judgment is that it should not, and I believe it to be true that, although the adoption of this emergency expedient may have averted very much more serious consequences in October, 1907, the manner of its use so far per-

verted the expedient itself from its original purpose as to create a train of evils of its own. Originally, the loan certificate was designed solely with a view to bringing the strong banks into coöperation so as to help the weaker institutions over a passing emergency. That is to say, if one or two banks found their reserves so far impaired as to make it difficult for them to continue their usual payments of cash for the balances standing against them at the daily Clearing House settlement of checks, the other banks would then agree that the crippled institutions should deposit their assets with the Clearing House Committee and receive in exchange for them certificates based on the value of those assets. These certificates would then be received by the other banks in payment of Clearing House balances.

Thus pursued, the expedient clearly meant that the strong banks loaned their resources to the banks which were in momentary difficulty. If, however, these other banks, which were not confronted with a critical emergency, were to take out such loan certificates on their own account, and were to insist on the use of such certificates in payment of their own balances at the Clearing House, it must be evident that nothing would actually have been accomplished for any one, beyond the general dispensing with the use of cash in payments between banks. If all banks adopt the Clearing House certificate expedient, then it can hardly be questioned that cash payments between the banks in that Clearing House have been suspended.

In point of fact, this is exactly what happened during the panics of both 1893 and 1907. But when cash payments between the banks—the usual source from which cash is drawn to meet new demands of depositors—have been suspended, a long step will have been taken toward suspension of payments to depositors. The weak banks not only are not helped by stronger associates, but are deprived of their normal resources at the Clearing House. Inevitably, therefore, they will be forced to shut down on full payments to their own depositors. But when this happens, some of these depositors will sell their checks for cash to get money to meet their pay-rolls, and once this “premium” is offered for currency, every bank, strong or weak, may be confronted with demands from depositors who wish to sell the cash in Wall Street. If this becomes general, even the strong banks must restrict payments.

Looked at from this point of view, there is ground for arguing that the use of Clearing House certificates as it was practised during the panic of 1907 was itself a cause of the general cash suspension which ensued. Whether the expedient can be dispensed with during future emergencies of the sort depends on other questions such as we have

already canvassed. The root of trouble, as we have seen already, was the enormous mass of demand obligations by the New York banks to interior institutions which, with the narrow margin of reserve, could not be met in cash. Were that situation to recur in the same shape as last autumn, it is entirely probable that the loan certificate expedient, with all its incidental evils, would of necessity be again adopted.

It only remains to say that the official returns to the bank departments fully bore out what the New York figures indicated and what was inferred by the community as a whole. Reports of all the national banks of the United States were submitted to the Comptroller of the Currency on August 22 and December 3, 1907—the interval comprising the panic period. These were the changes in the various items shown to have happened at the banks of New York City, and for the national banks outside of New York:

	N. Y. City alone	Outside of N. Y.
Loans	Inc. \$59,396,000	Dec. \$152,643,000
Individual deposits	Inc. 96,266,000	Dec. 238,428,000
Due from other banks.....	Dec. 6,216,000	Dec. 140,726,000
Due to banks and trust companies.....	Dec. 27,412,000	Dec. 196,265,000
Cash	Dec. 43,159,000	Inc. 2,320,000

These are formidable figures; they need little explanation. The fact that loans of the New York banks increased, while those of the other banks decreased so heavily, is explained by the fact that when the panic came, banks in interior cities were heavy lenders in New York itself. As they called in their loans, the New York banks were compelled, in order to sustain the borrowers, to increase their own. That cash reserves increased at points outside New York, while decreasing heavily at New York itself, was to have been expected in view of the fact that the \$100,000,000 gold imported from Europe during the period was almost entirely forwarded from New York to the Western institutions. It offset the influence of withdrawals by frightened depositors.

At the similar date, the trust companies of New York reported to the New York Banking Department. The run of depositors during the October panic was fully reflected by the showing of a decrease in demand deposits of these institutions, between August and December, in the extraordinary amount of \$194,684,000, which was no less than thirty per cent. On August 22d, the New York trust companies held in their vaults \$54,700,000 cash, which amounted to not quite eight per cent. of their demand deposits. During the panic not less than \$50,000,000 cash was

poured into these companies in connection with the relief operations; yet the December report showed their cash holdings to be less by \$2,278,000 than they were in August.

One further matter remains to be touched upon before this question of the banking phases of the panic is dismissed. It is now possible to give somewhat accurate estimates as to the amount of cash actually hoarded by depositors during the panic. Secretary Cortelyou in a special report to Congress gave out this estimate.

Loss cash national banks (Aug. 22-Dec. 3)	\$400,838,786
Loss N. Y. City trust companies and State banks (Aug. 22-Dec. 19) .	19,191,700
Increase public deposits (Aug. 22-Dec. 3)	79,834,689
Increase bank circulation (Aug. 22-Dec. 3)	49,856,524
Net import of gold (Nov. 1-Dec. 31)	106,403,770
<hr/>	
Total disappearance of cash	\$296,125,469

This figure undertakes to measure the actual hoarding in the United States as a whole after October 21st, and the Secretary gave the further calculation that of this large sum, \$111,000,000 disappeared in New York City alone. The only criticism on these Treasury figures must be based on their inclusion of the increased bank circulation as a partial measure of the other kinds of money which disappeared in hoarders' hands. This basis of reckoning would be justified only in case the new bank circulation issued between August and December was all used for bank reserves. As a matter of fact, it is admitted by the bankers that the new circulation went in most cases into hand-to-hand use to relieve, not deficiency in bank reserves, but actually currency famine in the ordinary affairs of trade. If, then, the amount of money actually hoarded during the panic of 1907 is placed between \$200,000,000 and \$250,000,000 for the country as a whole, and at something like \$100,000,000 for New York City, we shall probably be as close to the facts as we are likely to get.

The action of the stock market toward the close of 1907 was such as to cause great perplexity to the financial community. After a short-lived but vigorous recovery from the low level touched on the panic day, October 24th, due to the fact that the complete withdrawal of credit facilities, which the market had feared, did not occur, Stock Exchange operations were held during at least a fortnight in almost complete abeyance. On the whole, the tendency of prices was to decline—a fact easily understood when one considers that the banks,

**The
Rise in
Stocks**

with the burden of providing for commercial customers on their hands, refused all additional credit facilities to operators for the rise on the Stock Exchange, while operators for the decline were naturally restrained by no such consideration.

When it became evident, however, toward the close of November—through the improvement in the bank position and the fall in the currency premium—that the situation was righting itself, another vigorous upward movement took place. This was quite in accordance with the precedent of other panics, and it was taken as heralding resumption of full payments to depositors by the New York banks. As I have heretofore stated, the belief of the banking community was that such resumption would occur with the opening of December; but when it did not occur, and when the irritated condition of partial suspension continued without any assigned date for terminating it, the market again fell into weakness and disorder, which continued during January. In this respect, the interruption to the recovery in prices merely reflected the unexpected, unusual and, some bankers have declared, inexcusable postponement of the resumption of cash payments.

That resumption actually occurred in the first week of January. With the resumption of payments, the rush of hoarded cash in quantity into the New York associated banks, and the consequent replacement of the heavy deficit with a handsome surplus reserve, the stock market sprang into immediate activity. During the month of January, such advances were scored as 14 points in Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul stock, 12 in Union Pacific, 7 in United States Steel preferred, 9 in Pennsylvania Railroad, 12 in Northern Pacific, 10 in Great Northern preferred, 21 in Delaware & Hudson, 8 in Amalgamated Copper, 17 in American Sugar and 9 in Consolidated Gas; these stocks being typical of the general movement of the market. At the same time, transactions on the Stock Exchange, which for weeks had been on an abnormally low level of activity, began to match the enormous trading of the months before the panic. On one day a million shares were once more recorded as changing hands.

But there were reasons for not taking the recovery in prices too seriously. First, all people of experience were aware that the violent buying movement represented in the main the covering of "bear sales" made by speculators for the decline during the prolonged panic period, when they had practically free hand in the market. Until the full resumption of credit facilities at the banks, there had been no motive for a quick retreat; but with the banks once more active in the loan market, it was high time for such operators to put themselves in a safe posi-

tion and to cover their outstanding contracts. The amount of commitments to be covered was extremely large. Furthermore, people who talked about the ten and twenty point recovery from panic prices as indicating a radical change in the situation, and as giving assurances that fears of business depression might be dismissed, were referred to the record of 1893. Between the actual panic day of July that year and the close of the ensuing October, the following advances had been scored by leading stocks on the New York Exchange:

Amer. Sugar	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	Del. & Hudson	35 $\frac{7}{8}$
Amer. Tobacco	49 $\frac{3}{4}$	D., L. & W.	44 $\frac{1}{4}$
Balt. & Ohio	21 $\frac{7}{8}$	Gen. Electric	22
Canada So.	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lake Shore	26 $\frac{7}{8}$
Central N. J.	36 $\frac{3}{4}$	Manhattan El.	33 $\frac{7}{8}$
C., M. & St. Paul	22 $\frac{3}{8}$	Missouri Pacific	11 $\frac{1}{8}$
Chic. & N. W.	22 $\frac{3}{8}$	Nat. Lead	11 $\frac{5}{8}$
Ch., R. I. & P.	21	N. Y. Central	12
Ch., St. P., M. & O.	15 $\frac{7}{8}$	Phila. & Reading	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Consol. Gas	29	Western Union	24 $\frac{3}{4}$

Yet in the longer sequel it was found that this preliminary advance was merely response to resumption of credit facilities and to the ending of the period of suspended payments. The trade depression which followed that spirited recovery after the panic of 1893 lasted through several years. As was to be expected, purchases of bonds last January reached large dimensions; this is the invariable sequel to a blow at confidence and credit such as occurred last autumn. Under such circumstances the average investor, who had long been buying shares on the presumption that dividends would increase with the good times and that values would therefore be progressively in hand, came instantly to the conclusion that the position of creditor rather than partner is the one which an investor should seek. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Stock Exchange record of January, while it showed purchases of stocks to be 4,000,000 shares less than in 1907, showed the purchase of bonds' par value to have risen from \$51,000,000 to \$90,000,000. To what extent the situation changed in February may be seen from the fact that trading transactions in stocks fell to 9,700,000 shares as against the 16,600,000 in January, and more particularly that purchases of bonds decreased from \$90,000,000 to \$56,000,000.

At the same time, other indications presented themselves of a slackening in general activity. To an extent, the industrial and commercial markets at the opening of the present year repeated the story of the Stock

Exchange. Recuperation in general trade was somewhat slower in making itself felt than on the Stock Exchange, but in the course of a few weeks it was manifest to every one that something like resumption of activity was under way in production and trade. From such points as Pittsburg, one began to hear of the recall of discharged laborers and the starting up of idle foundries. Similarly, in such quarters as the drygoods trade, where during December the Western jobbers had scarcely taken the trouble to look over the price lists of New York agents, they suddenly at the opening of February arrived in great numbers at New York City and began to make purchases on what for a day or two seemed to be their old time scale of activity.

**Trade
Reaction**

It was but natural that this news from the various industries should have caused hasty inferences such as I have already described in the case of the Stock Exchange movement. Here and there one began to hear talk of a resumption of the trade boom, and the temperament of the American business man, always optimistic by nature, led in many cases to the assumption that nothing really serious had happened last autumn and that the active business of a year ago would presently be under way again.

But the stock market had in this instance, as in so many others, provided the correct forecast of the general situation. Just as it foreshadowed, by the early rise in prices in January, resumption of trade activity which occurred a few weeks later, so its sudden halt in February preceded by a very short time an equally sudden disappearance of the vision of full activity among the manufacturers and merchants. More than this, it soon became apparent that close comparison in the case of general trade, even at the time when the February recovery was most vigorously under way, showed that the scale of activity was very far from having been resumed on its old time basis. In the case of the drygoods trade, already referred to, the buyers in question have been attracted by a cut of 20 to 30 per cent. in prices of standard merchandise, and even these purchasers after the first quick response to the lower prices were cautious and perfunctory.

The simple truth was that the retailers, having on account of the credit situation abstained from the market during two full months, found their shelves depleted by the natural process of ordinary purchases for consumers' necessities. This had to be made good as soon as the credit situation had been brought back to normal. But activity went no further. So, in the case of the steel and iron trade, it soon developed that the scale of production during January and February, though

naturally much increased over that of December, did not approach the neighborhood of the output of a year before. In general, the estimate indicated that while in the closing months of 1907 production in this industry ran perhaps 20 per cent. ahead of December, it still fell 50 per cent. short of the active trade in the months immediately before the panic. Actual iron production in October, as ascertained by the official statements, was 2,336,972 tons; in January of this year it had fallen to 1,045,250 and in February had recovered only to 1,079,721.

At the close of January the United States Steel Corporation published its quarterly report covering the three months of panic. Its showing was most remarkable and illuminating. During October itself, the earnings of the company were the largest of any month in its history, exceeding by \$1,000,000 the next highest record, that of May, 1907, and running nearly 14 per cent. beyond October, 1906. November—the month which immediately followed the panic outbreak at New York—witnessed the smallest net earnings of any month since July, 1905, and showed a decrease of $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from November, 1906.

The Steel Trust's Earnings It was naturally, however, in December that the shock to credit was most widely felt. Net earnings decreased from the previous December in no less a ratio than $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The \$5,034,000 net earnings of December were in fact, with four exceptions, the smallest monthly record in the history of the corporation, those four exceptions occurring after the steel and iron reaction in 1903, when the November net receipts were \$4,069,000, December showing \$3,292,000, the January results \$2,868,000, and those of February, 1904, \$4,545,000. It was recalled that the monthly proportion of the 7 per cent. annual dividend on the Steel Corporation's preferred stock was not earned in any of the four months just referred to, and that in fact the surplus for the December quarter of 1903 fell \$4,170,000 below the amount required for dividend in that quarter, while the earnings for the March quarter in 1904 fell nearly \$2,000,000 below the amount necessary to provide the dividend.

The dividend was on those two occasions paid out of accumulated capital, and the result showed the company's action to have been safe, even if not wholly warranted by general practice. This same preferred stock dividend, though earned during the full quarter ending last December, was not earned in December itself. Furthermore, the report of the company's unfilled orders on hand December 31, 1907, showed such forward contracts to be 28 per cent. below those of September 30th, and

45½ per cent. less than at the close of 1906. At no time during the company's history, except in the year and a half following the reaction of 1903, have such orders on hand fallen as low as they did at the close of last December.

These comparisons, taken along with the absence of any vigorous assumption of activity at the opening of the new year, were plain indications that trade reaction was generally under way; the same fact was pointed out by the report of the railway associations, showing, as of February 5th, 342,828 idle freight cars on the railways of the country, where six or eight months before it had been impossible for railways to accept freight with freedom owing to their actual shortage of car equipment, and when, at the close of October, the "shortage" of cars was reported as 86,811. The question naturally arose in the same connection, whether the prices of commodities would or would not have to yield in response to this suddenly decreased demand. I have stated already how the drygoods trade met the situation, and it is hardly open to debate that this action was a normal response to industrial conditions. Not only had the large buying power imparted through the extended credit of a year ago been abruptly cut off, but the necessary discharge of laborers at the mills and the widespread curtailment of business profits, wages and salaries, cut down in a very much larger way the community's buying power.

The steel trade, on the other hand, was not willing to admit the force of this argument. In the conference of large producers held in New York on the closing day of January, it was officially decided to make no change in the scale of prices, the chairman of the meeting giving out the statement that "neither the condition of the country nor the wishes of the trade justifies a cut in prices." Whether this policy can be adhered to is a question of considerable interest.

When the year began, there was some difference of opinion among important houses as to what would be the course of money rates during 1908. There were some excellent authorities who contended that, with so many large railway and industrial corporations anxious to apply to the market for funds to pay off their accruing floating indebtedness, the capital available on the market would be drawn upon heavily and the relaxation in money rates would thereby be rendered impossible. This argument was extremely superficial, and should have been

Question of Prices

Fall in Money Rates

recognized as such by any one familiar with previous experience on occasions of the sort.

The salient fact of the money market at the opening of the year was that enormous liquidation had already occurred, not only in financial quarters but in general trade, and that therefore demands on the country's capital and credit were reduced to a prodigious extent. In this country, that change had occurred at the very time when \$100,000,000 in foreign gold had been imported to replace the currency hoarded during the panic. When, therefore, the hoarded money, on the resumption of payments in January, rushed out of its hiding places and flowed once more into the market, an extraordinary amount of reserve money was added to the general supply. At the close of January there was in actual circulation in this country, exclusive of Treasury reserves, \$191,000,000 more of actual money than at the same date a year before, and \$413,000,000 more than at the same date in 1906. The increase over 1907 was made up chiefly of a \$58,000,000 addition to the stock of gold and a \$56,000,000 increase in outstanding national bank notes. This great increase as compared with 1907, the greater part of which occurred during the three or four closing months of the year, must be measured not only with itself, but in view of the fact that exchanges of checks at Clearing Houses in the United States, by which the volume of trade is properly measured, were in January 25 per cent. less than they were in the same month a year before, and that the decrease was progressive. The fact that transactions on the Stock Exchange had also decreased 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. from the year before, thus diminishing the demand for loans in that quarter, must also be taken into account.

Considering all these circumstances, it is certainly not strange that money rates should have fallen during the early months of the present year to a very low level. January opened with demand loans at 20 per cent. in New York, two months' loans at 7 per cent. and merchants' paper selling on the market at 8 to 10 per cent. By February, however, call money was down to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., two months' loans to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and mercantile paper to $5\frac{1}{2}$. These quotations at the close of February compare, it may be observed, with 6 per cent. both for call and time money at the same date a year before. With money in so slack demand, with surplus reserves of banks increasing rapidly, and with stagnation in trade continuing, it would appear to have been a natural result that the hundred million dollars in gold imported from Europe during the panic should be sent back again. Certainly, on the basis of such calculations as we have just made, it was not needed in this country.

But aside from this consideration, there are some factors in the present position of affairs which may alter or modify natural expectations regarding the movement of gold. There is, to begin with, the Treasury's power of influencing the market through recall of the \$220,000,000 government money deposited in the banks. In so far as this money is called back in cash, the surplus currency on the open money market will necessarily be reduced; and, in fact, the Treasury has already during the past two months been recalling something over \$40,000,000 of these deposit funds. Not all of the money thus recalled has remained, however, in the Treasury; because, as usually happens after such a sudden industrial reaction, a heavy deficit in public revenue has ensued. In the month of January public expenses ran \$9,300,000 ahead of revenue, where the excess of revenue for the same month a year before was \$7,400,000. In February a deficit of \$8,400,000 was reported against a surplus of \$8,200,000 in February, 1907.

This is the first qualifying consideration to the prospect for a large loss of gold during the present year. The second qualifying influence lies in the movement of our export and import trade. The rapidity with which the American community accommodates itself to a disaster such as we sustained last October, through reducing its foreign purchases and increasing its foreign sales, has become proverbial. In the twelve months after the panic of 1893, exports increased \$44,000,000, and imports decreased \$211,000,000, thus turning an import excess of \$18,700,000 for the fiscal year 1893 into an export excess of \$227,000,000 in 1894. Going back to the panic of 1873, one finds similarly that, whereas in the fiscal year 1873 merchandise imports exceeded exports by \$109,600,000, in 1874 the export excess was \$18,800,000, which was the third of such export excesses in the history of the country and was more than twice as large as any which had preceded it.

Returns for last December showed this precise activity at work. Exports increased nearly \$17,000,000 over the same month in 1906, reaching very much the largest figure of any month in the country's history, and at the same time imports decreased no less than \$42,000,000. In January the same remarkable story was repeated. Exports increased \$17,000,000, imports decreased \$41,000,000, and the month's excess of exports over imports rose from \$62,700,000 in January, 1907, to \$120,500,000 in the same month of 1908. The reader will pardon this multitude of figures; it may have highly important bearing on the subsequent history of the year and its influence on the course of foreign exchange and on the movement of gold is obvious. Whether it will actively operate to

prevent such shipments is no doubt an open question; it did not do so during the twelve months after either 1893 or 1873.

The third consideration in favor of this country's markets lies in the fact that the rate for money has declined on the foreign markets as rapidly as on our own. Had the money rates at such points as London and Paris held anywhere near the high level of last December, while our own were declining, reshipment of gold taken by us from Europe would be inevitable. There were experienced financiers, even in London, who predicted such an outcome; but they, like the people who prophesied continued high rates for money in America, had forgotten the teachings of the past.

Precedent is infallible in pointing to the rapid reduction in the London bank rate, immediately after a panic has blown over. In 1873, for instance, when the rate of the Bank of England during the New York panic had advanced to 9 per cent., it was reduced to 8 per cent. on November 20th, when the situation began to improve, to 6 per cent. on November 27th, to 5 per cent. on December 4th, and to $4\frac{1}{2}$ on December 11th. Here were four drastic cuts in four successive weeks. After London's own panic of 1866, in which the Bank of England rate had touched 10 per cent., it was reduced to 8 per cent. on August 10th, to 7 per cent. on August 17th, to 6 on August 24th, and to 5 on August 31st. By the close of the year it was down to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1857 the London bank rate went from 10 per cent. in the middle of December to 5 by January 14th, and to 3 by February 11th.

The course of events this year was exactly similar. At the close of 1907, the rate at the Bank of England was the highest in thirty-four years. On January 2d it was reduced from 7 per cent. to 6 per cent.; on January 15th from 6 to 5; on January 23d from 5 to $4\frac{1}{2}$, on March 5th from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$, and on March 19th from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3. Not only was this successive reduction a response to the improvement in the American situation, but the Bank of England and the London market were themselves rapidly gaining a stronger position. When the last reduction of the London bank rate occurred on March 19th, the bank held \$15,000,000 more gold in its reserve than it had held at the same date a year before, and its ratio of reserves to liabilities, $51\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. as against the traditional minimum of 40 per cent., was the largest for that time of year since 1897.

In a statement given out on the closing day of 1907, the Comptroller of the Currency made this remark:

From October 20 to December 30, 1907, there have been but sixteen suspensions or failures of national banks. Of these, two have resumed, and several more should do so in the very near future. Contrast this with the panic of 1893, when 160 national banks failed and of these fifty-four were never reopened.

What was said at that time is in the main true to-day, and it points to a definitely favorable factor in the situation. The banks were at all events in a position of strength, which they did not occupy during any of the great panics which preceded. In all probability the same thing may be said of the railways. It is true that during the four months following the panic six railway systems were placed in the hands of receivers. These railways, with the mileage which they represented, were as follows:

	Mileage
Seaboard Air Line.....	1,474
Chicago Great Western.....	2,821
Macon and Birmingham.....	97
Detroit, Toledo and Ironton.....	435
Chicago, Cincinnati and Louisville.....	283
International and Great Northern.....	1,149
Western Maryland	583
Total	6,842

Of these railway insolvencies, it is to be remarked that they were caused in the main by inability to float new bond issues through which maturing short term notes could be taken up; also, that the companies which confessed embarrassment in this way were enterprises on which a good deal of doubt had converged during the preceding year. Generally, the cause for these individual failures was lack of working capital at a time when new equipment and track facilities were an imperative need. The railway managers threw the blame upon the railway State commissions for having, in the words of one president, "called upon them to make additions and improvements, involving the expenditure of several millions of dollars, and proceed in these expenditures upon the schedule prescribed by the Commission, without regard to current revenues or the ability of the company to secure funds to meet the expenditure." In this complaint there was a modicum of justice, but the fundamental fact remains that the railways in question were already overwhelmed with what their own managers admitted to be urgent needs. As regards the railways as a whole, no such disasters have been apprehended; very large provision of working capital, and their liberal investment of current earnings in improvements, especially during the years from 1898 to

1904, have placed them in a position where repetition of 1894, when one-fourth of the country's entire railway capitalization went into the hands of receivers, is flatly impossible.

As to how far commercial mortality has affected trade in other directions, some idea may be gained from the following comparison of the three months following actual panic with the same three months a year before.

	1907-8		1906-7	
	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities
December	1,316	\$36,296,876	1,047	\$12,006,782
January	1,949	27,099,514	1,355	13,628,126
February	1,621	27,064,571	924	10,288,770
3 mos.....	4,886	\$90,460,961	3,326	\$35,918,678

In number of individual failures this record has been many times exceeded during the similar after-panic period; in amount of liabilities involved it has never been equalled. The returns for the month of February, when it may be said that panic had definitely subsided, make the following comparison with the same month in other recent years.

February	No.	Assets	Liabilities
1908.....	1,291	\$14,082,836	\$27,835,854
1907.....	771	5,619,869	10,155,860
1906.....	764	4,230,605	9,453,893
1905.....	849	5,046,491	8,945,310
1904.....	847	9,485,236	15,813,954
1903.....	778	4,136,544	8,961,110
1902.....	854	7,430,617	12,173,227
1901.....	868	3,663,491	9,492,492
1900.....	747	10,540,066	18,400,183
1899.....	772	4,378,854	9,663,724
1898.....	993	5,929,272	10,062,079
1897.....	1,193	10,307,428	16,039,037
1896.....	1,217	8,223,970	14,522,124
1895.....	1,063	5,680,360	11,317,613
1894.....	1,181	7,167,406	14,112,413
1893.....	843	4,565,321	9,445,913

For a time at the close of January some apprehension began to be felt that the banks might not show up as well as had been predicted or hoped. The course of events at that time was in fact a little singular. During the panic of 1893 no bank failure of any consequence occurred in New York City. Last October, one national bank, four trust companies and six State banks closed their doors in that locality and in the closing week of January the suspension was announced of the Na-

tional Bank of North America, the National Bank of New Amsterdam, the Mechanics' and Traders' Bank and the Oriental Bank, all of them doing business on Manhattan Island. These were not institutions of the first importance, but at the start they threatened complications to the general situation.

It presently developed, however, that all of these January bank failures represented the cleaning up process which followed an experiment in wreckless and unsound banking undertaken during the recent boom. These banks, directly or indirectly, had been involved in the process known as "chain banking," whereby control of one institution would be secured through purchase of its stock, this stock then being pledged with another bank as security for a loan, the same expedient being repeated indefinitely until a clique of speculating financiers managed to get a voice in the affairs of a group of fiduciary institutions. A year ago, one capitalist of this sort virtually owned five national and four State banks of New York and subsequent investigations have abundantly shown that his power was used to further his own speculative interests. During the time of panic, these banks, like others, were sustained by the coöperative measures of the Clearing House. The period of suspended payments having ended, all banks were left to show what resources they had whereby they could continue unaided to meet their liabilities. It was not strange that banks with such connections or affiliations should have failed to meet the test.

Whether the virtual removal of these institutions as a factor in the situation was or was not a matter of misfortune may be left to individual judgment. It must frankly be admitted, however, that New York at any rate has made confession through this chapter of the episode to the fact that it did not pass through the boom period and the subsequent panic as creditably as it did through the panic of 1893. As a final incident in this chapter of bank suspensions, the announcement at the opening of March that the Knickerbocker Trust Company, whose failure on October 21st was the precipitating cause of panic, would resume, naturally attracted widespread interest. The announcement helped the markets and was believed for the time to have done much toward improving the general situation. But even of the Knickerbocker, it must be carefully pointed out that its resumption was not that of an institution which confronts its creditors or depositors on the same footing as it occupied before its failure. The scheme of resumption, brought to completion only after prolonged negotiations, involved, first, the surrender by depositors of the absolute claim to 30 per cent. of their deposits, payment of that part of their credit being made contingent on future surplus profits

of the trust company and, therefore, being practically a preferred stock in the Knickerbocker; while of the remaining 70 per cent. only 10 per cent. was to be paid in cash upon resumption, the rest being paid over to depositors in instalments during the two years and five months ensuing.

The committee which perfected this plan explained this delay in making payments as due to the fact that of the Knickerbocker's assets "few can be collected within thirty days to six months, more of them fall due or are collectable between six months and one year, but a great many must be carried between one and two years, while others can only be reduced to cash between two years and two years and six months." This reasoning was sufficient explanation for the company's inability to pay its depositors in full on their demand. It was, however, also an overwhelming condemnation of the trust company law and practice as it existed before the panic. This official admission that a slow investment business of the sort had been conducted, as it was with the Knickerbocker, on the basis of \$46,000,000 deposits subject to withdrawal on demand and with an actual reserve on hand of only 10 per cent., is a pretty clear illustration of the situation that brought on the worst days of the October panic.

Naturally, as regards both the trust company incident and the banking incidents, the panic has brought to a head the demand for reform in existing methods. To this I shall refer very briefly, partly because some of them are still pending and partly through lack of space. The question of reform measures by New York State, with a view to controlling the trust companies, was referred by Governor Hughes to a committee of New York bankers whose report at the close of last December was unanimous in recommending reform in the existing trust company law, but by no means agreed as to what that law should be. Three members of the committee advised a compulsory 25 per cent. reserve on all trust company deposits in the larger cities, 15 per cent. to be cash on hand and 10 per cent. in deposits with other banking institutions; two members recommended the requirement of only 15 per cent. cash reserve and only advised the exaction of the full 25 per cent. on cash to be held against all deposits. These recommendations, it will be remembered, were in reform of a law which required a nominal reserve of 15 per cent. against deposits, only one-third of which, however, had to be kept in cash, the balance being held either in deposits with other institutions or in the form of Government securities. The new Superintendent of Banking for New York State followed up these bankers' recommendations during

The
Currency
Bills

January by advising that every trust company in the larger cities "shall at all times have on hand in lawful money a reserve fund equal to at least 15 per cent. of the aggregate of its deposits"; but in defining these deposits he excluded, first, deposits held as executor, administrator, etc., and, second, time deposits not payable within sixty days. This recommendation of Superintendent Williams was made the basis of the law now pending in the Albany legislature.

At Washington the panic of 1907 was followed, as such episodes always are, by a flood of proposals for currency legislation. The belief, very widely held, that the panic was aggravated if not caused by inelasticity of the bank note circulation, was the basis for most of these proposals. Of this it may be said at once that good economic judgment no longer holds that a defective currency was the cause of last October's troubles and that, while a thoroughly elastic system would possibly have mitigated the after effects of panic, had the banks been able promptly to put out new circulating notes on the basis of their general assets, the best opinion still holds with M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French economist, that "no currency system in the world would have stood up against such a raid on deposits as occurred in October and November."

Two measures have been proposed in Congress with a view to meeting what were supposed to be the evils of the currency situation. The so-called Aldrich Bill proposed in the Senate provided, to sum up its clauses briefly, for an emergency circulation not to exceed \$500,000,000 and not to run beyond 50 per cent. of the capital stock of issuing banks, based on the collateral of United States bonds and of certain State, municipal and railway securities, and taxed at 6 per cent. per annum with a view to securing the prompt retirement of such circulation when the emergency was passed. This bill was opposed by nearly all good authorities on the ground, first, that it extended the principle of using as a basis for such issues securities whose amount bears no relation to the needs of trade, and second, that even with the 6 per cent. tax it was liable to be used in advance of real emergency—at such times, for instance, as the excited speculative markets in the fall of 1905, when a very strong motive existed for a bank to take out circulation, and thus save its reserve money for the purpose of helping along the speculative movement even if the 6 per cent. tax had to be paid.

Against this proposition, the House of Representatives had placed before it the so-called Fowler Bill, of a scope so extensive as to involve the complete overhauling and altering of the financial system. This measure, in brief, provided for twenty bank note redemption agencies throughout the country, each with a special paid manager; arranged

for the retirement of existing circulation and for the purchase by the Government of the bonds on which that circulation was based; permitted banks to take out notes not in excess of their paid up capital, on the basis of general assets; required a cash reserve of 25 per cent. against such notes; stipulated for the deposit in gold with the Treasury of 5 per cent. of deposits and 5 per cent. of circulation; arranged for the reserve of this fund, up to \$25,000,000, as a guarantee of depositors of failed banks in each section, and further provided that the national banks should have power to engage in trust company business subject to the laws of the States in which they operated. This brief summary of the Fowler Bill's provisions will sufficiently indicate its very broad scope. Opposition against it mainly converged on the question whether the country was ready at this moment for so revolutionary a proviso, and whether, even if this were the case, the matter ought not preferably to go through the mature consideration of the Currency Commission.

As I write, opinion is veering strongly to the position that the Aldrich plan is a very ineffective makeshift—it has already, in the Senate, been shorn of many of its original provisions, including the use of railway bonds as collateral for emergency bank circulation—and despite the endorsement of the Fowler Bill by several eminent authorities, distrust of its sweeping changes and uncertainty as to how some of its radical innovations would work in practice have created a very general attitude of passive hostility. The solution, admitted towards the end of March by Senator Aldrich himself, is the appointment of a currency commission to take the whole problem in hand, consider it in the light of expert testimony, and frame a comprehensive measure. The larger interest of the community still converges on the question of financial recuperation and the duration of the business setback. As to this, the signs are still greatly confused. That the business community has not been as seriously hurt as it was in 1893 and 1873, is now conceded by every one. That the soundness of the currency, the strength of the Treasury, and the real wealth of the interior communities, create favorable conditions which have not existed on other occasions of the sort, is equally admitted. There still remain, on the other hand, the fact that a credit collapse of quite unexampled violence can hardly, in the light of experience, have been a mere passing incident, that a possibly troublesome presidential campaign is at hand, and that a quarter of a million idle freight cars and a million unemployed laborers show that the wheels of industry have not yet fairly started again into motion.

Alexander D. Noyes.

THE DRAMA

THE TONE OF THE MID-SEASON PLAYS

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

IN the course of his glorious *Song of the Open Road*, Walt Whitman said, "I and mine do not convince by arguments, similes, rhymes; we convince by our presence"; and it has always seemed to me that this remark is peculiarly applicable to dramatists and dramas. The primary purpose of a play is to give a gathered multitude a larger sense of life by evoking its emotions to a consciousness of terror and pity, laughter and love. Its purpose is not primarily to rouse the intellect to thought or call the will to action. In so far as the drama uplifts and edifies the audience, it does so, not by precept or by syllogism, but by emotional suggestion. It teaches not by what it says, but rather by what it deeply and mysteriously is. It convinces not by its arguments, but by its presence.

**The Effect of
Plays Upon the
Public**

It follows that those who think about the drama in relation to society at large, and consider as a matter of serious importance the effect of the theatre on the ticket-buying public, should devote profound consideration to that subtle quality of plays which I may call their *tone*. The question of tone is more a matter of æsthetics than of ethics. The enjoyment of some plays is salutary; the enjoyment of others is deleterious: and yet it would be uncritical to class plays as moral or immoral according to this diversity of effect. The whole question of morality or immorality in the drama is a question merely of truth or falsity. There is no such thing as an immoral subject for a drama: in the treatment of the subject, and only in the treatment, lies our basis for an ethical judgment of the dramatist. All that we have a right to demand on moral grounds is that the author shall maintain throughout his work a veracious insight into the soundness or unsoundness of the positions of his characters. He must know when they are right and know when they are wrong, and must make clear to us the reasons for his judgment. If he fulfil this indispensable condition, he may treat any subject whatsoever—such subjects, even, as those of *Ædipus King*, *The Cenci*, and *Ghosts*—without incurring the charge of ethical obliquity. His one unpardonable sin is to lie about his characters—to make us pity them when they are vile or

love them when they are noxious, or to leave us hesitant in judging whether, after all, the exception is not greater than the rule, and thus to cloud our consciousness of those eternal laws which say to man "Thou shalt not" or "Thou shalt." This is all that we have a right to demand of the dramatic author on moral grounds alone. But we have a right to demand much more upon æsthetic grounds. Since the drama convinces less by its arguments than by its presence, less by its intellectual substance than by its emotional suggestion, we have a right to demand that it shall be not only moral but also sweet and healthful and inspiring.

After witnessing the admirable performance of Mrs. Fiske and the members of her skilfully selected company in Henrik Ibsen's dreary and depressing *Rosmersholm*, I went home and sought solace from a reperusal of an old play, by the buoyant and healthy Thomas Heywood, which is sweetly named *The Fair Maid of the West*. *Rosmersholm* is of all the social plays of Ibsen the least interesting to witness on the stage, because the spectator is left entirely in the dark concerning the character and the motives of Rebecca West until her confession at the close of the third act, and can therefore understand the play only on a second seeing. But except for this important structural defect the drama is a masterpiece of art; and it is surely unnecessary at the present writing to dwell upon its many merits. On the other hand, *The Fair Maid of the West* is very far from being masterly in art. In structure it is loose and careless; in characterization it is inconsistent and frequently untrue; in style it is uneven and without distinction. Ibsen, in sheer mastery of dramaturgic means, stands fourth in rank among the world's great dramatists. Heywood was merely an actor with a gift for telling stories, who flung together upward of two hundred and twenty plays during the course of his casual career. And yet *The Fair Maid of the West* seemed to me that evening, and seems to me now in retrospect, a nobler work than *Rosmersholm*; for the Norwegian drama gives a doleful exhibition of unnecessary misery, while the Elizabethan play is fresh and wholesome, and fragrant with the breath of joy.

Of two plays equally true in content and in treatment, equally accomplished in structure, in characterization, and in style, that one is finally the better which evokes from the audience the healthiest and hopefulest emotional response. This is the reason why *Ædipus King* is a better play than *Ghosts*. The two pieces are not dissimilar in subject and are strikingly alike in art. Each is a terrible presentment of a revolting theme; each, like an avalanche, crashes to foredoomed catastrophe. But the Greek tragedy is nobler in tone, because it leaves us a lofty reverence for

the gods, whereas its modern counterpart disgusts us with the inexorable laws of life—which are only the old gods divested of imagined personality.

Slowly but surely we are growing very tired of dramatists who look upon life with a wry face instead of with a brave and bracing countenance. In due time, when (with the help of Mr. Barrie and other healthy-hearted playmates) we have become again like little children, we shall realize that plays like *As You Like It* are better than all the *Magdas* and the *Hedda Gablers* of the contemporary stage. We shall realize that the way to heal old sores is to let them alone, rather than to rip them open, in the interest (as we vainly fancy) of medical science. We shall remember that the way to help the public is to set before it images of faith and hope and love, rather than images of doubt, despair, and infidelity.

The queer thing about the morbid-minded specialists in fabricated woe is that they believe themselves to be telling the whole truth of human life instead of telling only the worser half of it. They expunge from their records of humanity the very emotions that make life worth the living, and then announce momentarily, "Behold reality at last; for this is Life." It is as if, in the midnoon of a god-given day of golden spring, they should hug a black umbrella down about their heads and cry aloud, "Behold, there is no sun!" Shakespeare did that only once—in *Measure for Measure*. In the deepest of his tragedies, he voiced a grandeur even in obliquity, and hymned the greatness and the glory of the life of man.

Suppose that what looks white in a landscape painting be actually bluish gray. Perhaps it would be best to tell us so; but failing that, it would certainly be better to tell us that it is white than to tell us that it is black. If our dramatists must idealize at all in representing life, let them idealize upon the positive rather than upon the negative side. It is nobler to tell us that life is better than it actually is than to tell us that it is worse. It is nobler to remind us of the joy of living than to remind us of the weariness. "For to miss the joy is to miss all," as Stevenson remarked; and if the drama is to be of benefit to the public, it should, by its very presence, convey conviction of the truth thus nobly phrased by Matthew Arnold:

Yet the will is free:
Strong is the Soul, and wise, and beautiful:
The seeds of godlike power are in us still:
Gods are we, Bards, Saints, Heroes, if we will.—
Dumb judges, answer, truth or mockery?

The author of *Irene Wycherley* answered "mockery" without ado, and proved himself a very dumb judge, indeed. Mr. Anthony P. Wharton is a young Irish playwright hitherto unknown; and this, his first play, has been praised by many critics both in England and in America for what they call its "strength" and "truthfulness." Its "strength" apparently lies in the fact that it exhibits a set of needlessly unpleasant people in a series of unnecessarily obnoxious acts. Of its "truthfulness" I shall speak a little later.

"Irene Wycherley" Irene Wycherley has for six years been separated from her husband Philip, a dastard and a brute, who, after humiliating her by flagrantly maintaining immoral relations with other women, has struck her in the face with a riding-whip. The only reason given for the fact that she has not secured a divorce is the statement (made in merely a single line) that she is a member of the Roman Church. Without admitting it precisely to herself, she is more or less in love with Harry Chesterton. Of Harry it is only necessary to say that he is the sort of gentleman who, when he attempts to kiss a lady, fails. He tries the trick twice, on different subjects, inartistically. In the first act, Sir Peter Wycherley, the father of Philip, calls upon his daughter-in-law and urges her to return to her husband, his reason being the pure and wholesome one that he wishes an heir to his ancestral name. Irene refuses; but upon receiving a telegram announcing that Philip has been shot by accident while hunting, and rendered blind, she feels impelled by "duty" [note the sweetness of the motive] to go back to him. She does so. Her husband curses her and bullies her about; but actuated by a reprehensible yearning for self-sacrifice, she remains at his side. Through her, Philip invites to his house a vile and vulgar woman from among his former paramours, and the new husband whom she has succeeded in ensnaring. These charming people have been Philip's guests before—at the time of his accident. It turns out that the "accidental" shot was fired in annoyance by the husband. In the last act, the husband grows annoyed again. This time he shows himself a neater marksman. He kills first Philip, then himself.

This pleasant story has been praised, as I have said, by many critics for its "strength." If it is strong, then strength must be synonymous with brutality, and a man who beats his wife with a riding-whip must be stronger than a man who labors faithfully against agonizing odds to make her happy in fulfilling her mission in the world.

It has been praised also for its "truthfulness." It exhibits, to be sure, an almost flawless logic in the working out. Granted the basis of

the story, events must have followed as the author says they did. But his reasoning is on a par with this: Since two and two make five, it follows necessarily that four and four make ten. There is nothing wrong with the logic of that conclusion: the fallacy lies in what is assumed at the outset. Now, this entire play is a lie: because, in the first place, Irene did not go back to her husband, or, even granting that she did, she did not stay with him. Hence all that follows is a baseless fabrication.

The play is crude in structure. To effect his exposition, the author uses the conversation of four women who never appear again upon the scene. To be sure, he draws them very well. Having done so, he throws them away. The piece has many clever moments, such as a scene in the first act between Irene and her mother-in-law, wherein the latter scolds for five consecutive minutes without evoking any answer from the former. In the second act, the shift in emphasis from fluffy femininity to masculine brutality is very effective; and the last act is remarkable for nervous tensity. The dialogue, though devoid of brilliancy, is well written and not too literary. Many moments in the play give evidence of careful observation. The author, therefore, has proved himself in several ways a gifted craftsman: undeniably he has ability, which, if applied to nobler uses, may make him yet a worthy servant of the public. But his play is brutal in tone, disproportionate in ugliness, bitter, disenchanting, and untrue. Therefore it is less worthy than many works accomplished with a lesser talent but dreamt out in a sweeter mood.

Such a work, for instance, is *Polly of the Circus*, an entertainment devised by Margaret Mayo [Mrs. Edgar Selwyn]. Polly is a little orphan girl who has been brought up by a boss canvas-man and an acrobatic clown (her only friends) to ride horses in a circus ring. In a certain small town of the Middle West, she is thrown from her horse and seriously injured. Her guardians carry her to the house of the Reverend John Douglass, who promises to take care of her. The circus moves away. During the slow convalescence of the girl, the minister teaches her to read, and Polly unwittingly teaches him many of the sweet emotions which heretofore have been missing from his life. After she is well again, the evil-minded members of the church are troubled by the very simple fact that she continues to live in the house of the minister. They tell their troubles to Polly; and, in order not to compromise her benefactor, she runs away and rejoins the circus. But the minister follows and finds her, and takes her away as his wife, to live happily forever after.

"Polly
of the
Circus"

It is doubtful if the rude world of tents and tanbark has ever produced such a sweet and unsophisticated girl as Polly; but, at any rate, it is pleasant and (I think) salutary to be made to believe so for an evening. The play contains several sketches of character which are eminently truthful. It is pretty in sentiment and thoroughly charming in tone. It must have been an easy play to write, because the story it sets forth moves expectedly along conventional lines. A bigger brain was required to produce *Irene Wycherley*. But *Polly*, though a lesser work, is a sweeter thing, done very well indeed; it evokes from the audience an emotional response that is more wholesome; and, for my own part, I believe the public wise in preferring to attend it.

Another unpretentious but delightful play was "*Under the Greenwood Tree*," by that ever-welcome dramatist, Mr. Henry V. Esmond. A beautiful young heiress, Mary Hamilton by name, grows weary of her conventional and artificial life in what is called Society, and decides to try a return to nature. So she buys a gypsy caravan; and in company with Peggy Ingledew, her social secretary, and a young baronet, Sir Kenneth Friarly, sets out to enjoy a fortnight of camping in the heart of the New Forest. Sir Kenneth loves the heiress without hope; and is in turn beloved, not very hopefully, by Peggy. The romance of living out of doors is mingled with the absurdity of attempting to adopt a primitive routine without a natural knowledge of it. It happens that the caravan has been halted on the estate of J. G. M. Hylton, Esq., J. P., who is averse to gypsies. Coming to drive the intruders forth upon the open road, he catches sight of Mary Hamilton and falls in love with her at once. He visits the gypsy wagon again and again; for the heiress returns his love. Thinking her a gypsy, he arranges to marry her for herself alone; and only at the final moment does he find out who she is. Hence happiness forever after.

This rather thin story was told by Mr. Esmond with a pretty commingling of dainty sentiment and delicious humor. His sketches of character were very deft in touch; his lines were bright and lyric. Realizing with a fine instinct that his sentiment of love and his sentiment of out-of-doors must run at many moments dangerously close to sentimentality and might therefore grow provocative of laughter, he saved his situations by laughing first himself and thereby winning the audience into sympathy with him. By this expedient he cleverly made his best scenes at once ridiculous and lovely. There was a charm in his humor and a humor in his charm.

There was a disposition on the part of many of the critics to slight this play of Mr. Esmond's, because it dealt with things so thoughtless as playing in the open air and falling in love at first sight. The author looked at life in the young sweet *As You Like It* mood, instead of with a hang-dog melancholy air. Apparently for the reason that none of the characters was suffering from an ingrowing soul or a consumptive spine, that no illegitimate children were wept about before and after birth, and that nobody announced solemnly that he had learned at last that there is neither good nor evil and that life is only indigestion, it seemed difficult for several of the critics to take this drama seriously. But, for my own part, I felt a salutary reassurance in its daintiness of tone, and solemnly rejoiced that I was not yet too sophisticated to enjoy it.

Her Sister, by Mr. Clyde Fitch and Mr. Cosmo Gordon Lennox, seemed to me on the whole less meritorious, because it was too obviously fabricated for the sake of mere theatrical effect. It was a very workmanlike play, correctly constructed and neatly written; but its stuff was of the theatre, rather than of life itself. The women of the play were well drawn; the men (as is usual in the pieces which Mr. Fitch writes with his left hand) were inconsiderable: but the interest throughout was focussed less on the characters than on the plot. Eleanor Alderson, who calls herself "Isis" and pursues the profession of crystal-gazer (for the sake of a first-act setting), is a girl of honesty, sincerity, and truth. Her sister, who has appeared upon the stage in America, has become involved in a compromising situation, more through indiscretion than through moral error. This sister is engaged to marry a conventionally-minded merchant. By the usual theatrical expedients, the careers of the two sisters are made to become intertangled in the minds of the other characters. One of these, Arnold Cullingworth, is of course in love with Eleanor. The second act is a reversal of the climacteric scene of *Mrs. Dane's Defence*. A network of investigation is drawn tightly and more tightly around the heroine. Finally, although she herself is innocent, she is broken down by her tormentors; and, in order to save her sister, is obliged to assume the latter's indiscretion. In the third and last act, a counter-trick engineered by Arnold Cullingworth breaks her down once more to a confession of her own innocence; and the desired happy ending is thus accomplished.

The trouble with this plot was merely that we had heard it all before. The play, therefore, did not convince as actuality: it was bloodless, like a formula. It was merely Henry Arthur Jones diluted. Yet in certain

characters, such as Mrs. Herriard, a well-seen woman of the acid, catty type, and in certain witty bits of dialogue, it was original and true. It revealed practice and accomplishment on the part of its collaborators; but it did not suggest any inherent reason why it had to be written. Therefore it lacked that spontaneity and liveliness of tone which is characteristic of the most estimable work.

The Jesters, a literary *jeu d'esprit*, translated into English rhyme by Mr. John Raphael, from the French of M. Miguel Zamacois, reminded me somewhat, as I listened to it, of Mark Twain's English version of the French version of his story of the "The Jesters" *Jumping Frog*. It is the sort of piece that can be written, acted, and enjoyed only by a French author, French actors, and a French audience. In order, therefore, to appreciate it, I found it necessary to imagine it translated back again from English verse into French, to imagine it played as the French actors must have played it rather than as the American actors did, and to imagine that I was sitting in a Parisian *parterre* instead of in the Empire Theatre on Broadway.

The piece is a rather dainty emulation of Théodore de Banville and of M. Rostand in his earlier and lighter mood,—the mood of *Les Romanesques* for instance. Its theme, traditional in the French poetic drama since Victor Hugo, is a harmonious commingling of the beautiful and the grotesque. This theme was entirely lost sight of in the American production, because the leading actress chose to cast the emphasis solely on its charming phase, and sedulously suppressed the attendant note of the bizarre. The story does not matter, and is not meant to. The piece is at many moments lyric and is occasionally witty. The author displays at times a pretty fancy; and though his imagination is not robust, he has ability to create an atmosphere of half playful and half poetic charm.

So much I was able to judge, by imagining the French production which was only imperfectly suggested by the American reproduction. The translator attempted the impossible task of rendering the lines in the original metres. I say *impossible*; because English hexameters rhymed in couplets produce upon the ear an effect necessarily very different from that produced by French Alexandrines. The French language is non-accentual; the English language is not only pronouncedly accentual, but is prevaillingly iambic. French Alexandrines, when properly read, divide themselves into four groups of three syllables rather than into six groups of two syllables—the nature of the group varying from the dactyl,

through the amphibrach, to the anapæst. English hexameters divide themselves naturally into six groups instead of into four—each group tending (by the very genius of the language) to be markedly iambic. Hence direct translation of French lines of twelve syllables into English lines of twelve syllables is technically impossible. In view of this, it must be admitted that Mr. John Raphael did his work fully as well as could have been expected.

When a piece of this character is performed in France, it is used more to exhibit virtuosity in reading than virtuosity in acting. *The Jesters* contained several *bravura* passages, composed in elaborate and intricate forms of verse, suggesting (though I could not definitely judge in passing) the rondeau and the rondel. I could imagine a Parisian audience assembling to enjoy with sensuous delight the mere reading of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt in such passages. But in America, theatre audiences never assemble to listen to reading; they assemble only to witness acting. Therefore, in the present production, the very intent of the best portions of the play was unappreciated.

Consequently the result remained a hodge-podge, neither French nor English in the writing or the presentation; and it was interesting mainly as an instance of the impossibility of conveying the tone of a very special product of one nation to people of an alien race attuned to different traditions.

The only other play in verse produced during the mid-season was a much more important work. This play, setting forth the story of *Electra*, was written by a Viennese poet, Herr Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and translated into English blank verse by Mr. Arthur Symons. The translation was effected with extraordinary skill, its main merits being directness and simplicity. By setting words in their accustomed order and writing always for the sake of the entire speech rather than for the sake of isolate felicity of line, Mr. Symons developed a blank verse that was more serviceable for dramatic uses than any other I have listened to in recent years,—simpler than that of Mr. Stephen Phillips and more natural than that of Mr. Percy Mackaye.

The German play thus admirably Englished was in many ways remarkable. Although Herr Hofmannsthal selected a Greek myth for his subject, he judiciously made no attempt to return to Greek emotions for his motivation. His play should not be judged in the same class with the tragedies of Sophocles, but rather in the same class with Oscar Wilde's *Salome*. Casting aside the Greek idea of Nemesis—the God of all the

gods—rigorously enforcing the eternal law of retribution for a crime committed, the Viennese poet chose rather to make his play a tragedy-of-blood, motivated by a more personal passion for revenge. Whereas the aim of Sophocles was to evoke terror and awe, the aim of Herr von Hofmannsthal seems to have been rather to evoke horror and a weirdly enjoyable repulsion. He succeeded, less momentarily than Oscar Wilde, but none the less decisively, in exhibiting the horror of a certain sort of beauty and the beauty of a certain sort of horror. His play, which was written in a single lengthy act, held the attention fascinated from the outset to the end. It was drama through and through, and it was also poetry. It does not belong in the highest rank of the poetic drama; because, both in motive and in mood, it lacks augustness and serenity. It is more intense than lofty in its tone; it is more shudderful than reverent. But merely as a work of art, it ranks high and deserves to be remembered.

By appearing in his father's famous rôle of Lord Dundreary, Mr. E. H. Sothern is rendering a dual service to the present generation of theatre-goers. In the first place, he is affording them a great deal of diversion by representing a character almost worthy of Mr. Kipling's great phrase, "sacredly absurd"; and in the second place, he is affording them an opportunity to learn at first hand how very bad were many of the plays that most delighted the public of half a century ago. It would be difficult at the present time to imagine a play much worse than *Our American Cousin*; yet its author, the industrious Tom Taylor, was one of the most accredited English dramatists of the mid-Victorian era. The piece is sentimental in the passages intended to be serious, and silly in the passages intended to be comic. In characterization it shows scarcely any reference to life; in structure it is inchoate and formless; in style it is conventional and stilted. Yet when Laura Keane produced it in 1858, with Joseph Jefferson in the part of Asa Trenchard and Charles W. Coudock in the part of Abel Murcott, it achieved a great success, even before E. A. Sothern began to gag the part of Lord Dundreary and to develop the character of that delightful imbecile to its ultimate proportions. The piece in its present state is, of course, mainly a comic monologue with interruptions; but just enough of Taylor's work is left to allow us to congratulate ourselves on the enormous advance in dramatic art which has been made within the memory of men still living.

Lord
Dundreary

There is a fallacy current at the present time that melodrama is a

reprehensible species of dramatic composition, and that therefore when an author writes a melodrama he should attempt to fool the public by pretending that he is writing something else. There is no foundation for this fallacy in the history of the theatre. During the nineteenth century alone, authors as able as Hugo, Dumas *père*, Scribe, Dennery, M. Sardou, Mr. Jones, and Ibsen [I refer to his *Lady Inger of Ostrat*], have written melodramas nakedly and unashamed; and some of these, like *The Two Orphans* and *Patrie*, seem destined to endure, if not in the library, at least upon the boards. But nowadays we usually spoil our melodramas by trying to treat them as if they were tragedies.

Mr. Laurence Irving might have made a very good melodrama out of *The Fool Hath Said*: "*There is No God*," if he had maintained until the end the courage of his plot; but the perverse imp called Moral Purpose seized possession of him and interfered unfortunately with his handiwork. The story is adapted from Feodor Dostoieffski's novel entitled *Crime and Punishment*, which I have never read. Rodion Raskolnikoff, a young student with unconventional ideas, thinks out a theory that certain worthy and high-minded individuals are endowed with the moral right to commit murder in the interest of society at large. Believing himself among the chosen, he chops down with an axe a filthy old swine of a lodging-house keeper, who has attempted to seduce a helpless girl named Sonia Martinovna. Thereafter the play for three acts concerns itself with the moral torture endured by Rodion's sensitive mind throughout the nerve-racking procedure of circumventing the investigations of the police. At the end of the fourth act he is suddenly saved by the unexpected false confession of another man, which has been motivated by legitimate melodramatic means; and all that he has to do is flee the country. Thus far, except for an occasional wrench of plausibility and a frequent redundancy of dialogue, Mr. Irving proceeded very well. Then, in the interests of Moral Purpose, he appended a fifth act in which he belied the entire character of Rodion that he had taken such pains to build up and exhibit. He permitted Sonia to mumble Biblical phrases to the student, platitudinously assembling them without coherence, and to wave a crucifix before his eyes, until (as the dramatist assures us) he resolved to give himself up to the police. If the rest of the play is true, this act is certainly a lie. Mr. Irving wrote it apparently as a sop to a public traditionally Christian-minded. Thereby he made his play immoral, and spoiled a good melodrama by turning it into an inconsistent sermon.

The several authors of *The Honor of the Family* didn't trouble their minds about a Moral Purpose, and therefore made a better play. This piece, called *La Rabouilleuse* in the original, was written "after Balzac" [a long way after, I cannot refrain from saying] by M. Emile Fabre, and adapted into English by Mr. Paul M. Potter. It is a melodrama, with a tinge of what the French call *comédie héroïque*. The play is not profound, nor even serious; its interest lies mainly in the excitement of its plot; but it is spirited in action, and is carried off with a brave and bracing spirit of dash and fervor. Unimportant though it seem upon retrospective consideration, it is for the moment meritorious because of its tone of reckless and vigorous romance.

"The Honor
of the
Family"

Mr. David Graham Phillips, who is already known as an author of popular novels, recently attempted to climb over the footlights with a play, entitled *The Worth of a Woman*. This initial effort was interesting but ineffective. Mr. Phillips had a thesis to expound: namely, that there is no right reason why a girl who has freely allowed herself to be seduced by a man she loves should, if she subsequently find him unworthy of her love, descend to the conventionality of marrying him, even though she be about to become the mother of his child. This novel and somewhat startling thesis was discussed by Mr. Phillips with great sense and sanity. His story was well developed along narrative lines; and with unexpected skill he succeeded at the close in marrying his hero and his heroine without flying in the face of his thesis. He displayed an insight into life which pierced below the surface, and an ability to imagine character with truthfulness.

"The Worth
of a
Woman"

The reason why his effort was a failure was that he spent less time and energy in exhibiting his story than he spent in discussing it. He betrayed himself a novelist rather than an artist of the theatre, by parceling out among his characters little critical essays concerning the situations in which they found themselves. In other words, he did not succeed in translating his abstract theme into the concrete terms of character in action. The truth is that people involved in situations emotionally tense do not indulge in coherent intellectual discussions of the ethics of their strained position. People who are acting narrative have no time for expository conversation. Mr. Phillips's play was therefore misrepresentative of life in one of its most vital aspects. Instead of telling the truth of his story in terms of the drama, he told the truth about it in terms of the essay.

Mr. George Ade has apparently scored a success with his farce entitled *Father and the Boys*, though the piece is less novel and less interesting than his *Artie*, which failed earlier in the season. The story of the new play is conventional, and, from point to point, expected. Lemuel Morewood, a wool broker who by unintermitted industry has amassed a large fortune, is regarded as hopelessly behind the times by his two sons, whose boast is that they always march at the head of the procession. One of them goes in for athletics, the other for society. Waking suddenly to a realization of the light in which he is regarded, the father unexpectedly adopts a pace that quickens; and thereafter his boys are kept breathless by the endeavor to catch up with him.

This farce is mildly amusing in general effect; but it is altogether too symmetrical in pattern. There is no variation from what the spectator seizes at the outset as the design of the entire drama; and a farce divested of the element of surprise is robbed of one of the most efficient means of ludicrous appeal. Furthermore, the piece exhibits very little of that shrewd and sagacious observation of the actual which Mr. Ade has shown in other plays, and is written with less of his accustomed wit and racy unconventionality of language. Mr. Ade, for all his promise, has not as yet come into his own.

The best American play of the mid-season is *Paid in Full*, by Mr. Eugene Walter, a young dramatist of unusual promise. An earlier play of his, entitled *The Undertow*, was excluded from first-class theatres by a concatenation of circumstances entirely extraneous to art, and relegated to the use of provincial stock companies, in whose hands it interested many audiences throughout the country. The metropolitan public now owes a debt of gratitude to Messrs. Wagenhals and Kemper for giving the new author a hearing on Broadway.

Mr. Walter, in this his second play, displays a surprising command of the technic of the theatre, and an even more surprising insight into life and ability to tell the truth about it. Joseph Brooks, a discontented clerk in the employ of the Latin-American Steamship Company, is worrying along in a Harlem flat with his wife, Emma, and endeavoring with embittered inefficiency to make ends meet. Yielding to a sudden impulse, he absconds several thousand dollars belonging to the company. The theft is soon discovered by the president, a certain Captain Williams, who in early life has been a sea-dog of the South Pacific and has earned the reputation of a terrorist. Joe blames his plight upon his wife, argu-

ing that he stole the money for her sake, and urges her to go at night to Captain Williams's rooms to barter for leniency toward his offence. Shocked by this cowardly proposal, Emma accepts it nevertheless, because she cannot bear to have her worthless husband go to jail blaming her for his downfall. The captain, moved by the brave womanliness of the wife, shows himself less terrible than everybody had expected, and gives Emma a signed receipt for the money absconded by her husband. When she returns with this to Joe, he suspects that she has secured it by the worst imaginable means. Thereupon she leaves him forever. The inference is that she will ultimately marry a sterling-hearted friend of hers and Joe's, who throughout the play has proved himself in all ways worthy of her.

The story, when thus roughly summarized, does not sound particularly novel. The novelty lies in Mr. Walter's unexpected way of handling it. He uses with great success the clever trick of setting forth characters and situations accustomed in the theatre and then suddenly twisting them around to an unaccustomed outcome. He treats the conventional unconventionally; and in doing so, he always tends in the direction of the truth. Selecting human complications which are almost always lied about upon the stage, he achieves novelty by telling the unexpected truth concerning them. For instance, when the sterling-hearted friend discovers Emma at midnight in the rooms of Captain Williams, he believes in her, simply and sweetly, instead of tearing a trumped-up passion to tatters. Here at last the dear old situation is handled truthfully for once. Other dramatists, when their leading character, or "hero," has absconded money, have almost always tried to awaken sympathy for him by convincing the audience that anybody would have done the same thing in his place; but Mr. Walter never falls into this pathetic fallacy. He knows that Joe is worthless, and he says so, without attempting mawkishly to justify him.

Mr. Walter's writing is just as truthful as his planning. His dialogue is natural and easy and direct. He has exhibited a bit of life without intervention or interference; he has done his work with simplicity, sincerity, and truth. Thereby he has accomplished an immediate service to the public, and has proved himself an author from whom many worthy plays may be hoped for in the future.

But of all the plays of the mid-season, the one that is most deserving of studious consideration is *The Servant in the House*, by Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy is a young English actor and scholar who takes his theatre seriously; and this, his first play to be produced, sets

him at once among the few contemporary dramatists who demand serious attention. It is momentous in theme, illuminative in characterization, compact in structure, and eloquent in style. It is the greatest play of the present season, with the possible exception of *The Witching Hour*, and is one of the most unusual and important plays of recent years. Furthermore it enjoys the advantage, unfortunately rare, of being greatly acted by a company of players who maintain throughout the piece a uniformity of admirable art. Mr. Henry Miller deserves to be congratulated for assembling such a company and presenting such a play.

**"The Servant
in the
House"**

The dramatist has gathered together in the household of a Vicar of the Church of England a little group of people, each of whom is emotionally ill at ease and intellectually discontented, for the reason (only partly realized) that he has failed to become the person God intended him to be. The Vicar has attained some little prominence as a churchman and a scholar, largely at the expense of his brother Bob, who thereby has been cast helpless on the world. Bob has drifted steadily downward to the lowest levels of life, and has grown misanthropic and embittered. His little girl has been taken away from him to be brought up by the Vicar and the Vicar's wife; but, upon the threshold of womanhood, the girl finds herself unhappy, because she has never seen her father (whom she loves in her imagination) and her heart has found no permanent abiding place. The Vicar's wife, a worldly woman, is discontented, because she has failed in her ill-advised ambition to advance her husband and herself in what convention calls Society. Her brother, the Lord Bishop of Lancashire, is a despicable servant of Mammon—a man who, having eyes, declines to see, and, having ears, refuses to hear. Each of these people has drifted or been dragged out of the direct current of the truth and is left eddying in falsity. Each, through his own error or through external influences stronger than himself, has made a tangle of his life.

Into this household the dramatist introduces unannounced a man whose character is a replica of that of Jesus Christ. It is implicitly suggested that this person, Manson by name, may be the Messiah incarnate; it is explicitly stated that he is a long-lost brother of the Vicar and Bob, who went early in his life to India and has there erected an enormous church, builded not with hands, held holy in the hearts of innumerable followers. This fact, however, the family does not discover till the very end of the play; for when Manson arrives at the beginning, dressed in Oriental garments, he comes merely as a new butler and takes

his station unobtrusively as a servant in the house. The divinity of his character, however, grows gradually apparent to the other people as the play progresses. The things that he says at significant moments are pregnant with simple wisdom and fundamental truth. Moreover, Manson teaches by his presence, calm and holy and serene. Through the influence of his lofty personality he makes clear to those about him the Way and the Truth and the Life. He leads them out of the entanglements of error into a state of sweet reason and smiling peace. The Bishop is cast forth as an abomination; and all the other characters are prepared to take up the lives Reality intended for them, in the service of that Love which is synonymous with God.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the importance of this new and daring theme. Also, it is superfluous to state that the man who could think out such a story was fully capable of drawing with imaginative truth the characters concerned in it. But Mr. Kennedy's play is almost as remarkable in manner as it is in matter. It is constructed with a compactness and a symmetry which combine the not dissimilar technical methods of Sophocles and Ibsen. The action passes in a single room, and is supposed to occupy the exact time required for the performance. The progress is entirely continuous, each act beginning at the precise point where the preceding act left off. It is, in structure, a long one-act play, punctuated with pauses for the sake of emphasis. One of the seven characters, a page-boy, is comparatively unimportant; but the other six parts are nearly equal in extent and in significance. Such restricted unity of place and time, and such careful symmetry in the apportionment of the parts, must not, of course, be considered as merits in themselves; but in this play Mr. Kennedy has undeniably gained much more than he has lost by imposing upon himself, and successfully accomplishing, a technical task of extraordinary difficulty. Finally, although he has skilfully differentiated the speech of each character from the speech of the others, he has written the whole play with a lofty and compelling eloquence that makes it just as worthy on the literary side as it is on the dramatic. The language, as well as the interplay of character on character, is pervaded with poetic beauty. And all these merits—dramatic, literary, satirical, poetic, religious, human—are combined with noble art to make a play which is elevating in tone, and which, therefore, by its very presence, edifies the public that it entertains.

Clayton Hamilton.

LITERATURE

TWO DISCUSSIONS OF THE ENGLISH DRAMA ¹

WITHIN the past few years the history of the English drama has been rewritten from many points of view, and the material for the study of this history has been sifted and made available by the labors of a host of scholars in Germany, in Great Britain and the United States. The Temple Dramatists—excellent while the series was in the capable hands of Mr. Gollancz, but now sadly inferior—have been followed by the admirable Belles Lettres Series, edited by Professor Baker. Professor Boas's conscientious and satisfactory edition of Kyd has been followed by Mr. Bond's Lyly and by Mr. Churton Collins's Greene, neither of them as conscientious or as satisfactory. Mr. E. K. Chambers has given us a richly documented account of the Medieval Theatre, and Mr. W. W. Greg has dealt adequately with the Pastoral. Professor Schelling has traced the rise and fall of the Chronicle-Play, and Professor Thorndike has performed the same service for Tragedy. Mr. Greg, again, has edited the records of Henslowe, as invaluable for the story of the English stage as the register of La Grange is for the story of the French stage. And in the second volume of M. Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People*, we have what is probably the most interesting, the most vivid and the most picturesque portrayal of the most interesting, the most vivid, and the most picturesque period of the English drama.

Now we have two more works of solid erudition and of marked literary skill, prepared by two American scholars, one dealing with the remoter beginnings of our drama, and the other tracing its development from its religious origins to its inglorious decline in the days when the Roundheads were making ready to close the theatres. To Professor Gayley we are already indebted for a series of *Representative English Comedies*, of which the first volume only has appeared and of which the later volumes are eagerly awaited. In this account of the development of the drama out of the ritual of the church he has sought to

¹*Plays of Our Forefathers, and Some of the Traditions Upon Which They Were Founded.* By Charles Mills Gayley. New York: Duffield and Company.

Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642: a History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theatres. By Felix E. Schelling. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

present the results of erudition with a certain lightness of treatment which might recommend his account of our earliest plays to that more or less mythical person, the General Reader. He shows how and why the ancient drama disappeared and how and why the modern drama **was** born again in the church. He traces the evolution of the liturgical plays and explains how there came to be an invasion of the humorous. He sets forth the coalescing of separate episodes from the Bible story into long-drawn cycles. He shows the relation of the miracle-plays to the moralities and the interludes; and he suggests the later development into romantic comedy.

Perhaps he does not bring out clearly enough the dominating French influence upon the English drama in the medieval period. Not in the nineteenth century and not in the Restoration is the example of the French dramatists more potent on English playmakers than in the Middle Ages. Professor Gayley seemingly sees this himself; he traces the English clown's soliloquy to the French *sermon joyeux* and the witty English dialogues to the French *débats*; and he points out the superiority of the French plays over the English in characterization; but perhaps he fails to impress on his General Reader the full extent of the indebtedness of the compilers of the English mysteries to their French predecessors. Professor Schelling is also not quite emphatic enough in setting forth this indebtedness of the earliest English drama to the French.

Professor Gayley's book is carefully put together. It contains many suggestive and interesting remarks, like that which points out that the knowledge of the Bible story possessed by the Canterbury Pilgrims seems to be due not to a searching of the Scriptures, but to attendance at the performances of the mysteries. In one respect Professor Gayley might have been more careful—in the indication of the source of his illustrations. One of these pictorial embellishments (facing page 102) is entitled "a pageant," and yet it is pretty certainly only a puppet-play, an early form of Punch-and-Judy. We should like to be told exactly where to find the *Monument to a Boy-Bishop*, here copied from Hone, and also to be informed as to the date and origin of *Robert the Devil at the Emperor's Court*, here borrowed from Mantzius. The one source from which our knowledge as to the methods of presentation obtaining in the Middle Ages can now possibly be enlarged is a conscientious search through the illuminations, wall paintings, altar-pieces and other records of medieval custom. The painter thought of sacred characters as he had seen these portrayed in the mysteries; and his pictures ought, therefore, to supply us with a host of hints as to the manner in which these characters were acted in the church and on the scaffold in the market-place.

Professor Schelling's account of the Elizabethan drama is the most elaborate yet published in English, more elaborate than Professor Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature*, which is not really a history, but only a collection of critical biographies of dramatists. The British author did not really trace the growth of the drama and he paid little attention to the theatre itself or to the desires and expectations of the playgoers, which must always condition the drama. The American author considers the playhouse and the playgoer a little more than his British predecessor, although perhaps not so fully as he might have done with profit, not so fully as Professor Thorndike has done in his illuminating history of English tragedy. But it is not too much to say that Professor Schelling's is a better book than Mr. Ward's, not only because it is later and ampler, but because it is built upon a better plan.

The American author traces the development of the secular plays out of the sacred plays and shows how the medieval drama slowly expanded and enriched itself as it cut loose from the church, and how it gave birth in time to that splendid expression of national genius, the Elizabethan drama. Perhaps the author does not sufficiently emphasize the fact that this Elizabethan drama remains semi-medieval and that it becomes only semi-modern, owing to its necessary utilization of stage-devices taken over from the Middle Ages. Then Professor Schelling considers in turn the growth to maturity of each of the several dramatic species which flourished in those spacious days—the chronicle-play and the allied historical play on foreign themes, domestic drama, the comedy-of-humors, romantic tragedy, tragi-comedy, the masque, the pastoral, the college-drama and the comedy of contemporary manners. By no other treatment could the extraordinary variety of the drama be so clearly made manifest. Perhaps there would have been profit in putting more emphasis on one of the most significant of Elizabethan species, the tragedy-of-blood, the revenge-drama, which is the result of the stiffening of the chronicle-play by imitation of Seneca and which was the link between the formless history and true tragedy. But no two students of the period can be expected to see its development from exactly the same point of view; and with Professor Schelling's point of view no other student has a right to find fault.

He has done his work very well indeed, and it is an honor to American scholarship, worthy of comparison with the best that has been done in Germany or in Great Britain. It is not only well planned but well written, and its criticism is sober and sane; it is as free from the dithyrambic rhapsodizing of Swinburne as it is from the mere dry-as-dust enumeration of the ordinary Teutonic investigator. He has accomplished an immensity of labor, a labor of love, for only an intense devo-

tion to his task could have carried him through it. Perhaps his enthusiasm has blinded him now and again to the deficiencies of the dramatists he is dealing with and has led him to cloak the unreality which is often obvious in their work, the false psychology, the willingness to delight an eager and unthinking audience by the arbitrary surprises it relished and the sudden and unjustifiable transformations of character which it enjoyed. Here M. Jusserand is a safer guide.

Nothing in the book is more worthy of high praise than its index of more than a hundred columns and than its bibliographical apparatus extending to more than two hundred pages. Here Professor Schelling has provided the student with an invaluable mass of matter not anywhere else presented with the same precision and the same amplitude. It reveals a masterly control of the material, and its incidental criticisms, brief as they must be, are generally helpful. A careful examination of this bibliographical essay has revealed very few omissions. Perhaps it would have been well to cite, under the *Duchess of Malfi*, Mr. Archer's paper in the *New Review*, January, 1893, and Mr. Clayton Hamilton's essay in the *Sewanee Review*, October, 1901. And certainly it was an error to omit all reference to George Henry Lewes's little book on the *Spanish Drama*, which would have drawn the author's attention to the skill with which Fletcher, for example, in the *Custom of the Country*, heightened the value of the situation he had derived from Cervantes.¹

And if a critic is condemned to the ungrateful task of finding petty faults with an admirable piece of work, a word of protest may be permitted here against Professor Schelling's trick of employing French words for which it would have been easy for him to find fit English equivalents. He writes *résumé* when *summary* would serve his purpose and *repertoire* when *repertory* is better; and he does not hesitate to use *régime* and *habitué* and *par excellence*. A writer who has Professor Schelling's command of English has surely no need to foray on the vocabulary of French.

Brander Matthews.

INTROSPECTION AND SOME RECENT POETRY

BY BRIAN HOOKER

PERHAPS no age has ever studied itself with so eager a curiosity as our own. Other times have given their chief attention to War or Worship or Art or Learning; and we still do these things; but even in the

¹It may be noted also that there is a later edition of *Work for Outlers* than that cited in this bibliography.

doing, we keep a sedulous eye upon the mirror. Perhaps cheap print and cheap education are accountable for this obsession of self; perhaps it is that science, triumphant in the conquest of material comforts and conveniences, has set us all to work card-cataloguing the universe. Certainly we are abnormally interested not only in how the other half lives, but in comparing its way of life with our own. New sciences are born overnight. We are universally examining ourselves, writing about ourselves, gossiping about ourselves; insomuch that we can hardly love without orienting ourselves to the sex-problem, or fight without simpering at future history, or pray at all, for wondering in just what type of Anthropomorph we believe.

The Age of Self-Consciousness Now, this omnivorous introspection has impressed itself very strongly upon all contemporary art. It has mated science and creation by a theory of eugenics which has produced a spawn of Isms. It has set the critic in the laboratory of the scientist, where he has so given himself over to classifying that he seldom allows himself to praise or advise or condemn. It has raised up the literature of locality, the problem-play, the analytical novel; it has turned the rivulet of our poetry almost entirely into the lyric channel—for the lyric is of all poetry most subjective; and it has brought to perfect and profuse fruition that most conscious of literary forms, the Short Story. Obviously there is much profit in all this. It is good, within limits, to make two Aristotles grow where one grew before; the short story is a precious possession; and they who hold that modern Realism is an advance in art are too many for me to dispute with them. Even in poetry, though introspection has possibly attenuated the current, drying up Epic and deflecting Drama, it has yet been productive of much good. All previous ages could not produce so beautiful, varied, and intimate an efflorescence of lyric as have the few years since Burns. It is well for the poet to look in his heart and write, well for him to examine the precise quality of his intent and the technical resources of his craft. The danger is that through looking too precisely he be smitten with the paralysis of Hamlet. It is possible to consider what one is trying to say so carefully as to say nothing; there is nothing more painfully artificial than a conscious effort after naturalness and simplicity, such as we find sometimes in Wordsworth. Breathing, in short, is an easy and a natural process until voluntary consciousness of the act makes it difficult and troublesome.

And the comfortable respiration of the muse has been disturbed by contemporary consciousness in two respects: first by limiting her free

heritage of the air. In our egoism, we would have all the subject-matter of poetry contemporary. Leave off singing of old wars and loves, retelling ancient myths. What's Hecuba to us? "Lord, send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the song of steam!" And we would teach our poets that poetry is being lived all about us; that they should be mouthpieces of their age; that no man can step off his own shadow; and that we cannot sing those old songs truly. Now it is true that our time contains as much poetry of life as any; but precisely because it is our own, this poetry of life is unready for translation into poetry of art. For poetry deals of necessity only with what is either old or ageless. You may poetize a kiss or an arrow; you cannot poetize a locomotive, not because the thunderous fire-breathing steel monster is unbeautiful or unpoetic, but simply because it is too near. It is yet raw, surprising, commonplace but not connotative, unfledged of glamour. The mounted messenger is poetic substance; our mail system, like gunpowder and some other elder inventions, is just becoming so; wireless telegraphy is magical, but . . . impossible. When modern material of life shall have aged, then and not before will the song of steam be sung. All poets in all ages have felt this. Homer was no contemporary of Achilles; in his day the gods no longer mingled with men. And this truth is clinched by the failure in all times of even genius to poetize the physically contemporaneous. Milton's artillery is absurd; Tennyson's guns are poetic, his railroads ridiculous. Of course no poet can possibly help being the mouthpiece of his own age, not by choice of subject or imagery, but in treatment. We may tell of the beginning of worlds, yet we cannot see it but out of modern eyes, nor sing of it but with timely tongues; and all attempt to imitate the manner of another age is as futile as to exploit the matter of our own. The things which are not seen are eternally poetry. The temporally visible and the timbre of modernity must and should be left to adjust themselves.

The second cause of Pierian asphyxiation is the vicious analytical tendency to separate the ideas of substance and style. For purposes of reasoning we distinguish the two as we distinguish soul and body. But to speak of this poet's great thought ill-expressed or that one's exquisite style which expresses nothing is to make a contradiction in terms. For poets communicate only by language; and to the hearer that which is expressed otherwise is another thing. Who told you the poet's thought, if not himself? If he has conveyed to you a great thought, that

**Substance
versus
Style**

conveyance is great expression; and if he has said a thing greatly, that saying has made it great. Divide soul and body and you have no longer a living man, but a corpse and a ghost. The most concrete evil of this spurious disception is that it teaches the burgeoning artist to neglect the study of his tools. It has become common to speak depreciatively of the stylist; which is to advise the singer to avoid cultivating his voice lest he sing the worse for having learned how to sing. Fra Lippo Lippi's remarks on this subject are both sensible and satisfying.

Mr. Arthur E. J. Legge, whose volume *The Pilgrim Jester*¹ is the fruit of a meditation broad and perhaps deep, a sensitive and kindly observation, and a style not without a certain crude vividness, displays nevertheless both symptoms of the modern disease. His subject is contemporary society, the fermenting must of modern circumstance. He does not believe in time-mellowed materials.

Mr. Arthur
E. J. Legge

Better to be an ink-stained buccaneer,
And plunder the fat merchant-fleet that goes
Beneath proprietary flag of prose,
Take some well-laden prize in tow, and steer
For the poetic sphere!

To this Mr. Legge's whole poem is a sufficient answer. *The Pilgrim Jester*, a symbolic blend of Socrates and *The Beloved Vagabond*, walks through modernity wisely smiling, contemplating all forms of creeds. To the sand-spinning multitude, the blind mouths of Law, Church, and State, to the Philosopher, the Demi-mondaine, the Poet, the Frustrate Woman, the Laborer, he holds up in turn amid appropriate surroundings the mirror of a gently sympathetic scepticism. Yet he is no destructive critic of life. He shadows forth a philosophy not unlike the clearer teachings of Stevenson, of Browning, of Whitman: that living is worth life, and only fear is evil. This faith is presented slantwise, in a misty iridescence of new lights. The scope of the poem is its first weakness; for the universe is no more visible globed in a drop of dew than at life-size.

Again, Mr. Legge is of those who exalt substance over style. He therefore mingles art and philosophy in an unwelcome union which injures both. His episodes are not scenes, but phantasmata lacking concreteness, nebulous with analysis and commentary. For all its casual beauties his book remains a breathless body, his idea a disincarnate ghost; great in conception, perhaps—but unexpressed for want of artistry in the expression.

¹*The Pilgrim Jester*. By Arthur E. J. Legge. New York: John Lane.

Oh that *my* voice may reach
 A few young ardent hearts, and summon them
 To leave the bovine throng upon the deck
 Whose aspirations will not soar above
 Amusements, costly food, and merchandise,
 And first-class tickets for the Promised Land,
 Or, at the least, insurance policies
 Against a half-believed-in Hell—I would
 Beseech them to enrol themselves recruits,
 To reinforce the stalwart company,
 So few—who work the ship and strive to learn
 The secrets of the sea.

To quote these lines is to criticise them; and they represent fairly the style of the whole poem.

No result of latter-day introspection is more dangerous to art than the tendency to explore the utmost limits of form, where chaos riots but a little farther on. Especially to the lesser artist is this extremity of unrestraint mischievous. For the little artist cannot see that such men are great by what they are, not by what they fail or disdain to be. Browning is not more but less a poet for his mannerism and cacophony; Whitman's glory is not in being unmetrical but in being rhythmical. Liberty is not a yearning for anarchy. A diamond uncut is precious; certain of us infer that therefore they do well to forbear polishing their glass or shaping their amorphous clay. Witness much abominable vers-libre in the magazines. Of this Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie's *Interludes and Poems*¹ is typical. Nothing which attains to the full clarity of a thought is discernible in the mass of crude intellection which blurs dimly through its needless licenses of style. It is *Sordello* uninspired; full of wanton tortuosities of syntax, vain gleaning of rare and obsolescent words, and a versification which congratulates itself upon flouting scansion. The book leaves an impression of Buddhistic philosophy, seeming to preach the dissolution of self—mannerism hymning Nirvana.

The hope of American poetry never suffered a loss harder to bear than that of Richard Hovey. His name suggests to us only the small though lovely lyrics of Vagabondia; and the later, greater work in which his power and his artistry were truly revealed was left unfinished and unfamiliar. Even the portion of it which he lived to complete and to

¹*Interludes and Poems*. By Lascelles Abercrombie. New York: John Lane.

publish had proved a poetry of thought and an intimate skill in form full of larger promise. And now the publication of the notes and fragments¹ for the remainder of the poem brings home our loss even more keenly. *Launcelot and Guenevere* is, and would have been, a noble illustration of that true relation of old or ageless symbols with new ideation which is truly poetry. Mr. Bliss Carman, in his introduction to the posthumous volume, says:

**Richard
Hovey**

It was not his aim to reproduce a distant fabulous age . . . for the mere sake of its glamour and romance. . . . It was the inward significance of the old tale, so apt and familiar a case in point, that formed its supreme value in his consideration. . . . He wished to get away from the modern setting for his drama, so that the exposition of his ideas might not be confused by the baffling counter interest of contemporary realism. He was not attempting a comedy of manners, but a harmonody of ethics. The farther away from the nineteenth century his scenes could be laid, the more easily could our attention be concentrated on the interplay of characters, the outcome of acts, and the final elucidation of a human problem.

For the Drama, the Novel—for all other literature—this is no precept; the poetry of all times declares that for poetry it is law.

It has become fashionable to say of Mr. Stephen Phillips that he is a stylist without substance; and latterly, that having said one thing he has had nothing further to say. But Mr. Phillips began by expressing marvellously a great human something never before so poignantly expressed. When that mystic lily of his first opened under the moon, men gasped with intimacy of delight; not because the elusive glamour of old beauty was made manifest, not because one had achieved a new witchery of words and a new blank verse worthy to inherit Tennyson, but because these were one deed, one living embodiment. Since then, Mr. Phillips has been writing to order poetic dramas, each steadily and bitterly paler than the last. And now, his new volume of poems² reads like a book of studies. Any one, wanting the facts, would, I think, place the new volume from internal evidence five or ten years earlier than *Marpessa* and *Christ in Hades*.

**Mr. Stephen
Phillips**

It is not that Mr. Phillips has run dry of ideas. He has indeed iterated his first great saying time after time with inevitably weakening expression. But through the *New Poems* run the wraiths of many

¹*The Holy Graal, and Other Fragments.* By Richard Hovey. New York: Duffield and Company.

²*New Poems.* By Stephen Phillips. New York: John Lane.

thoughts as worthy, which equal artistry might have made as great. It is that to these creatures clamorous to be born he has given only weak or even crippled bodies. A man who in his artistic adolescence wrote the blank verse of *Marpessa* can and must learn to handle other forms as well, and that one better. The style of *New Poems* approaches that of the earlier volume only in a few scattered lines; and there is in form a languid and purposeless experimenting with easy vers-libre and a pedestrian array of bad heroic couplets. If this were the author's first volume, one would call it promising; from a proved craftsman it is merely slovenly.

And yet we must remember the distorted proportions of present time. Tennyson was silent for more years than Mr. Phillips has spoken faintlier; and while he still lives and writes, the tone of *The Lost Leader* is neither seemly criticism nor just. Easily the best poem in the new volume is *A Poet's Prayer* for strength to pass over the waste, uninspired seasons. We cannot but take this reverently, as both personal and sincere; and wait, without invective, in the hope that this debility of Mr. Phillips's muse may be only a passing, not a mortal illness.

A first acquaintance with the work of Mr. Alfred Noyes¹ irresistibly suggests Stevenson's sentence upon Mr. Kipling: "The fairy godmothers were all drunk at his christening." Mr. Noyes is twenty-seven; he has published five volumes of more than merely pleasant verse; he has begun an *English Epic*, the temerity of which title has not aroused critical laughter. He has tried a bewildering variety of subjects without failure and with occasional splendid success; and he has managed a dizzy variety of rhythms with fresh grace and often with original mastery. He writes with a sort of divine garrulity—a poetic prodigal, shaking a sunlit mane and singing loudly and sweetly across the morning. For all his volubility he thinks deeper and sanelier, feels with a fresher ardor, and versifies with a more catholic skill than many of the worthies did at his years. He has not, indeed, learned blank verse; but he has already come near to it. And in the rapid, triple measures, his lines have the lithe facility of Mr. Swinburne, with a variety and guarded sweetness above the elder poet's achievement.

Cloud upon cloud, the purple pine-woods clung to the rich Arcadian mountains,
Holy-sweet as a column of incense, where Eurydice roamed and sung;
All the hues of the gates of heaven flashed from the white enchanted fountains,
Where in the flowery glades of the forest, the rivers that sing to Arcadia sprung.

¹*The Golden Hynde*. By Alfred Noyes. New York: The Macmillan Company.

White as a shining marble Dryad, supple and sweet as a rose in blossom,
 Fair and fleet as the fawn that shakes the dew from the fern at break of day,
 Wreathed with the clouds of her dusky hair that kissed and clung to her sun-
 bright bosom,
 Down to the valley she came, and the sound of her feet was the bursting of
 flowers in May.

The debt to Mr. Swinburne is here quite evident; yet this is clearly no imitation, but a legitimate inheritance of the mantle; and a fine ear will detect the subtle superiorities of the younger metrist. Here and elsewhere the kinship of the two poets shows no less in feeling than in form. But the passion of Mr. Noyes's love-poetry is the healthy ecstacy of glorious youth; there is no fever in its fire, no shriek in its hymnody of possession. And this difference is typical of a general comparison. The ode on Mr. Swinburne's seventieth birthday is not greater but nobler than anything of the master's own.

Orpheus and Eurydice, from which I have just quoted, is one of many poems in the volume upon Emerson's theme, "When Half-Gods Go, the Gods Arrive." And in this case Mr. Noyes has, I think, read the old myth truly, and said the supreme thing of the relation between the man's joy and the artist's sorrow. Some of the songs upon the same theme are unconvincingly intellectual. And through much of the new volume runs a vein of didacticism and dogma much less pervasive of Mr. Noyes's earlier work. Now, the poet renounces his birthright when he puts off the prophet to assume the priest. If he would urge upon us the horror of war, his own and only way is the way of Verestchagin, by showing us its horror; not by declaiming against it, however earnestly, in the manner of the pulpit.

Mr. Noyes's luxuriant fecundity and his beautiful health of sight are at once his promise and his danger. There is the fear that he may diffuse or squander upon the present that power which he will surely need one day for greater work yet undreamed of. And there is the danger that in maturity he may lose the naked vision of that Beauty whom, veiled in moralism, we know by her earthlier name of Truth.

G. S. LAYARD'S "SUPPRESSED PLATES"¹

BEYOND the mere bibliophile, in whose eyes the value of a first edition is vastly enhanced by the misprint of a proper name or an error in pagination, and who will hug with almost unholy delight Barker's

¹*Suppressed Plates*. By George Somes Layard. London: Adam and Charles Black.

"Breeches" Bible of 1594, let us say, because on the title page of the New Testament the figures are transposed to 1495, or the first edition in French of Irving's *Sketch Book*, because the translator has declared the book to be "*traduit de l'Anglais de M. Irwin Washington*"—beyond the mere bibliophile, a genuine interest in the subject of suppressed pages and book illustrations reaches out to every human reader. For is there not in the subject the delightful suggestion of intrigue and scandal? Has it not the flavor of forbidden fruit? For example, there is a single issue of *Harper's Magazine* of fourteen or fifteen years ago which is appraised at a value totally out of proportion to the modest price at which one may obtain a conventional copy of Mr. Du Maurier's *Trilby*. From time to time, under a glass case at exhibitions of prints, may be seen a single brief paragraph from this issue, accompanied by a drawing representing a certain Joe Sibley, one of the "Two Idle Apprentices." To the uninitiated observer neither illustration nor text is in any degree extraordinary. Had it not been for the irritability of the very gifted painter who wrote of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, the bantering allusion to Joe Sibley would have had for posterity no greater significance than the allusions to Dodor and Zouzou, to Durier, Vincent, Lorimer, Carnegie and the Greek. It would have provoked its momentary laugh of amused recognition, and then been forgotten or remembered only as a very small part of a very delightful book. But with suppression came comparative immortality. People will always be hunting it out in the by-ways of literature just as they always will remember and seek the expurgated passages of Kipling's *American Notes*, the comprehensive curse of the young Man from Nowhere, and his amiable expression of opinion that for the Chinese navy to blow that of the United States into the blue would be the matter of an easy quarter of an hour.

In the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth, when the engraver's art was a laborious and expensive one, the alteration of a plate did not always imply an indiscretion in the original. Re-engraved or palimpsest plates are germane to this subject of "Suppressed Plates." In his introduction Mr. Layard tells of finding among his papers a curious note from the pen of R. H. Cromek, the engraver, who flourished at the end of the eighteenth century. "One of these vendors," he writes (publishers of Family Bibles), "lately called to consult me professionally about an engraving he brought with him. It represented M. Buffon seated, contemplating various groups of animals surrounding him. He merely wished, he said, to be informed whether, by engaging my services to unclothe the naturalist, and giving him a rather more resolute look, *the plate could not, for a trifling expense, be*

made to do duty for 'Daniel in the Lion's Den.'" Then there is the famous engraving by Pierre Lombart after a make-up portrait of Charles I. on horseback, professing to be by Vandyck. The plate was first made before the execution of the King. Afterward, for commercial reasons, the head was erased, a head of Cromwell substituted, some minor changes in costume introduced, and the portrait made to do as a martial likeness of the Great Protector. After the Restoration, Cromwell's visage disappeared from the engraving and the head of Charles was restored.

Probably very few characters in fiction stand out in more sinister vividness than George Gaunt, Lord Steyne, of *Vanity Fair* and *Pendennis*, and the wood-engraved portrait of him drawn by Thackeray, showing the fringe of hair, the cruel mouth, and the shrewd, evil eyes, is perhaps the most celebrated of all suppressed book illustrations. As all the world knew, the prototype of Steyne was a Marquis of Hertford, and although there were persons who urged the claims of the second Marquis Francis, who died in 1822, and of the fourth Marquis Richard Seymour Conway, who died in 1870, to the distinction, no one can place the suppressed engraving beside the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence of Francis, the third Marquis, who was the intimate of George IV., or study the unsavory details of that nobleman's evil and eventful life, and still cherish a vestige of reasonable doubt. In the first edition of *Vanity Fair*, which was published originally in monthly parts, appeared the Steyne engraving. In later issues it was omitted, and the story is that a threatened action for libel was responsible for its removal. Against this tale are the facts that the third Marquis of Hertford died in 1842, while the serial publication of *Vanity Fair* did not begin until 1847, and that under English law it is not possible to libel a dead man. Mr. Layard himself inclines rather to believe that Thackeray himself became disgusted with the brutal frankness of the picture and insisted on its removal. If so, it evinced a rather unusual tenderness on Thackeray's part, for he did not hesitate to introduce portraits of Stephen Price as Captain Shindy in *The Book of Snobs*; Andrew Archdeckne and Captain Granby Calcraft as Foker and Captain Granby Tiptoff in *Pendennis*; Edmund Yates as George Garbage in *The Virginians*; and Theodore Hook and John Wilson Croker as Wagg and Wenham in *Vanity Fair*.

The Battle of Life does not perhaps occupy a very exalted place among the works of Dickens, yet in connection with this tale there was engraved one of the most curious of all suppressed plates. John Leech was the illustrator, and being extremely busy, read only as much of the story as he deemed necessary for his purpose. The early part of the plot of *The Battle of Life* leads one to believe that Marion Jeddler had

eloped with Michael Warden, when, as a matter of fact, she had merely escaped to her aunt. Dickens had intended that the readers should be deceived; not that Leech should fall into the trap. To the consternation of the novelist Leech designed a double illustration showing at the top of the page the festivities to welcome the bridegroom and underneath the flight of the bride and Michael Warden. This picture is generally spoken of as "Leech's grave mistake." It was an episode in which Dickens showed himself extremely generous. Curiously enough there is another little incident connected with *The Battle of Life* illustrating another phase of Dickens's occasional good nature. In the words of Mr. Layard:

Three years after its publication a somewhat scurrilous little volume (now excessively rare) bearing the allusive title, *The Battle of Life, or Boz and his Secretary*, issued from the press. It was illustrated by six lithographs signed with the name of George Augustus Sala. It was a poor enough performance, but attracted attention by its *ad captandum* title, and the portrait of "Boz in his Study." It is an imaginary and far from complimentary account of Dickens's employment of a secretary, whose occupation is to show him round the haunts of London, by way of providing "local color" for the novels. Eventually the secretary turns out to be a detective, who has been told off by the Government to discover the nature of the novelist's intimacy with the revolutionist, Mazzini. It is a vulgar little brochure, and for all its futility, must have been very distasteful to the idol of the day. It was therefore the more magnanimous of Dickens to ignore the part which Sala had in it, and to speak so generously of him as we find him doing in the *Life*, besides employing him and pushing him, as he did largely later on, in his periodicals.

The Battle of Life was not the only occasion on which Leech misunderstood Dickens's purport. In another Christmas book, *The Chimes*, the illustrator delineated, in place of Richard as described in the text, an exceedingly dirty and dissipated-looking character with a battered hat on his head. This woodcut was promptly suppressed. Nor was George Cruikshank uniformly successful as an illustrator of Dickens's books. "The Fireside Scene," which he had designed for the closing chapter of *Oliver Twist*, proved so distasteful to the novelist that it had to be cancelled, and the plate showing Rose Maylie and Oliver at Agnes's grave was not thoroughly satisfactory to Dickens until it had been very elaborately "touched up." Small wonder that Thackeray, with his crude though powerful pencil, failed of acceptance as the artist for *Pickwick*.

The intimate association of all those men who worked pictorially for London *Punch*, and the consequent thorough understanding of the standards and prejudices of that periodical, made the suppressed *Punch* plate something of a rarity. For the cut that was likely to be doubtful

was not likely to be engraved. Yet Mr. Layard mentions two of these cancelled designs drawn by no less a personage than Charles Keene. The first of these was suppressed for political reasons. It is in connection with the purchase of the shares of the Suez Canal by the English Government and represents Disraeli leading the principal financiers of the day in hats and frock coats across the Red Sea. The other cancelled Keene plate was of a social nature and was wisely held out to avoid the risk of offending the susceptibilities of *Punch* readers. The idea may have been a new one at the time, but it since has been associated with the memories of a score of public men. A disconsolate widow is saying to a sympathetic friend: "But why should I grieve, dear? I know where he spends his nights now."

In conclusion to return to Du Maurier, Whistler, and the offending illustration of the "Two Apprentices" in *Trilby*. Whistler could never be brought to regard Joe Sibley in the light of amiable fun. Mr. Layard relates that when, for this volume, he asked permission to reproduce, as a pictorial curiosity, the suppressed print, he was informed by Whistler in the politest manner that the venture would involve him in an expensive and uncomfortable correspondence with the painter's solicitors. And yet, Whistler was never justified in regarding the skit, at the worst, as anything more than a well-merited retaliation. As those who knew him best often found to their annoyance, Whistler would rather destroy a friendship by what he considered a brilliant phrase, than sacrifice the phrase and preserve the friendship. Certainly he never had the right to expect any particular consideration from Du Maurier. The *Punch* artist and Oscar Wilde had once met in a room where Whistler was holding an exhibition. Whistler brought the two face to face, and holding each by the arm, drawled: "I say, which of you two invented the other?"

Arthur Bartlett Maurice.

THE LITERATURE OF ROGUERY¹

PROFESSOR WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON offers as the second work in his Types of English Literature Series *The Literature of Roguery*, by Professor F. W. Chandler. The plan of this series is to give an account of the rise and development of the different forms of English literature, each by itself—a scheme which possesses obvious advantages from a bibliographical point of view and is most useful as a source of reference, but which does not properly indicate to the reader the varying breadth

¹The Literature of Roguery. By Professor F. W. Chandler. Two vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

of those channels through which literary effort has poured at different periods, and which is the real basis of the history of literature.

But, writing on the plan, Professor Chandler has turned out a very complete and admirable piece of synthetic work. His research has been so exhaustive that one is a little aghast at realizing the degree in which rascality in one form or another has been the theme of literary production. It is undoubtedly true that general histories of literature are deficient in their consideration of the picaresque output—especially the criminal biographies, the jest and beggar books, the conny-catching pamphlets, the prison tracts and repentances, and even the tramp and burglar literature of the present day. About all of these the author gives an amount of information that would be very difficult to gather elsewhere.

The true rogue is not included in the two types of moral delinquent that figure in pre-Renaissance literature—the criminal by instinct, and the criminal by passion. The latter is often a hero, a character that attracts rather than repels, for, as the author points out, “crime done under great provocation, or in response to a sudden emotional stimulus, by no means precludes in the doer noble or heroic traits.” The criminal by instinct is the born villain. The rogue is neither of these. He is the child of circumstance, and his crimes are petty ones. His typical misdemeanor is theft, “born of a desire to win by wit and dexterity what others have wrought by labor or received of fortune.”

The real literature of roguery arose in Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century with the *Life of Lazarillo de Tormes*. This celebrated character was introduced to the world in 1554, when the era of Spanish decadence had already begun, and the ideals of chivalry were rapidly being given up. “The disdain for patient labor made room for easy cheating, and the lack of bread more and more enforced it.” The authorship of the epoch-making book is assigned on doubtful grounds to the poet-statesman, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Lazarillo is the prototype of the true picaro. He is “an anti-hero who makes his way in the world through the service of masters, satirizing their personal faults, as well as their trades and professions.” The picaresque narrative possesses “two poles of interest—one, the rogue and his tricks, the other the manner he pillories.”

In its development the literature of roguery lost much of its original character. We soon find the rogue ascending the social scale; he becomes a person of family and a gallant adventurer—a master with a scheming valet of his own to continue the old tradition.

For over a century the picaresque narrative had tremendous vogue in Spain. But the vein was finally worked out. Meanwhile the tradi-

tion had passed into France and by 1630 had been firmly implanted. A new element, the erotic, little emphasized in Spain, had been introduced. Le Sage with *Gil Blas* (1715) perfected the French type, "and did more than any one else to develop out of it the modern novel." *Gil Blas* bears many resemblances to the Spanish prototype, but "it differs from these in its choice of the anti-hero from respectable middle-class life, in minimizing roguery, awakening his conscience and softening his heart. . . . In short, *Gil Blas* outdid the Spanish tales in art, morality, humanity and breadth of appeal." The rogue was taking on qualities that made a real human being of him and rendered him useful for the wider needs of modern fiction.

Le Sage's masterpiece was the great distributor of picaresque influence and England felt its full effect.

We go far back for picaresque origins in England—there is plenty of such material in the early Chronicles, plenty of roguery in Chaucer. Its literature was a powerful factor in forming the primitive drama, for which such legendary rascals as Robin Hood, Robin Goodfellow and Friar Rush were copious sources of supply. But in the creation of the eighteenth-century novel foreign picaresque sources were plentifully drawn upon. The development of the novel, however, was so rapid and expansive that French and Spanish influences quickly disappeared. Daniel Defoe was the first to reject the chief characteristic of the true picaresque type—"the story for the story's sake—independent of the conditions of actual life."

"The contrast between *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* and early picaresque fiction," says the author, "is remarkable. . . . Defoe at a blow changed a comic and satirical fiction to one, in a sense, of character. He showed the decline of a soul from innocence to knowledge, temptation and sin, and then its rise by virtue of repentance from distress through honesty to prosperity and calm. . . . He surpasses Le Sage in adhering to unity of character. . . . In *Moll Flanders*, and to a less extent in *Colonel Jacques*, Defoe has struck the keynote of the modern novel. He has partially subordinated incident to character."

From now on the picaresque element gradually waned. It had been useful, but fiction as a finer art had now no need for it as such. The libertinism of Richardson's heroes bears no resemblance to the love affairs of the Spanish rogues. Fielding's characters are never truly picaresque. Tom Jones is a "compromise between the picaro and the hero, intended by his creator to set forth humanity in the average." Smollett did indeed take the traditional rogue as a model, but he rarely used him with

success. Sterne never drew a rogue. A new use of picaresque material was disclosed by William Godwin in *Things as They are, or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*. This, as Professor Chandler explains, is not a novel of intrigue, adventure or manners. "The attack upon social conditions and the study of character are its aims." The influence of this book extended well into a later age, and served as a model for the reformatory novels of Bulwer-Lytton.

The picaresque factor in the creation of the modern novel is unquestionably important, for it is one of the main sources of the element of pure entertainment and therefore deserves the consideration here given. But it would seem as if the author has injured the just proportions of his work and risked the weariness of his reader by his academic description of the many rascally characters that stalk through the page of the great nineteenth-century novelists. The rogue has now quite lost the true picaresque character and his place is of minor account. Scott and his imitators made of him a truly romantic creature, as did George Borrow, that strange mixture of deep religious feeling and sentimental sympathy for rascality. Bulwer-Lytton used him to preach the inconsistencies in our social system. Dickens, "inheriting the tradition of Smollett and Egan and profiting by the reformatory purpose of Godwin and Bulwer, first combined the two tendencies, studying rogues as individuals and also as social phenomena." Thackeray burlesqued roguery at first, but later turned to ironical treatment—and even to direct abuse.

The author carries the same minute examination through the writers of the present day, showing the treatment of roguery in the romantic reaction against realism by such men as Stevenson, Cutcliffe-Hyne, Hornung, Weyman, and Hewlett; in the "new realism" by Besant, Howells, Gissing, Arthur Morrison, Zangwill and others. Full consideration is also given the tales of bushranging and convict life, the gentleman (and lady) burglar, and the copious literature of crime detection, the heritage of the *Mémoires* of Monsieur Vidocq, in which not the rascal but his pursuer is the central figure.

The place and character of roguery in English fiction and the drama (which is treated in the same manner) form the main theme of Professor Chandler's work. But there are other literary forms dealing more exclusively with criminal and low life, which not only possess considerable interest as curiosities of literature, but have been direct contributions in more or less degree to the novel and the stage. All of these are treated by the author with his customary thoroughness.

In 1548 William Copland's translation of *Til Eulenspiegel* was published, and this properly started the fashion for jest-books. They were

numerous and popular until well into the seventeenth century, when, owing to their character becoming purely impersonal, they ceased to be regarded as fiction. The same period witnessed the appearance of the first attempts to chronicle picaresque manners and speech, a form of literary effort that has developed into the great work of Farmer and Henley, *Slang and its Analogies Past and Present* (1890-96), which "professes to give an historical and comparative account 'of the heterodox speech of all classes of society for more than three hundred years, with synonyms in English, French, German and Italian.'"

Of more interest to the general reader are the quaint conny-catching pamphlets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A conny, it must be explained, "was the cant term applied to the silly victims of London rogues." Robert Greene, who may have been a conny-catcher himself, undertook in 1591 "to describe the wiles employed against the innocent, that forewarned might be forearmed." Closely allied to these pamphlets were the prison tracts and repentances, dealing with prisons, the first one of which appeared in 1600.

All such literature is classed by the author as "anatomies of roguery," essays descriptive of the grades, cheats, or manners of professional criminals. In these earlier forms "the dominant spirit was literary or linguistic curiosity. Of humanitarian motives few could boast, and not until the second half of the nineteenth century did the scientific and humanitarian spirit prevail." The vast work edited by Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, appeared in several volumes between 1851 and 1865. Before that, about 1848, the pencil of George Cruikshank had really combined the picturesque and sociological elements of crime. Both Mayhew and Cruikshank were strong influences upon such novelists as Dickens and Charles Reade, who paid special attention to crime as a social phenomenon. Scientific studies of criminal manners have greatly multiplied since Mayhew's day, but most of them now belong to the field of criminology. The writings of the late Josiah Flynt are perhaps the most entertaining of all. "His work," says Professor Chandler, "differs from Mayhew's more elaborate anatomy in two respects—it observes only the minor rascals, and regards them from their own level."

A large class of picaresque literature was the result of the social misrule under which England suffered in the early part of the eighteenth century. The criminal biographies, short and long, and the Newgate and other chronicles of crime, were typical products of the times. The careers of such rascals as Jonathan Wild, Captain Avery, Cartouche, the famous French picaro, and Jack Sheppard, inspired Defoe and others to write of them in a manner that throws a truly romantic glamour upon

the sordid details of their lives. Until about 1730 these criminal biographies appeared in pamphlet form, but their popularity waned and they were soon expanded into lengthy biographies, the first of which dealt with the exploits of the famous Bampfylde-Moore Carew. These works have a special interest for the student of literature, for Daniel Defoe applied his great philosophic knowledge of human nature to their low-life realism and so produced the first crude specimens of the English novel.

George H. Casamajor.

THE NOVELS OF FRANK DANBY¹

"HAPPY women do not write."

The saying is Frank Danby's own. It occurs in an autobiographical sketch which is invaluable for the light it throws on the personality of one of the most interesting writers of current English fiction. It is the sort of document one might expect from the author of *Dr. Phillips* and *Pigs in Clover*. The first and last impression it conveys is of a calm, unflinching sincerity, of a character without pose. Least of all is there the pose of unhappiness. "This life of mine," she says, "has been very full. I think I have had everything that the world counts worth the having. The most loyal and generous of husbands, a sufficiency of means, an incomparable son, born in the first year of my marriage; and always the great gift of my sister's close companionship." And elsewhere she remarks: "I suppose the very fulness of my life has been against the perfection of it." No petty unhappiness is expressed in this confession, but the large unrest and dissatisfaction of a true creative impulse that drives its possessor to self-expression in defiance of every inhibition.

Plainly, here is an author in spite of herself. Her first efforts in fiction, she relates, were intended for no larger public than the wastepaper basket. Her first published novel was written to amuse her husband. On the failure of her second book she abandoned novel-writing, as she supposed, forever. She thought so little of *Pigs in Clover* that it was published almost against her will. When she had put the best work of which she was capable into *The Sphinx's Lawyer*, only to find it generally condemned, she again determined not to write again; yet in less than two years from the publication of that book comes her new novel, *The Heart of a Child*. She has had no illusions as to a "vocation." "Although I was continually writing, it was always as an amateur. . . . I am still a pupil, never a teacher. I write because I must, not because

¹*The Heart of a Child*. By Frank Danby. New York: The Macmillan Company.

I feel that I am fit to 'record achievements' or 'proclaim the masters.'” Perhaps this persistence in taking herself *en amateur*, and the fact that her half-dozen novels cover a period of more than twenty years, are responsible for her somewhat anomalous position in the world of letters. I doubt if any other fictionist who has done work at all comparable with hers in quality is so little known or so seldom reckoned with. It may not be amiss, then, to set down here some biographical facts.

Frank Danby (Mrs. Julia Frankau) was born in 1864. Her early childhood was passed in Dublin, where she had as neighbors Lady Wilde and her sons, Oscar and Willie. The family was a large one, with a hereditary taint of tuberculosis—the father was an artist and photographer. The child Julia was a precocious author, and before she was thirteen she had written a parody of a Villanelle by Oscar Wilde, which found acceptance at the hands of Edmund Yates and was published in the *World*. By this time the family had removed to London. Financial reverses came, the father died, and for a time the older children of the family essayed the struggle for a livelihood. Mrs. Frankau comments curiously on this experience.

The result has made me always a little hard on those men and women who tell me they are unable to obtain work, or, having obtained it, are unable to execute or keep it. I found no difficulty at all. Strangely enough, I never thought of my pen as a means of a livelihood, except in its mechanical use. I did law writing, I addressed envelopes for the London Necropolis Company, I executed embroidery for a big West-end shop. . . . The most definite impression it has left on my mind is how easy it is to earn a living, if one is energetic, punctual, and fairly intelligent.

Before this time the future author had had the advantage, after the most desultory schooling, of a year under the tutelage of Madame Paul Lafargue, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx. At nineteen she was married to Arthur Frankau, a London merchant, “the best man I have ever known.” The restless energy that is so perceptible in her work would not let her remain idle. “I began to write again, I tried my hand at poetry, drama, and occasional short stories, but all for my own edification.” It was through the intervention of George Moore that *Dr. Phillips* was rescued from the waste-paper basket and published in 1887. The failure of *A Babe in Bohemia* two years later made her determine never again to offer a novel to the public. Between the publication of that book and *Pigs in Clover* lay a period of fourteen years. Mrs. Frankau began to collect eighteenth-century prints and engravings, the study of which eventuated in her superb work on *Eighteenth Century Colour Prints* and her lives of John Raphael Smith and of James and William Ward. In

this period, too, she wrote many articles for *The Saturday Review* and other Conservative papers. (The reader of *Pigs in Clover* will remember how little uncertainty remains as to its author's political leanings.) The novel that made her known to the present generation of readers appeared in 1903, and was followed at intervals of less than two years by *Baccarat* and *The Sphinx's Lawyer*. Arthur Frankau died in 1904. Mrs. Frankau has one son, Gilbert Frankau, who has written short stories. Mrs. Aria, well known as an authority on costume, is her sister, and the late Owen Hall, the author of *Florodora*, *The Silver Slipper*, and many other musical comedies, was her brother.

The personal qualities reflected in the confession from which these brief details are mainly extracted are quite in consonance with the author of the novels I have enumerated. Two in particular seem to me to stand out as highly significant—a restless, insatiable, propulsive energy, and a kind of passionate sincerity. Other gifts of the novelist she has in greater or less degree, but with these all that she has done is instinct. It is these qualities chiefly that make *Pigs in Clover* one of the unforgettable novels. It is of moderate length, but it holds material enough for a dozen stories. Here at the outset is one of its faults; for it is full of faults—big, brave faults that belong to its individuality. The book as a whole does not quite hang together—the story of Stephen Hayward and his daughter, the story of the Althouses and Joan; even the episodic story of the Jameson raid, the appearance on the scene of the gigantic figure of Cecil Rhodes, are not thoroughly welded to the rest. Any wise, careful novelist would have husbanded this material for another book, and then another. Frank Danby is not careful; she has a large reserve power. Nor does she spare herself difficulties. The task she set herself in *Pigs in Clover* is so big that even flat failure would have a kind of dignity.

That it is something very different from failure is due to her honesty—and to fundamental brain-stuff. The danger in attempting a story like *Pigs in Clover*—a story laid out on a big scale, a story with a thesis, with dramatic possibilities, “situations,” at every turn—is the danger of yielding the character up to circumstance, of allowing the situation to pose the problem and mould the character to its data. It is in a literal sense a creation to produce a character so firmly conceived, so vigorously projected, as to be able to resist even the unconscious demands of its creator himself, made in the interests of his plot. In his recently written preface to the revised *Portrait of a Lady*, Mr. Henry James quotes a remark of Ivan Turgenev “in regard to his own experience of the usual origin of the fictive picture.” It began for him, Mr. James reports, “almost always with the vision of some person or persons, who hovered

before him. . . . He saw them subject to the chances, the complications of existence, and saw them vividly, but then had to find for them the right relations, those that would most bring them out; to imagine, to invent and select and piece together the situations most useful and favorable to the sense of the creatures themselves, the complications they would be most likely to produce and to feel." To do all this without once compromising the integrity of the character implies an austere rectitude of mind that is itself related to genius.

It is this kind of mental uprightness that gives such potency to Mrs. Frankau's inexorable exposure of the lives of Louis Althaus and Joan de Groot. Louis, the "veneered cad in a gilded frame," is one of the most sinister creatures I can recall; a man so contemptibly mean, selfish and cruel that one is in constant danger of missing his subtle fascination. A single false gesture, a word spoken out of character, and the fascination would be missed, for the illusion which is reality would be gone. And Joan, with her fine spirit, her superb love, is a figure of high tragedy. I know nothing truer than the ninth chapter of the book, in which, after Louis' hot infatuation, Joan's surrender, the moment of her bliss, one follows the quick cooling of the man's passion and the gradual disillusionment of the woman. This probing of the human heart is not of the deepest, but it is unerring so far as it goes. It is not done neatly; on the contrary, it is at times labored, almost clumsy. It is too direct, too honest and purposeful, too unconscious of effect, to be pretty. One thinks of a surgeon, too intent on the result to think whether the operation he is performing is done in good form, not gifted with natural grace of motion, but achieving the end of the highest skill through sheer savage concentration on his purpose.

Louis Althaus, his big, strong brother Karl, Dr. Phillips and his circle—get them all between the covers of a single volume and you would have the *Book of the Jew* that poor Joan de Groot planned but never wrote. Frank Danby has repeatedly shown an interest amounting to fascination in the contradictory nature of the Jew. The Hebrew *croupier* of *Baccarat* is a sharply drawn figure, and not the least potent of the characters in *The Heart of a Child* is the Jewish theatrical agent, Joe Aarons. Her first book, *Dr. Phillips*, is compact of Jewry. It is, so far as I can recall—and I do not forget Mr. Zangwill's exquisite delineations—the most uncompromisingly honest presentation of Jewish life in English fiction. The opening chapters are likely to prove disappointing. Frank Danby has not Mr. Zangwill's gift of suggesting an interpretation of a race in a single happy phrase. It is only as one lives week after week with these clannish denizens of Maida Vale, seeing into their homes,

watching them at their prayers and their amusements, that one comes to know intimately their ineradicable virtues, their vices and shortcomings.

The book aroused a storm of indignation that brought from the author a preface to the second edition, denying that she had attacked the race to which her husband belonged. It was indeed too just for an attack. Unsparring as is the exposure of the narrow, sordid life of the successful, middle-class Jew, cruel as it may be in dissecting the weaknesses of Dr. Phillips as well as his repellent strength in certain directions, yet it leaves one not only with pity for him, but actually with real admiration. His Hebraism is of the essence of his success and his failure; yet it is never used by his creator as a weapon against him. The story is a horrible one, from the ordinary point of view. There is not a single character in it that one can both like and admire. Mary Cameron is a study altogether worthy to stand beside that of Joan de Groot—an utterly heartless woman where Joan was all heart, selling her soul for a comfortable home, trading on her physical attractions, as truly a murderer as her lover and with no part of his excuse. Yet her charm is unmistakable.

That Frank Danby knows her own sex one cannot doubt, remembering Mary Cameron and Joan and the weak, vain, well-meaning wife of *Baccarat*. In some respects these women are her most remarkable creations. And her latest book is altogether feminine. While it sets forth some very individual masculine characters, *The Heart of a Child* is dedicated to the career of Sally Snape. It is interesting to know that the book originated in a discussion between Mrs. Frankau and her brother, Mr. Owen Hall, concerning the old, old question: Can the woman of the stage be virtuous? Mrs. Frankau answered the question, both in the abstract and in the concrete instance cited in her story, in the only possible way: It depends on the woman. The temptation to try to establish some conclusion by manipulating the characters in a story of this sort is ever-present; but Mrs. Frankau escapes it by the very terms of her thesis. Her only assumption is one fundamental to every true novel, that the individual character alone counts, in every situation in life. Sally Snape is merely one individual—an original and exceptional one, indeed—and her experiences prove nothing whatever as to the moral effect of stage life on young girls; they prove only its moral effect on Sally Snape.

Whether or not the story is the biggest one Frank Danby has ever written, it is a remarkably real document, in which the resemblances to her earlier work are not more interesting than the differences. Its hon-

esty is unimpeachable, and there are some ugly episodes that are by no means glosed; but on the whole it gives us Frank Danby in a mellower, gentler mood than ever before. One suspects that she likes Sally Snape, and the liking in some way gets itself communicated to the reader. Sally is a creature of strange limitations; her mental and moral deficiencies are marked—she is neither too clever nor too scrupulous; yet the fascination that made her in a night the favorite of the comic opera stage may be felt, if not analyzed.

In technical skill the book shows a marked advance. Like George Moore, whose literary disciple she is and has always been, Mrs. Frankau has been slow to learn the refinements of her art. Like Mr. Moore, too, she has, in her own words, "always felt the necessity for a human model from which to paint." The picture of stage life in *The Heart of a Child* is undoubtedly drawn direct from the model. As a realistic presentation of the way in which the people of the theatre live, there is no book to match it save *A Mummer's Wife*. But beyond the initial similarity of theme, and some minor resemblances of method, there are plenty of differences in the work of the master and the disciple. The London "Gaiety Girl" and Mr. Moore's company of provincial actors inhabit different sections of the theatrical world, which scarcely meet save in the booking offices of the theatrical agent. And Sally Snape and Kate Ede, as individuals, have nothing in common. Frank Danby has not intruded on the field that Mr. Moore so wonderfully made his own. Her new book could be ill-spared from the too short catalogue of her works. Her admirers will find reason to rejoice that she has reconsidered the determination she made when, after the publication of *The Sphinx's Lawyer*, "a tornado of press abuse took the gilt off the gingerbread of its large sales." The words in which she recorded her feelings at this time are so characteristic, and hold out such hope for her future career, that I offer no apology for quoting them:

"I think it will take me another fifteen years to recover from the hurt of the reviews sufficiently to publish another novel. I am undecided, for the moment, whether to devote my time to perfecting myself at bridge, in learning to become a grandmother, or in studying Chinese ceramics. I only know I cannot live without work." *Edward Clark Marsh.*

THE QUALITY OF EDEN PHILLPOTTS

THE literary personality of Eden Phillpotts is sufficiently notable to awaken interest in any new work from his pen—an interest which looks as eagerly for manifestations of the author's development as for enjoy-

ment in the work itself. Taken from either point of view his latest novel, *The Mother of the Man*, is highly satisfactory. As a story it grips and holds, holds throughout the unhurried development, the frequent digressions, because it is a story of character, not of situation. It is the story of a man's mental and spiritual growth under the influence of the great love his mother bears him. Avis Pomeroy's personality finds full and complete expression in her love for her son. It is the immortal part of her that survives death itself, and the memory of it comforts and guides the man at the crisis of his life. The story is an emotion embodied, a thought given corporeal shape as completely and basically as the statues of Stephen Sinding, alone among modern sculptors, give form and shape to the great, simple, fundamental, human emotions. The outlines of it are held firm and unwavering through the long course of the narrative, the portrayal of many minor types, bits of rare humor, and the glamour of the landscape painting in which Mr. Phillpotts has long since proven himself master. And it is just in this firm hold on his spiritual central theme, in its symphonic development up to the final grand climax, that Mr. Phillpotts's latest novel is so encouraging as a manifestation of the development of his talent, the growth of his literary personality.

Mr. Phillpotts has written a number of books in the ten or fifteen years that have passed since his advent into the literary field. Like all writers who produce much, he is uneven in his work. There is some that is of value and much that is not. But that which is good is very good, and the sum of those books which are his best shows a steady line of progression, of healthy growth in his chosen field. He is not a versatile writer; where he has departed from the subject which he has made particularly his own, the result has not been so satisfactory. His growth, therefore, has not been one of breadth but of depth; it has not been an enlarging of the physical horizons of his talent, but a deepening of his insight into the souls of a certain type of people, an enriching of his understanding—always keen—of the most subtle, hidden beauties of nature, and above all it has been a perfecting of his instrument, an improvement in workmanship from book to book. His newest novel is so complete in this respect that it makes it difficult to prophesy what the author may do in the future; he seems to have said the last word in his series of Dartmoor novels. He cannot say more without repetition; he will therefore probably say something else. And it is not easy to foresee what this something else will be. But if the book makes speculation regarding its author's future very uncertain, it gives, on the other hand, the best opportunity for a summing up of his achievement thus far.

There are four books among the many Mr. Phillpotts has written which touch the highwater mark of his power, and from which we can gather a completed portrait, the very essence and substance of his striking talent. These books are *The Children of the Mist*, *The Good Red Earth*, *The Secret Woman*, and the latest, *The Mother of the Man*. Three of them are distinct gains to literature; and while *The Good Red Earth* does not quite reach the level of the others, it has still sufficient merit to allow of its classification among those books that are worth the writing.

Two qualities are most noticeable in Mr. Phillpotts's work as we study it from these books. There is an intimate and loving comprehension of the beauties of nature, even an ardent glorying in them, and a keen sense of the innate dignity of the human soul. The first-named quality holds the attention most in reading; the second comes with the memory of the book, some time after. Mr. Phillpotts is a master of word-painting of landscape; among the best of those now writing there are few who equal him. Dartmoor, "the lofty central waste of Devon," the scene of these his best books, is the page of nature from which Mr. Phillpotts has taken inspiration for many a description over which the reader lingers entranced. He has given a sentient life to the Spirit of this region with its bleak austerity and its sombre wastes, its spots of rare beauty in cosey valleys and woodland. He shows us this Spirit brooding over the humans who live under its sway, changing its face with the changing seasons, kind one moment, bitterly cruel the next, making or breaking their lives with its inexorable law, and fashioning their souls into dignity or pettiness, as they are strong or weak.

Dartmoor is an embodiment of reality and a theatre of elemental force. Her bitter cold and shadeless heat, her dwarfed but vigorous vegetation, her solemn hills and plains of light and darkness outspread, while they repulse the urban spirit, yet sometimes awaken the beholder to emotions of interest; sometimes fire the feeble soul to courage; lift the luxurious toward restraint; touch the narrow, self-centred and mean to a wider survey of existence.

At the foothills of the Moor lie forests. They surround her, creep here and there up the green coombs into her heart and nestle beneath her throne. A thousand homesteads stand round about her, and look upward to the waste for many things that make life easier. Consciously the men and women repair thither for their passing needs; unconsciously it happens to some among them that the conditions of their existence here put metal into character and forge moral chains of armor, as the case may be. Such additions, handed down from generation to generation, help the high causes of patience, temperance and courage upon the one hand, or petrify the heart and make for selfishness and greed upon the other.

These words, from the opening paragraphs of *The Secret Woman*, give the keynote to Mr. Phillpotts's best books. His canvas is limited

in area, but just as in his nature-painting his intimate knowledge of every foot of Dartmoor gives a sense of bigness to the landscape, just so does his knowledge of sheer humanity in the painting of a small group of people give a sense of bigness to the human part of the story. The picture is small in size, but the perspective so deep that actual boundaries are swept away, and we see the world itself in the drop of water.

In *The Children of the Mist*, the book that first drew serious attention to Mr. Phillpotts's writing, his eminent power of landscape painting is noticeable but it keeps even pace with the human story. He has written other books later in which this power has run away with him, throwing the book out of proportion, and stories not really big enough in themselves have suffered by comparison. *The Good Red Earth* suffers somewhat in this way. But in *The Secret Woman* the dramatic strength of the story holds its own against superb bits of landscape painting, and in *The Mother of the Man* the human interest is blended so perfectly with the beauty of nature, is so much a part of it, that there is a satisfying sense of proportion and completeness. And yet it is just in this latest book that the workmanship of the descriptions of scenery is at its highest. There is none of the carelessness that strikes a jarring note now and then in some of the earlier works. Instead, there is one passage after another of such chiselled perfection that one lingers over them lovingly, as over some beautiful lyric. Among many of equal worth it is hard to find any one passage to quote. The rhapsody on "Falling Leaves" that opens the book is very good, and the following bit of it is its core and kernel:

. . . The leaves were paying for the pageant of the year, heaping their sweetness upon the earth and returning the precious things garnered at treetop to the hidden workshop that lifted and maintained each unit of the forest commonwealth.

To them had belonged springtime and the song of the thrush; theirs were the silver rain of May, the glow of the June sunshine, the moist kisses of the night wind roaming to welcome another day. They knew the red moon that swam up over the forest edge, cast off the tinctures of earth in her ascension, then turned an argent shield to the world and set the dim dew flashing. Theirs were the visions of meadow and wold and the uplifted desert of the Moor; they knew the riot of the storm and the thunder; they had marked the punctual progress of the months. And theirs, also, was that night so strange, that emotion so terrific, when through each emerald court there passed a presence at coming of late September. Day, indeed, banished the shadow, and the sunshine stayed their fear; but a stain had brushed the whole forest and written a new thing there, whose name was death.

Amid this pageant of nature's beauty, pictured with an amorous

lingering over every phase of it, the comedy and the tragedy of human life are played out by a small group of simple people, Devon farmers and villagers. A different village is the scene of each separate book, but the sort of people remains the same. Within these restricted limits Mr. Phillpotts has found an endless variety of types. But it is in the portrayal of the completed type that he excels; even among his leading characters in several books there are but three who develop and progress in spiritual change or growth before our eyes. This of course is in itself a falling short of true greatness in the creative artist, but it is a sign of power in Mr. Phillpotts's writing that his characters hold our interest even though they are so true to themselves that we know just what to expect of them after we have become thoroughly acquainted with them. And it is also a sign that his best work has been done in *The Mother of the Man*, because this story itself has its very reason for existence in the slow development and spiritual growth of the principal character, Ives Pomeroy.

Chief among the many well-caught types, drawn with sympathetic understanding in Mr. Phillpotts's books, are the mothers. It would seem that it is as a mother that he best knows and loves woman. His maidens are more conventional, less alive. The woman who is a mother, more particularly the mother of a grown son, is his finest achievement. In such figures, that something primitively typical that all his characters have, finds its justification. For the mother-love is the one emotion which in a woman swallows up all thought of self and renders her a type only, the embodiment of a thought. Splendid types of wise, calm and tender mothers move through these books. And yet it is with a fine sense of dramatic effect that Mr. Phillpotts lets the words which shall sum up this supreme emotion in a woman's life be voiced, not by one of these strong, wise mothers, but by an obscure little woman, a nonentity before and after, who finds speech just once as she sits by the dead body of her son, confronted by the strenuous grief of his wife that was to be. For the first and last time in her life little Mrs. Hicks (*Children of the Mist*) finds expression for her feelings, and out of her simple philosophy utters her joy that has been and her sorrow that is.

I tell you a gude wife will do 'most anything for a husband an' give her body and soul to un; but she expects summat in return. She wants his love an' worship for hers; but a mother do give all—all—all—an' never axes nothin' for it. Just a kiss, maybe, an' a brightening eye, or a kind word. That's her pay, an' better 'n gawld, tu. She 'm purty nigh satisfied wi' what would satisfy a dog, come to think on it. 'Tis her joy to fret an' fume an' pine o' nights for un, an' tire the Almighty's ear wi' plans an' suggestions for un; aye, think and sweat and starve for un all times. 'Tis her joy, I tell 'e, to smooth his road,

an' catch the brambles by his way, an' let 'em bury their thorns in her flesh so he shaa'n't feel 'em. 'Tis her joy to hear him babble of all his hopes an' delights; an' when the time comes she'll take the maid of his heart to her awn, though maybe 'tis breaking wi' fear that he'll forget her in the light of the young eyes. Ax your awn mother if what I says ban't God's truth. We as got the bwoys be content wi' that little. . . . We'll let theer wives have the love, we will, an' ax no questions, an' we'll break our hearts when the cheel's took out o' his turn—break our hearts by inches—same as I be doin' now.

This reverence for the great unselfishness of mother-love broods over all of Mr. Phillpotts's best work. It is one of the things that give it a quality of spiritual uplift, a bigness which is outside of the province of criticism—that bigness that makes us remember certain books more than others of equal value in workmanship and literary quality.

Grace Isabel Colbron.

THE COST

BY ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

God finished woman in the twilight hour
And said, "To-morrow thou shalt find thy place:
Man's complement, the mother of the race—
With love the motive power—
The one compelling power."

All night she dreamed and wondered. With the light
Her lover came—and then she understood
The purpose of her being. Life was good
And all the world seemed right—
And nothing was, but right.

She had no wish for any wider sway:
By all the questions of the world unvexed,
Supremely loving and superbly sexed,
She passed upon her way—
Her feminine fair way.

But God neglected, when He fashioned Man,
To fuse the molten splendor of his mind
With that sixth sense He gave to womankind.
And so He marred His plan—
Aye, marred His own great plan.

She asked so little, and so much she gave,
That man grew selfish: and she soon became,
To God's great sorrow and the whole world shame,
 Man's sweet and patient slave—
 His uncomplaining slave.

Yet in the nights (oh! nights so dark and long)
She clasped her little children to her breast
And wept. And in her anguish of unrest
 She thought upon her wrong;
 She knew how great her wrong.

And one sad hour, she said unto her heart,
"Since thou art cause of all my bitter pain,
I bid thee abdicate the throne: let brain
 Rule now, and do his part—
 His masterful strong part."

She wept no more. By new ambitions stirred
Her ways led out, to regions strange and vast.
Men stood aside and watched, dismayed, aghast,
 And all the world demurred—
 Misjudged her, and demurred.

Still on and up, from sphere to widening sphere,
Till thorny paths bloomed with the rose of fame.
Who once demurred, now followed with acclaim:
 The hiss died in the cheer—
 The loud applauding cheer.

She stood triumphant in that radiant hour,
Man's mental equal, and competitor.
But ah! the cost! from out the heart of her
 Had gone love's motive power—
 Love's all-compelling power.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

A MODEL FOR DRAMATIC CRITICS

BY FRANK MOORE COLBY

IT has often been said of our stage, as of our city government, that it is as good as we deserve. Artistic excellence on the one hand and decency on the other are not practicable. Stage managers and politicians explain all that they do and all that they fail to do in terms of popular demand. And they are quite right from their point of view, which is that of ordinary men, not leaders, but followers. A truly representative government ought, if we may judge from the men we meet on a day's journey, to be rather a foolish or tyrannical affair. It seems a mere piece of luck, for instance, when you consider the typical New Yorker, that it is Charles H. Murphy and not Abdul Hamid or Abdul Aziz or Muley Hafid that rules over him. It is not through any merits of their own that so few New Yorkers are beheaded or sold as slaves. No doubt the same reflection would occur to the reasoning pedestrian in San Francisco or St. Louis. And so at any successful American play, if you will permit yourself to be so rude as to peer into the faces of the audience and listen to conversation that you are not supposed to overhear, you will soon be wondering not that the play is so bad but that it is not worse. It is cut and trimmed to fit expectations. As a stage manager recently put it, the best sort of a play is that in which every young engaged couple in the audience will find just such a hero as the young man would like to appear to the young woman and just such a heroine as the young woman would like to appear to the young man. The playwright is not trying to persuade people of the truth or beauty of anything in his own mind but to supply the staple truisms and well-worn beauties of which their minds have formed the habit. The surest immediate success is to be found not by trying to win people over, an artistic purpose, but by trying to be won over by them, a market purpose. The safest and most lucrative course is the line of other people's intellectual least resistance. This, as we all know, is the course that American playwrights have always taken and are still taking. Not that they do so consciously. The instinct for popular demand, I have heard it said, will often give its possessor the agreeable glow of a spark of genius, and success is almost

always accompanied with great faith in the worth of it. It is probable that American playwrights are not perfunctorily commonplace but really very enthusiastic about it. But the fact remains that our plays are not only not works of dramatic art but bear no evidence in them even of artistic intent.

All of which is obvious and would be superfluous, were it not for its bearing on the misspent lives of an unhappy group of men who are struggling along under the title of dramatic critics. The dramatic critic in this country is like a toy steamboat with its wheels in the air, buzzing. He has no material to run in, but still goes on, revolving dramatic criticism. Our stage is so plainly a commercial institution that no rational playgoer needs the explanations he so constantly receives. It may be taken for granted that no high artistic joys are expected of our dramatic merchandise, and having once made clear that it is the usual thing, the critic is absolved from any further damnation or instruction. He is thenceforth free to write about whatever interests him and might in that way be more interesting. For it is a dull business, this analyzing of wax dolls to prove they are not Venuses, and pondering of Mr. Belasco or Mr. Thomas or Mr. Clyde Fitch, and catching them at "stage tricks" and at not being "true to life" and wondering whether some nerveless young playwright might not be too radical for our growing girls. In this antenatal period of the American drama, critics have invented the most uncomfortable kind of drudgery for themselves. It would be hard to find one who writes as if he liked the writing whatever he may think about the play. The reader merely says, There goes another nose to that unnecessary grindstone. Perhaps it is because they have exhausted themselves in the appraisal of the insignificant and the elaborate exposition of the self-evident; perhaps it is because they have no liking and natural aptitude for their work; but in any case, no American dramatic critic has thus far in our history published a volume that was particularly worth reading. The most superior among them have been as completely damned as writers as they have damned the stage. They blame a play for being of the moment, but they themselves cannot be read next week; and the lack of dramatic art is no more conspicuous in our playwrights than lack of literary art in their critics.

The spur to these remarks is Mr. A. B. Walkley's recently published volume on *Drama and Life*, which comprises many of the papers written by him as dramatic critic for the *London Times* and a few that had appeared in magazines. They were probably as well suited to their ephemeral purpose as any that have been printed here and yet they are as entertaining now as they were then. If there is any way of finding

out the secret, it would certainly be a blessing to our reading communities. There can be no harm in making a few guesses. For one thing, Mr. Walkley has acquired as a necessary instrument of his calling a very agreeable literary style. It probably seemed unfair to him to blame another class of workmen for their defects of technique without trying to overcome his own. He has taken as much pains in the expression of his opinions as in forming them. So he avoids ponderous moral invective on the one hand and flippancy on the other, achieving a certain clearness and precision of phrase that refreshes the word-weary reader. No "tainted tinsel" or "putrid pinchbeck" for him, or "we cannot but deplore" or "breezy," "spicy," "racy," "brisk dialogue," "sparkling like dry champagne." He seems to believe that a certain degree of dignity and distinction of speech is essential to criticism. Then he evidently has great self-renewing powers, probably without the aid of stimulants. He has had the strength to bear up under scores of exceedingly bad plays and retain a zest for the good ones; whereas it often happens that a critic is so damaged by the bad that the good finds him inarticulate. Not long ago a stage critic defined Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* as a cheap melodrama not even mitigated by mock sentiment—evidence, it would seem, of a mind almost destroyed by its previous ill-usage. The alleged staying powers of the Englishman mentioned in athletic contests—his "form" in tennis—may have something to do with it. Even Max Beerbohm, whom one would suppose from his articles in the *London Saturday Review* to be mentally a fragile creature, is not much the worse for wear and is almost always readable even on a passing topic four weeks late. Though under the constraint of intellectual condescension, with that consciousness of a university education which English writers of a certain class cannot escape for a moment, and obliged always to declare that there are no plays worth his serious attention, he nevertheless turns up each week, foolish but happy. Like Mr. Walkley, with whom he has nothing else in common, he has the gift of vitality. This means a great variety in the form of judgment, even when the judgment is the same. It means that the writers can turn their experience at a bad play to good account and find new and interesting ways of deploring the decay of the drama. A critic's despair need not always make a reader's weariness, and granting even that the modern English-speaking stage is a wilderness, it does not follow that the critic should write like a pelican.

Mr. Walkley has an advantage in knowing the modern French stage as well as, perhaps better than, the English. Whenever London has been too dull, he has visited the Paris theatres, and he seems to have seen all the best French plays of recent years, many of which

are discussed in his *Drama and Life* or drawn upon for comparison. In tracing the origin and course of the modern drama in the two countries he brings out some interesting points. Taking *Hamlet* as the most "modern" of Shakespeare's plays, he shows how completely it lacks the requirement of the drama of to-day "that every scene shall contribute to the advancement of the story." While waiting for the Ghost Hamlet discusses the love of strong drink. In the midst of his plans for revenge he lectures the players on acting. "In the churchyard he must 'draw' the gravedigger." "Gertrude, rushing in with the shocking news of Ophelia's death, pauses to deliver a set piece of poetic description—

‘There is a willow grows aslant a brook,’

with eighteen lines to follow—during which Laertes must bottle up his emotion." The characters are ready at any time to break the story or forget their parts in order to address the audience. The Elizabethan drama was essentially rhetorical and did not insist either on illusion or continuity. The cause, as Mr. Walkley was the first to show, though Shakespearian writers have been busy with it since, was that the stage, a raised platform without scenery, projected into the pit and was surrounded on three sides by the audience. In spite of a tendency to withdraw toward the curtain this platform stage persisted through the Restoration and even the Georgian period. Hence plot and consistency were disregarded. "The Restoration plots were beneath contempt," and he quotes Vanburgh to the effect that the chief virtue of a play lies far more in the characters and dialogue than in the story. Early in the nineteenth century the platform stage gradually disappeared, but the traditional rhetorical play lingered on till the forties.

In Dion Boucicault's *London Assurance* (1841) Grace Harkaway talks as no young lady talked in 1841, or, we may be sure, in any other year, but as players were expected to talk in the platform period of the drama—

"I love to watch the first tear that glistens in the opening eye of morning, the silent song that flowers breathe, the thrilling choir of the woodland minstrels, to which the modest brook trickles applause; these, swelling out into the sweetest chord of sweet creation's matins, seem to pour some soft and merry tale into the daylight's ear, as if the waking world had dreamed a happy thing and smiled o'er the telling of it."

Then there is Lady Gay Spanker's description of the hunt and its emotions:

"Time then appears as young as love and as swift of wing. Then I love the world, myself, and every living thing—a jocund soul cries out for very glee, as it would wish that creation had but one mouth that I might kiss it."

Those who saw the play on its revival in New York a few years ago

will recall the shamefaced discomfort of audience and players alike while modern actresses tried to race bravely through these dreadful speeches, which Mr. Walkley quotes. Thus, he concludes, the technique of the drama varied with the arrangement of the stage. This was true too of France, but in France the change came sooner because the French, with their turn for logic, "did care for the play as a whole, and were concerned not merely for each scene as it passed, but for its relation to the other scenes, for the growth, that is to say, of the action." Even when the French drama was dominated by the platform stage and was most rhetorical, there was far more regard for the wholeness of the action, and as time went on this demand became more exacting. From Dumas *père* and Scribe, through Augier and Dumas *fils* with their "thesis-plays," and Becque and the Antoine school with their "naturalism," down to Paul Hervieu and Eugène Brieux, who, discarding all Scribe's devices and ingenuity of plot, revived the thesis-play in a sterner form, French drama steadily gained in consistency and definiteness of idea. Meanwhile, the English drama straggled behind, "unidea'd" and formless. In the fifties it was "an absent-minded drama" that "whistled as it went, for want of thought"; and it continued "unidea'd" under Robertson, who "did, however imperfectly, bring the stage into some sort of relation to life." Irving, with his Shakespearian revivals, stood apart and did not influence the development of the drama. The next step was the Ibsen movement, which produced Mr. Pinero and Mr. Jones, whose plays are the nearest approach to an English drama of ideas, but Mr. Walkley is unable to determine what those ideas are.

The spectator is always asking himself: What does Mr. Pinero really think? That is not only a natural but an inevitable question about all serious drama, which, however objective it may be in comparison with other arts, should still be a projection, a revelation, of the dramatist. In all drama the really interesting thing is the "état d'âme," the temperament, the outlook upon life of the artist behind it. What is Mr. Pinero's "état d'âme"? What, in the colloquial phrase, is he driving at? Probably he would reply that he is driving at simple realism; that he gives us studies from life, as accurate as he can make them. That, however, is not to give a drama of ideas, a criticism of life.

And what, for example, he asks of Mr. Jones, is the moral of his two plays *The Liars* and *Mrs. Dane's Defence*?

In the one case, that an elopement is a mistake, because you will be cut by your friends and the world, whereas it is better to be taken out to supper by a brute of a husband; in the other, that an unprotected female trying to conceal a doubtful "past" must expect to be bullied and hounded out of Society by a shrewd lawyer, and serve her right! The Ibsenite *malgré lui* has now become fogleman of the compact majority!

So runs his study in comparison and development. The results may not seem particularly valuable in themselves. Perhaps he knows things that it is a privilege for the rest of us not to know. Considering what the modern English drama is, sound reasons might conceivably be advanced for not caring especially how it happened. It may even be that the equation between the platform stage and the players' harangues is not philosophically satisfying. No platform stage encouraged the novelist down to very recent time to make his characters talk like platform players. Some may recall a preposterous two-volume novel written by the late Admiral Porter in the eighties. In it one of the heroes (there were two heroes in its generous plan) casually describes to a friend the young woman with whom he is in love in the following words, which still adhere to my reluctant mind:

She is like an April day when the warm sun puts forth the first flowers of the field and the warbling of the birds is heard in the trees just putting forth their velvet buds, while the brilliant colors of the tiny songsters flash in the mellow openings of the forest glades. I cannot do justice to her in words.

It is probable, as Mr. Walkley said of the young lady in *London Assurance*, that no young man known to Admiral Porter in the eighteen eighties ever talked like this.

And as to the lucidity of French plays—the fact that we get from them “ideas” and know just where the playwrights stand on the points at issue, but from the English only “half-ideas or adumbrations of ideas”—it may not seem altogether to account for their difference in merit as works of art. For the “ideas,” when disengaged by Mr. Walkley from the text and presented admiringly, do not particularly invite the mind. A dull sermon or a socialist speech or a short story or a magazine poem might be built on them as well as a play; and there is no knowing how bad a play might be built on them. Mr. Walkley himself makes fun of the “idea'd” play in its extreme form:

Nothing, for example, could be simpler than the thesis of M. Hervieu's *La Course du Flambeau*, a play which has been presented to Londoners by Madame Rejane. It is the familiar figure which Lucretius took from the Greek torch-race:

“Et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.”

Each generation has to sacrifice the last to itself and then itself to the next; thus is the torch of life carried on. You have a widowed mother renouncing her chance of a second marriage because her daughter is not yet married and settled; later, becoming a forger to save her son-in-law from ruin; ultimately confronted by a choice between the death of her daughter and that of her mother, the consumptive daughter needing a high altitude in the Engadine, which is fatal to the grandmother's heart disease. “Pour sauver ma fille j'ai tué ma mère,” cries the

heroine or rather the middle term of the "rule of three" sum, as the curtain descends. Q. E. D. Everything in the play is conditioned not by the probabilities and proportions of life, but by the mathematical requirements of the thesis, and the consequence is that you cannot believe a word of it. Again nothing could be simpler than the thesis of *Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont*, by M. Brioux, which is that women, whether they elect to be dependent on men in either regular or irregular relations, or to be independent of men, are all equally badly off. To prove this, one of the daughters marries, another goes on the streets, and the third withers in single-wretchedness. Ultimately they compare notes, and each admits herself to be as dissatisfied as either of the other two. Indeed, the play might almost be rewritten as a mediæval morality, and called *Everywoman*; or *Dame Goodwife*, *Dame Lechery*, and *Dame Maidenhood*.

But he says the same writer's *Le Dédale* gives him the first place among contemporary French playwrights and he thinks it meets all the requirements of greatness. "The play really great is the play which first stirs our emotions profoundly and then gives a meaning and direction to our feelings by the unity and truth of some underlying idea." He proves this to his own mind in a few pages of summary. He is, by the way, a master of this subsidiary craft of reducing plays to paragraphs. His clear-cut little summaries are singularly mnemonic and in the fewest words set the mind on the right road to recover for itself scenes, characters and dialogue that had seemed to be completely forgotten. But definitions, elements and summaries do not explain "greatness" or even show why one play is better than another. They are the bones of the drama picked very clean. Nor ought a man to be severely blamed if he does not find that the classification of authors by their "central thoughts" or the pedigree of the ideas in modern plays are matters of especial interest. They are the materials of that "objective" criticism which has turned many a good man's library into an herbarium. Who first planted the seed of the novel of purpose? "Objective" criticism as practised to-day by the undeservedly learned in literature is the vegetable physiology of books and can tell you everything but the taste. It extracts from an art the palpable things on which lectures to young men may be based and the young men learn to lecture, too, on what somebody owed to somebody else, and his "underlying idea" and where he got it, and predisposing causes, (a) heredity, (b) climate, (c) boyhood influences, (d) political condition of Europe at the time, that professorships and adjunct-professorships may increase and multiply and doctor's dissertations lie thick upon the land. And since "objective" critics do at this time pullulate at an amazing rate some of Mr. Walkley's theories or discoveries may not seem especially desirable.

Nor is he altogether wise in allowing his regard for system and defi-

nition to trouble him when he happens upon plays that do not fit them but give pleasure nevertheless. "The essential law of the theatre is thought *through emotion*. No character exhibits real emotion, though occasionally there is a show of 'temper' in those fascinating exercises in dialectics which Mr. Shaw miscalls plays." That Mr. Shaw's plays are not really plays at all is a point that seems seriously to disturb Mr. Walkley. He derives a vast deal of pleasure from them, but he fears it is not the right kind of pleasure, not appropriate to the theatre or conforming to Aristotle's definition or some definitions of his own. But he adds, "When all is said, however, it remains true that for sheer energy and fineness of brain, as well as for pioneering quality—the spirit which attacks fresh problems and carries the drama into unexplored regions—we have no one on the English stage comparable to Mr. Shaw. Our drama needs pioneers even more than expert dramatists." Then why concern one's self with Mr. Shaw's eruption from the definition? There is a singular desire on the part of many recent writers to emphasize the limitations of the theatre—to tell the unborn man of talent what he cannot do—and much worrying about "art forms," the folly of trying to substitute one for another, and whether a "closet-play" is a legitimate or a bastard form of art. Mr. Walkley also has his say on this somewhat frivolous issue:

Surely it is a commonplace that every art form is conditioned by its medium? The shape, the structure, the points of inflection, the perspective of a play are all determined by the mechanical necessities of the theatre and the fact that it is something to be seen and heard by a spectator. A book, which is something to be read, has no such restrictions; it has others, but not these. If you impose upon a book the form of a play—a form, that is to say, designed to meet exigencies which in its case do not exist—you are misapplying or wasting the means at your disposal; you are running a sack-race; you are playing fives, like Cavanaugh in Hazlitt's essay, with your clenched fist. At the best you have achieved a *tour de force*.

In these days when the limitations of the theatre are taken by the poor playwrights as an excuse and are allowed by the better ones to paralyze a number of their faculties, there seems no danger of underrating them. The ordinary workman is well enough aware of the limitations of his tools; it is their possibilities that escape him. Surely our playwrights have the audience sufficiently in mind; the trouble with them is that they have nothing else; and "rules as strict their labored work confine" as if each word had been voted on in advance by a committee of "tired business men." As to the safety of "art forms," why talk of high fences to so wingless a generation? What old humbugs we are, with our uncrea-

tive minds, laying down the law to new devisings and hoping in secret for defiance—building circular definitions on the principle of the old couplet that

Treason never prospers. What's the reason?
Why, if it prospers, none dare call it treason.

When criticism is disobeyed, it sulks for a generation, then reverses the commandment. And what is to be gained by drumming into a playwright's mind the consciousness of the public? Is he not already obsequious enough in that large and foolish presence—eager to please every one immediately? And the result is those mob-anodynes we call plays. All the greater dramas contain passages not only wearisome to many in the audience, but actually offensive to them. Contact with the things that are too good for them is to many minds acutely disagreeable. A dog not only prefers bad smells; he hates the good ones. A perfume pricks his nose. It gives a wrench to his dog nature—perhaps tends to “undermine those moral principles” without which a dog “society cannot exist.” Hatred of the unfamiliar is surely as common a rule as *omne ignotum pro magnifico* (to follow Mr. Walkley's bad example of quoting classic tags). One man, for instance, who cannot understand Mr. Henry James, will blame Mr. James very severely, and another will adore him blindly for the same reason. The greater playwrights seem to have forgotten their audience in their work quite as often as they have remembered them. No sign of aiming at punctual and unanimous acceptance (that would merely make a rising journalist), or of trying to avoid the crowd (that would lead merely to magazine verse); but rather of disregard for consequences and unconcern for the “limitations of the art-form.” As an art grows, many of its limitations are found to be merely the antecedent improbabilities of genius to unimaginative men. Mr. Walkley's definitions and well-drawn lines and precise reasons why some things are greater than others would be badly shattered in a period of growth; for the “drier” criticism of the present day is very brittle.

But to return to my main subject, which is that of a fair country as yet unvisited by any desirable dramatic criticism. While Mr. Walkley's activities in this somewhat arid region may have no especial significance in themselves, they at least serve to keep him busy and interested, and it is important in the present state of the drama that dramatic critics should find something for idle minds to do. Men whose profession compels them to go often to the theatre are apt, with us, to dry up into mere social moralists or else to deliquesce in mild conformity. It seems

better to spend the time that hangs so heavy on the hands in going back to Aristotle's *Poetics* or the mechanics of the platform-stage, or in tracing the genealogy of "underlying ideas," or in wondering whether *You Never Can Tell* may safely be enjoyed as a play when it is neither a "criticism of life" nor an Aristotelian catharsis of emotions, than to become an adjunct of the police department on the one hand or the humble servant of every Broadway crowd on the other. Better a botanist of plays, concerned with dramatic morphology, cytology and what not, than a mere spinster aunt of all the nurseries, absorbed in serving as an anti-Ibsen bulwark for the very young, or one of those canary-birds of criticism that twitter rapturously whenever the sewing-machine begins. It is probable that Mr. Walkley has not discovered a single æsthetic principle, but he has had the pleasure of the chase, and it has kept him fresher and more vigorous than any of our play-worn veterans.

He has been blamed for holding up French plays so insistently as models. He is, perhaps, inclined to identify merit with the mere absence of definable faults. Contrast what he says about *Le Dédale* as fulfilling all the requirements of greatness with this condemnation of *Measure for Measure* as presented on the stage:

We have seen a number of people, very few of whom we can entirely believe in and none of whom we can entirely like. We cannot like a Duke who deserts his post just to see how a substitute will behave in his place—for the reason he himself puts forward about a stricter administration of justice is, of course, too hollow to deceive an infant. We cannot entirely like so feeble a hero as Claudio. It is not that we necessarily dislike him for clinging to life even at the price of his sister's shame. That is quite human. It is that he has not the courage of that position. We think that he ought to have made out a far better case for a brother's life *versus* a sister's chastity than he actually does. He never pushes his point; he seems a mere drifter. Nor can we entirely like Isabella herself. . . .

—and so on, enumerating the characters we cannot "like" and the motives we cannot applaud. But the real contrast here is between a wonderfully well-executed work of French cleverness—a play as it should be by all definite critical rules—and a great, sprawling, exuberant masterpiece—a play that is considerably more than it should be. Men of our race will always love the things that are indefensible to trim minds; and the world itself is apt to welcome the right sort of transgressor, if you give it time. But there is a loophole for Shakespeare and other reckless persons in the saving clause of Mr. Walkley's criticism that a play after all is a "revelation of the dramatist." His appreciation of Mr. Barrie is most discerning and sounds sincere, and apparently has

nothing to do with his definitions. He likes the plays on account of Mr. Barrie's "personality." As to Mr. Pinero, there seems an almost ideal justice in what Mr. Walkley says, and if he holds up French perfections to Mr. Pinero, it is no more than he deserves. From his book as a whole, Mr. Walkley seems, of all professional critics of current plays, the least subdued to what he works in. His reviews seem somehow more honest than those which are published here under the same hard conditions. I have liked to read them combatively, finding prejudices—which, by a bare chance, may merely be the negatives of mine.

Frank Moore Colby.

THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF UNNECESSARY NOISE

BY MRS. ISAAC L. RICE

WITHIN the past month a new movement has been started in New York City—a movement which, although designed primarily for the relief of the sick, will doubtless prove of the greatest ethical value to our boys and girls whose sympathetic coöperation is now being sought. The work is new, but the enthusiasm with which the children have entered into it augurs well for its future success.

The Board of Aldermen having granted our appeal for the creation of Hospital Zones, and the "Hospital Street" signs being in process of erection, we felt that our Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise ought to make special efforts to stop one of the most fruitful sources of distress to the patients in our municipal institutions—the boisterousness of children. Sympathizing, as we did, with our playgroundless boys and girls, we neither wanted to *drive* them to obey orders, nor to rob them of even one moment's pleasure; most certainly we did not want to have them arrested for breaking ordinances, poor little children of the street! What we did desire, and that most earnestly, was to awaken in their hearts a sympathetic recognition of the claims of the sick upon their compassion. It was for this purpose that the "Children's Hospital Branch" of our Society was formed, which in the few weeks of its existence has grown to the proportions of a little army.

In order to convince the most sceptical and the least sensitive members of the community of the real necessity for this line of work, we had records compiled of the various kinds of disturbances to which our sick were subjected. The following extracts from one of these records will give a fairly good idea of the manner in which the children congregate around hospitals after school hours. The only reason that can

be assigned for this preference of the children for the immediate vicinity of the hospital is that deplorable craving for excitement which, in our little children of the street, seeks its gratification in the sight of poor, wounded "ambulance" cases. For this reason alone, apparently, dozens of children wait patiently and play noisily around hospital doors, while the remainder of the block is deserted. The part of the record from which I quote was taken between half-past three and six o'clock during an afternoon early last May:

3.30 P.M.—Children shouting and playing in the street directly in front of hospital, while there are almost no children farther down the block.

3.45—Ambulance returned and twenty children ran to the east gate.

3.50—Eight or ten boys hanging about the east gate calling to servants. Pretending to be injured, they walked down into the yard toward the accident entrance. Pounding on fence with baseball bats.

4.00—Boys, when driven away from gate by attendant, return.

4.10—Girls roller-skating across the street.

4.15—Boys playing ball in the yard, in danger of breaking windows. Other boys watching them, making loud comments. Boy's cart going under window with wheels squeaking; need oil. Girl skating back and forth in front of building.

4.20—A number of small children in front of hospital.

4.25—Four children gathered about baby carriage in front and squealing.

4.30—Six children yelling directly under windows and running into yard.

4.45—Six children running around yard, with others yelling through fence at them. Attendant driving children away, and they shouting names at him.

4.50—Cart with squeaky wheels still going back and forth. Boys shouting up to people in fourth story of house across the way.

5.00—Two boys kicking cans directly in front of hospital.

5.15—Boys playing ball in street, and shouting.

5.25—Drumming on tin can near hospital. Boy rattling sticks on iron fence.

5.30—Girls screeching under windows.

5.45—Ambulance returned. Twenty children ran up to gate and into yard. When ambulance came out, children remained playing in yard.

6.00—Children playing around fence and pounding on it with clubs.

Our "Children's Hospital Branch" was not formed without careful consideration, nor without the advice of those who were best qualified to give it. Physicians, clergymen and educators were consulted and all heartily endorsed the plan as outlined by us. One of the most important letters of encouragement came from Dr. Thomas Darlington, Commissioner of Health, in which he states:

I wish to give an unqualified endorsement of your plan to enlist the sympathies of the boys of this city in an effort to obtain quiet in the vicinity of the hospitals. In asking aid of the boys you are not only rendering a service to humanity and conferring untold benefit upon the sick in the hospitals, but you

are encouraging a sense of civic righteousness and responsibility in those who are our potential citizens, and upon whom rests the future government of the city.

Among those expressing their approval of the work were Richard Watson Gilder, who assured us that it would "have more good effect than the mere protection of the sick," and President Nicholas Murray Butler, who declared that it would "be an excellent thing for the boys themselves, who are seriously in need of the restraining influences which the success of such a movement will involve," while divines of all denominations maintained that the ethical effect upon the child would be fully as important as the relief afforded the patient. By several clergymen I was assured that the movement would awaken in the hearts of the children "a consciousness of responsibility which will help largely in the formation of character for good" and that it was "laying the foundation of a culture which will help the children to put that restraint upon themselves, so essential to a right growth in after manhood and womanhood."

Finally, we brought the matter before the Board of Education, requesting permission to seek the coöperation of the children in the public schools, whose assistance we so greatly needed. Here, too, we met with prompt and gracious commendation, and on January 8th the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the plan proposed by the Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise, as above set forth, be and the same is hereby approved, and that a circular be prepared by the City Superintendent and sent to the principals of the high and elementary schools urging their hearty coöperation in securing on the part of the pupils a sympathetic and helpful interest in the effort to lessen unnecessary noise near hospitals and houses where sickness exists, and that permission be granted to said Society to distribute button-badges to pupils in the public schools who become members of the Children's Hospital Branch or League.

Thus, at last, we were enabled to begin active work.

Through the courtesy of several public school principals, I have been enabled, within the last three weeks, to address more than twenty thousand children, all of whom have signified their desire to be enrolled as members of the Hospital Branch. In speaking to the children, I tell them, in the simplest words, how very, very much I want them to help me—that I need their assistance so much that I not only ask, but that I actually beg for it. I tell them that the smallest child, and the poorest, can do so much for the relief of those who are suffering in the hospitals, that I hope they will do one thing, only one, so that the sick can rest and get well so much sooner; to make one little sacrifice,

so that fathers and mothers can more quickly get back to their children, and small children can sooner return to their parents. And the promise is such a little thing—just a promise not to play within a block of a hospital, nor in front of a house where some one is known to be very sick. Finally I tell the children that I want them all to wear the pretty badge which is to be presented to their members by our Society (the Society of grown-ups), just as a little reminder of their promise, because we all find it so easy to forget, and because children find it just a little bit easier than we do. And then I ask them all to write on cards their promise not to disturb the sick in the hospitals.

The interest with which the children listen is, to me, very touching. They sit absolutely motionless, eager, intent. The only time that they move is when I tell them about the distinguished man, who is so fond of children, and of whom children are so fond, who has honored us all by becoming the President of the "Children's Hospital Branch." Then, when I hold up our beloved "Mark Twain's" picture for all to look at, hundreds of little heads bend forward in order to see more clearly the face of one who is so dear to them as the creator of "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." Sometimes, after I have read Mr. Clemens's letter of acceptance, which is framed with the picture, a letter so sweet and simple, in which he expresses his abundance of sympathy for the movement, and the wish that he were young enough to aid actively in the work, applause breaks forth, or the school cry, with thrilling repetitions of "Mark Twain, Mark Twain, Mark Twain," mixed up with the "Rah's" and "Sizz, Boom, Ah's." But then, what boy or girl wouldn't become enthusiastic over the idea of working hard, even for a less good cause, with such a President as "Mark Twain"?

The thousands of membership cards which are now coming back to us are so touching in their sincerity that it is impossible to doubt the sympathy which dictated the earnest little pledges. At first it had been decided to have the required promise printed on the card, leaving the child nothing to do but to sign its name and the number of its school and class. However, I thought that it would be better to give a blank card to each child, and beg it to write down, without assistance from teacher or parent, in its very own words, just what it was willing to do for the patients in the hospitals. These little promises, of course, absolutely

¹It is interesting to find, in the ninth annual report (1907) of the City Superintendent of Schools, the following paragraph:

"A very healthy and hopeful indication on the whole is the fact that no author on the entire list receives as much real appreciation from the boys as the 'father' of 'Tom Sawyer' and 'Huckleberry Finn.'"

Dear Mrs. Rice.

21 FIFTH AVENUE
I have an abundance of sympathy for this movement for the protection of sick children. If I were younger I would like to work for it. Now I thank you for the compliment you pay me, & shall be happy to have ~~been~~ my name used as President of the ^{Children's} Hospital Branch.

Sincerely Yours,
Mark Twain

Feb. 20/08.

FACSIMILE OF MR. CLEMENS'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE AS PRESIDENT OF THE
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL BRANCH

bristle with mistakes, but then, they are all the dearer to us on this account, I think. Here are a few of the different ways in which they begin:

I pledge allegiance with all my heart and soul . . .
 I promise as long as I am alive I will . . .
 I promise honestly and fatally to obey . . .
 I promise with all my heart and sole . . .
 I promise with a true heart . . .
 I dearly promise . . . I highly promise . . .
 I promise fatefully . . .
 I promise faithfully, a promise that I can never break . . .
 As I have been borne to be a true daughter to my parents so I hereby pledge to obey the laws of the "Anti-Noise League" . . .
 I mutually pledge to do all . . .
 I faithfully promise as a Citizen of the United States and as well of New York City that I will . . .
 I will try my very hardest . . .
 In the name of Class 8A and in the honor of Public School 19 I promise most heartily . . .

Some of the little promises which I shall give below in full, with the exception of the names, are certainly smile-provocative, though pathetic at the same time. They show, I think, that the children, even the small tots, knew what was expected of them, and they surely show the tender resolve which animated them, to protect the sick from unnecessary distress.

I offer up this sacrifice, so as to comfort the sick near hospital and any place I know where sick persons are and to prevent all sorts of noises that are not necessary.

I promise just the way a president promises to be true to his country. to stop other people from making a noise and I also will not make a noise in front of a hospital.

My dear Miss Rice I promise that I will never make a noise near a hospital Positively know.

I promise that I will not make any noise near any hospital, nor anywhere else. From me, B. F.

As I know by playing by a hospital or any place where sick people are is injurious to them, I hereby promise not to be injurours to sick people.

In this following address I intend to keep my promise truthfully. Firstly, is to take care of the first person, which is myself and secondly to see that the smaller children will enjoy themselves elsewhere and not near the hospitals. For all this I give my word of honor to the Anti-Noise League.

I promise not to play near or around any hospital. When I do pass I will keep my mouth shut tight, because there are many invalids there. Nor will I make myself a perfect NUISANCE.

I promise to keep my word to help you and I am very grateful to you for letting me have a good chance to show that I really am helpful.

I promise to do all in my power to avoid all unindispensable noise that would in any way, annoy the bed-stricken patients in the hospitals.

With all my heart I promise you,
Just what you advised us to do,
I am willing to obey your plan,
To make the least noise as I can,
Before a hospital.

What is most gratifying to us is the fact that many of these cards contain sympathetic references to the "inferred" and the "invallid people," such as: "the sick wounded people cannot bare the noise," "the poor suffering people that are suffering of sickness," "the sick people are anoide when children make a noise," "the poor miserable patients that are waiting to be cured," and "some people may have had opprations and are full of pain and may want to sleep."

In my school addresses, I had not brought out the fact that the poor little prisoners in the hospitals must find their pain all the harder to bear if they hear the shouts of well children playing in the streets. And yet, several of our dear members touched upon this very point: "I promise I will make no noise around a hospital, for I know the boys and the girls in their beds when they hear our joyful shilles come to a deep sorrow and wish they could play once more."

That regard for the sick will not be limited to those who have signed our cards, is shown by thousands of pledges which say that our little members will do all in their power to prevent the noise of others. "I will tell the smaller children," so many say, or "I will tell my brothers," or "I will tell those who have not heard you."

Nor can there be any doubt as to the fact that almost all of these promises were written by our boys and girls without the slightest assistance. Even a casual examination will show the marvellous originality of the spelling and the quaint wording. Beginning with the word "noises," which offered little difficulty except for an occasional lapse into "noise-zess" or "noisy's," we soon reach the two great stumbling blocks "unnecessary" and "hospitals." I believe that both of these words have been spelled in at least one hundred different ways, running through the whole gamut of possibilities and impossibilities. However, they are all dear to us, for throughout them all, we see the tender "pitty for the sick people" which took no account of orthography.

Time alone can show whether our efforts will be productive of lasting

results or not, but I have faith in my thousands of children. I believe that my boys will neither "scrim" nor "skrem"; and that they will "take of their skates in going by a hospital"; I believe in each child who declares: "I will never go back on my ward," and "I will never brake the ruin"; I have faith in my twenty thousand children and I am sure that their future conduct will justify my faith. I heartily echo the wish of some of my children: "I hope that the work turns out a success and that it will be a good charitable work," and as one of my boys says: "So I haven't anything else to say I sign my name."

Mrs. Isaac L. Rice.

MOROCCO MORITURUS

BY EDWIN MAXEY

THE persistent attacks by fanatical tribesmen upon the foreign settlements in Morocco and the inability of the Moroccan Government to furnish protection against such attacks have thrown upon France and Spain the duty of furnishing such protection; for under the provisions of the Algeciras Convention the policing of Morocco was entrusted to these powers. Not only does the inability of the Moroccan Government to furnish reasonable protection to life and property necessitate intervention, but it raises in a practical form the question of how much, if any, longer the continuance of such a government should be permitted to interfere with the progress of civilization. Nor is this a question which concerns Morocco merely: if it were it would be a relatively simple one; it would be one for Morocco alone to answer. But the civilized world is an organic whole and none of its parts can be in a diseased and decayed or decaying condition without affecting to some extent the health of the whole political and social body, for it is the nature of disease to be infectious. It is also true that in dealing with infection the protection of health requires heroic treatment. It is unfortunate that international jealousies should prevent dealing with such questions upon a purely rational and scientific basis, yet such is the fact. In order therefore that we may appreciate the difficulties of the situation it is necessary that we take a brief review of its diplomatic side.

Until comparatively recent years the Moroccan question has not assumed an acute form in European diplomacy. But within the past decade it has brought on five attacks of nervousness in the diplomatic circles of Europe. The first of these was the lightest and was caused by the sending of a Russian Minister to Tangier. The purpose of this naturally excited comment, as it is never customary to establish a legation in a country unless the government establishing it has trade or subjects in the country to protect. But in this case the entire Russian trade with Morocco was not then, nor is it now, equal to the cost of maintaining the legation; and as for Russian subjects in Morocco there was but one—and he a Jew. When we remember the exceeding tenderness of the Russian Government for its Jewish subjects at home, it is not a little surprising that her extreme solicitude for the protection of this lone Jew in Morocco should have excited suspicion in London. But

it did. Those unsentimental, blunt, beef-eating Englishmen were not prepared to appreciate so marvellous a manifestation of chivalric self-sacrifice upon the part of the Russian Government. By them it was felt that the move was made at the solicitation of France, and hence that it would be the first step in a combined move on the part of these two powers, the outcome of which would be the partition of Morocco between them, or, what was far more likely, a *quid pro quo* to Russia in the East for such assistance as she might render France in Morocco. Nor, indeed, were there wanting circumstances tending to show that this suspicion was well founded. At that time Russia had a strong taste for *Welt Politik* and the almost uniform success of her diplomacy had whetted her ambitions in this line. It must also be noted that the time of the Russian Minister was not so completely taken up with protecting the interests of his beloved fellow-citizen, the aforementioned solitary Jew, that he did not have some time to devote to a study of the situation from the teleological point of view, so that when the time would come for action his government might be fully advised as to the precautions it would be necessary for it to take in order to prevent said Jew from being Kishineffed in a foreign land, and at the same time to increase its diplomatic prestige.

The next move upon the checker-board was the seizure of Twat and some adjoining territory by France. The chief value of these possessions consists, not in their soil or other resources, but in their strategic position. Lying as they do upon the French line of communications between Algeria and the Niger, their possession was a matter of no small importance to France. When the projected French Railway is built between the Mediterranean and Timbuctoo, and later extended to the Niger, the value of these little oases round about Twat will be evident. The same is true of the insignificant village of Igli, which was soon after appropriated by the French. The opposition to these movements on the part of France was greater at London than at Fez, but at neither place did it take a more substantial form than solemn consultations and diplomatic protest. The French insisted that these places were clearly within the French sphere of influence and formed no part of the territory of Morocco. In a thinly settled, unorganized territory it is easy to understand how a difference of opinion might arise as to the accuracy of maps. But notwithstanding the French protestation of innocence it must be confessed that there was something a trifle suspicious about the transaction. For instance, it is a somewhat strange coincidence that France should have made the discovery of her title to this strip in North Africa just at the time when Great Britain was most preoccupied

in South Africa, and hence not in a position to bring suit in ejectment against France in North Africa. In addition to a natural enough desire to render safe her line of communications, there is ground for concluding that France was anxious to see how far she could go in the filing of title-deeds without meeting with any more serious opposition than diplomatic protests. And it must be admitted that she chose a very opportune time for the proceeding.

The next time the Moroccan question forced itself upon the attention of Europe was when, five years ago, Bu Hamara, a pretender, organized a revolution for the purpose of placing himself upon the throne. Had this revolution continued for a long time it would no doubt have resulted in acts which would have compelled intervention by some of the European powers. But the early collapse of the revolution postponed the issue. Yet the threatened crisis served to emphasize the fact that the situation was a delicate one, that it contained the elements of a very explosive compound, the handling of which required the utmost delicacy and discretion.

The fourth, and in many ways the most important event from the diplomatic standpoint, was the treaty between England and France in which these two powers reached an agreement whereby England was given a free hand in Egypt in return for a like concession to France in Morocco. A little later Spain became a party to the contract. It was this treaty that caused Kaiser Wilhelm to visit Tangier and while there to assure the Sultan of Morocco of the firm and abiding friendship which existed between the two sovereigns; that in addition to the strong personal ties which bound them together there was in this case a determination that no important question in the diplomacy of Europe should be settled without first consulting Germany. Had France proceeded in defiance of this attitude of the Kaiser, so dramatically asserted, it would have meant war with Germany. For this, France was not prepared. She accordingly dismissed her aggressive foreign minister, M. Delcassé, and agreed to submit the whole question to an international conference. This conference met at Algeciras in 1905. Though Germany had chosen as the most opportune time to force the issue the close of the Russo-Japanese War, which left Russia an almost negligible factor, thus rendering the Dual Alliance of little use to France, the conference soon developed the fact that Germany was for the time practically isolated in Europe. The question was not one which at all vitally affected Austria and hence she did not feel called upon to take a determined stand on either side. Russia supported France, though not vigorously, as she had by no means that same keen interest in *Welt Politik* which she had when she estab-

lished her legation in Morocco. England and Spain were bound by treaty to support France. Italy leaned pretty strongly in the same direction. The United States did not ally itself with either side, as its sole purpose at the conference was to see that its commercial rights were protected. The minor States of Europe were not interested. This left Germany with but one staunch ally in the conference—its new-found friend, Morocco. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the compromise agreed upon by the conference modified the Anglo-French arrangement in a formal rather than a substantial way.

Such is in very brief outline the history of the question from its diplomatic side. It has not at all times been free from a tinge of unfairness which ought not to characterize the actions of great nations. While it is perhaps useless to expect States to act from wholly disinterested motives, it ought not to be expecting too much of them to expect that their actions be characterized by that straightforwardness and fairness which are considered virtues in an individual. Yet here as in many other recent diplomatic transactions we find remnants of the old school diplomacy.

The present outbreak, which has assumed the character of a holy war, has made it evident that somebody must be responsible for a reasonable degree of order and protection to life, regardless of religious beliefs, and that as the Moroccan Government cannot be depended upon for this, Germany will no longer obstruct France in fulfilling this duty. German acquiescence is indicative of one and perhaps two things—a conviction that public opinion approves of what France is doing and that England would support France with something more than moral support in case a war were forced upon her by Germany. This acquiescence upon the part of Germany makes the diplomatic problem, for the present, a relatively simple one.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that this harmonious acclaim will continue for long. While France continues merely to protect the seaports, no protest will be heard. But it is folly to expect France to remain on the defensive for any considerable length of time; such a state of siege would become intolerable. Unless the uprising soon collapses, it will be necessary for France to assume the offensive and march upon Fez. The moment such a course is adopted will be the signal for a storm of protests from various directions. Notwithstanding the wisdom and in fact the necessity of such a measure in order to secure a guarantee of peace, its execution is sure to result in tirades against the oppression of a weak by a stronger power; the selfish grasping policy of the European powers in Africa. This

will be supplemented by sermonic disquisitions upon the sacred rights of self-government. In these fault-findings and preachments, little if any attempt will be made to determine whether or not the end could be attained in any other way, or to inquire whether self-government is worthy of the name under which not one-tenth of one per cent. of the people have anything to say about what kind of government shall be administered to them or in what way it shall be administered.

Upon this question of the sacred right of self-government we hear a great deal of rot. This is due in large part to the fact that so many look upon self-government as an end instead of a means, whereas all government is but a means to an end—the securing of those conditions which render possible the realization of a larger life. Whether one form of government contributes more than would another toward the realization of this is a question of fact which must be considered not with reference to all places in general but with reference to the particular place in question. For it no more follows that because a given form of government works well in one place it will therefore necessarily work well in another than it follows that because furs are suitable material for clothing in the arctics they must therefore be suitable in the tropics, or that because wood is suitable material for building houses in some places it must be suitable in all places. To determine that a given form or kind of government is the best, without regard to the conditions under which it is to operate, is as irrational as to fix upon the kind of medicine a person should have without first finding out the disease from which he is suffering or studying the strength and weakness of his constitution. But it will be urged that each people are the best judges of the kind of government they need; and while this is generally true it is not necessarily true. A raving maniac cannot judge as well what he needs as others can judge for him, provided those others are in better mental condition. If the Moroccans continue to play the part of raving maniacs, it will become necessary to deprive them of their ability to injure themselves and others, by substituting for the inefficient control which their present government exercises over them, a control which will harmonize better with their own welfare and that of others.

Whatever may have been, are, or will be the doctrinaire theories as to the rights of sovereign States, those rights must be made to conform to national and international needs. To maintain the first part of this proposition cost us the Civil War, but the results justified the expenditure. I add also international needs, because it is purely theoretical to consider a State as not having relations with other States. The logic of facts and the interests of mankind have rendered national isolation

an impossibility. Intercourse is a part of the law of nature and has become a part of the law of nations—a recognized necessity to the highest development of mankind. Yet in order that intercourse may be possible, life and property must be protected. When a government loses the ability or the inclination to fulfil this primary purpose for which governments are instituted, it has lost its claim of right to exist at all. Once conditions have become such within a State that life and property are not reasonably safe,—and such has for some time been the condition in Morocco, both as to its own citizens and for foreigners,—a readjustment from within or without is inevitable. With a crowd in the saddle that is opposed to change as such, a readjustment from within is extremely improbable. Apart from miracles, the readjustment will have to be brought about through some outside force. At present it looks as though, willingly or unwillingly, France will have to accept the responsibility of substituting a government for the anarchy which exists in Morocco. Its justification for this intervention will rest ultimately not upon professions of benevolence, not upon the precedent of interventions by other States in other places, nor yet upon treaty, but upon the excellence with which it does its work.

Lest I be accused of an oversight by not including Spain as a partner in the work, I must say that if the operations extend beyond the point of a pacific blockade, it is to be hoped that Spain will be a nominal partner merely. For if it becomes necessary to do a thorough-going job, joint operations will be difficult, and joint administration unworkable. The purpose of the Algeciras Conference in including Spain so as to make it a partnership affair was not the outgrowth of a conviction that the addition of Spain would increase the efficiency of the policing force, but it was done to “save Germany’s face.” In view of the fact that joint administrations have always been awkward and inefficient, it is not likely signatories to the Algeciras Convention will insist upon anything more than a formal compliance with its provisions. It would indeed be small politics to hamper unnecessarily a State in the performance of a task the beneficent results of which would be shared by the whole civilized world. For years the fate of Morocco, like that of Turkey, has rested not upon its own inherent strength, nor yet upon its moral claim to longer life, but rather upon the jealousies of the great powers of Europe.

There is something pathetic about this tottering remnant of the once powerful Moorish Empire. *Æsthetically* considered, there is no doubt something picturesque about this island of Orientalism in the midst of a surging sea of Western civilization that threatens at any moment to

engulf it. Chronologically considered, Morocco is an anachronism—a relic of mediævalism in the dawn of the twentieth century. Politically considered, it is a State hopelessly out of joint with the spirit of the times and its environment, and, as it no longer fulfils the primary duties of a State—the protection of life, liberty, and property—reconstruction, either from within or from without, is a necessity. The question is therefore one of how, when, and by whom?

A sudden collapse of the present fanatical uprising would simply postpone the crisis but could not render less necessary the readjustment of political institutions in Morocco to the changed conditions and increased work that is required of them. The situation is one well worthy of careful study, and demands it if we are to avoid doing an injustice to the actors in the drama, by judging them by general impressions rather than basing our judgments upon an investigation of the facts and the necessities for action.

Edwin Maxey.

A SONG

THE clouds are drifting drowsily,
The sea drinks in the sun,
And it's O, for the dawn that is dead and gone,
And the deeds I might have done—
Brave deeds I might have done!

The waning moon is red and low,
The slow wind brings the rain,
And it's O, for the night of dear delight
That shall not be again—
That cannot be again!

The crawling mists are cold and white,
The lights are blank and gray,
And it's O, for command of heart and hand
To do my work to-day—
Only my work to-day!

Brian Hooker.

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Forum

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